

New Light on The Old Testament

BY

ALLEN HOWARD GODBEY, A. M., Ph. D.



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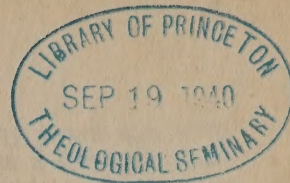
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ANCIENT ORIENTAL HISTORY

New Light On The Old Testament

Some Factors Shaping Ancient Palestine

- I. CULTURAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL PROLEGOMENA
- II. THE PRE-SEMITIC RED BERBER MINOAN CULTURE
- III. MINOAN-PHILISTINE-AEGEAN INFLUENCES IN SOUTH PALESTINE
- IV. EGYPTIAN INFLUENCES IN PALESTINE

BY

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New Orient Society; Society of Biblical
Literature; Archæological Institute of
America; American Association
for Advancement of Science

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Copyright September 1936

By

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Also all rights are reserved concerning the titles, methods, and other unpublished material, including those used in successive editions of these Outlines prepared for class use from 1929 to 1934, upon (1) Minoan-Philistine-Aegean Influences in Shaping South Palestine, and (2) Egyptian Influences in Shaping Palestine, not included herein.

SPECIAL NOTICE FOR 1936 EDITION

Instructors and students are advised that in this edition there is no change of the plan of the first edition. That plan is to make a general survey, in chronological order, of some known factors in the shaping of ancient Palestine. Thus a clear idea of the continuity of human history is gained, and a larger conception of Providence in history.

To use this book in any other way is to fail. It is not an alphabetically indexed reference-volume. There have been confessions of incompetence. A careful consideration of the Preface will satisfy anyone that such survey method has been tested by years of experience both with high school and college students. The fact is not debatable.

Because of the large increase of material, blank interleaves are omitted to reduce bulk. Each person can insert his sheets of notes and comments as occasion may require.

Since there has never been available for OT students any account of the great Minoan Culture, a special monograph of 70 pages upon it is inserted at the point where the student would become anxious for some special information.

The second edition increased the volume by 110 pages. The 1936 edition adds 60 more. But there is no change in the numbering of pages and sections. New insertions after 34 or 120, for example, are numbered 120a, 120b, 120c or 34a, 34b, 34c, etc. For reference purposes this is important.

Four maps have been redrawn; and topical indexes provided. These adhere to the chronological survey-plan of the book.

ALLEN H. GODBEY.

PREFACE—A LOOSE-LEAF ENCYCLOPAEDIA

The developing of methods and courses presented in this volume began many years ago with senior High School and Junior College students, as witnessed by the letter from a former ministerial student and private secretary, printed upon the next page. And the courses have been adapted to students that do not know any oriental language.

Every constructive teacher of History furnishes the student with a typewritten syllabus of the field to be studied, the data and sources to be considered, and warns of superseded or passe materials. Outworn stuff is the chief equipment of some libraries. The syllabus must be in topical sections, and annually revised to include all new facts provided by excavations and other research. It becomes a small annual "Loose-Leaf Encyclopaedia" of source-materials to be considered. The factors compelling such method are stated on the fourth page of this prospectus.

The time came, in the development of the said courses, when eminent Old Testament scholars urged that the material be made available for all instructors. For copies of said Class Outlines were at different times submitted to said OT scholars for criticism and suggestion. Among these were Dr. Ira. M. Price, Dr. W. C. Graham, and Dr. Martin Sprengling, of the University of Chicago; Dr. Theophile J. Meek of the University of Toronto; Dr. James Alan Montgomery of the University of Pennsylvania; Dr. George B. Winton of Vanderbilt University, and Dr. George L. Robinson of McCormick Theological Seminary; Dr. C. E. Purinton of Adelphi College, Secretary of the National Association of Biblical Instructors. And Dr. W. F. Albright of Johns Hopkins University and ASOR has been prompt and cordial in answering many queries, and suggesting materials for comparison. All these scholars knew that there are no other such courses; and that there are no similar collations and arrangements of material.

Two distinct, yet intimately related courses, are here bound in one volume, with many cross-references, to eliminate repetition of important material, and to facilitate comparison by the student. The two courses are Minoan-Philistine-Aegean Influences In South Palestine; and Egyptian Influences In Palestine. The third important course, Pre-Mosaic Hebrew Religion, appears in a separate volume.

ALLEN H. GODBEY, April 1, 1934.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

JOHN A. WILSON and ELIHU GRANT

Besides 14 pages of Topical Indexes, The Second Edition contains 26 pages of new material: viz pp. 23-25; 27-28; 31-32; 34; 40-41; 121-122; 133-134; 192; 206-208; 222-229. These include the mysterious bones of the "giants" of Gen. 6:1ff, and their effect upon literature; the fact that Southern "Amorites" were simply the "subject peoples" of the Pre-Dynastic Delta rulers, and were not Semitic; the fresh-water lake once 1400 feet deeper than the Dead Sea, when Palestine was a land of hippopotamus-hunters. Then, why there was trade through the Red Sea to India when Southern Europe was a reindeer and mammoth region; what staple products the palaeolithic peoples of Mt. Carmel and Tripoli exchanged with each other. Six pages touch the great migrations from Crete to Palestine in Ramesside times, not understood in current popular histories of Egypt.

The outstanding new feature in the Second Edition is the 74-page monograph upon "The Pre-Semitic Red Berber-Minoan Culture", which was mighty in the Eastern Mediterranean through 2,000 years before any Semitic-speaking peoples reached the coasts of the Mediterranean-near 2,000 B. C. This mighty culture left an impress upon Palestine that ancient Semitic immigrants never effaced. Even in the Apostolic age some towns in Palestine were still called "Minos-towns"; a fact that does not appear in the O. T. But no collection of material upon the subject has ever been made accessible to the average instructor or student. The inclusion of the monograph as a small reference-book has become a necessity. It is in four chapters: "Four Thousand Years of Crete-Tarshish in North Africa"—"Pre-Dynastic Delta Dynasties; Tripoli the Economic Base of the Tahennu Pharaohs"—"Some Berber Ethnological and Sociological Terms"—"Minos and the Minotaur and the Anakim" (who are still familiar Berber officials.)

Dr. John A. Wilson of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago and Dr. Elihu Grant, of Haverford College have been pre-eminent in sympathetic collaboration; Dr. Wilson reading an early sketch of some of the Berber material, and urging an expansion for the ordinary student. Dr. Grant furnishing the invaluable Beth-Shemesh Excavations, and reading all the collecta bearing upon the Philistines.

ALLEN H. GODBEY

THIRD EDITION, SEPTEMBER, 1936

The new material is of great importance; evidence that the term "Hebrew" does not mean any race, but an economic class: Lachish inscriptions linking with Jeremiah; Ras Shamra evidence of dislike of the traders of the sea-coast ("Canaanites"); early forms of antiphonal Psalmody; Palestine men 100,000 years ago; Minoan Philosophers with Greek names; Hurrians in Gibeon. (Josh. 10); Lachish script same as at Samaria; Social Economics in the OT; Berber Legendary History Reaches Back 10,000 years; "Lot" in the Ras Shamra Epic; Where is the Tomb of Cheops? and various lesser items; approximately 20 pages of new material.

ALLEN H. GODBEY

PREFACE

1. The inductive method controlling these "Outlines" is that of the biological laboratory: the reverse of the lecture method. Instead of taking notes, a number of sources are pointed out: the student examines, and makes his own inferences.

It is related that a student under Agassiz announced a laboratory discovery. "Wonderful! wonderful, my boy! Did you find all that out by yourself?" But the student saw presently that Agassiz knew it already, and said so. "Yes, I did, my boy, but I wanted you to have the joy of making a discovery of your own!"

It is the business of a wise laboratory director to indicate to his students where they should look. Without his direction they will make few discoveries.

2. The method is that of the stern school life, which year by year crowds new facts into our little personal domains of supposedly settled things. The outcry of feeble minds afflicted with mental arteriosclerosis, when confronted with new facts, is an ancient tale--and a tiresome one.

3. The method is vindicated by experience. It has long been in use by directors of Biblical study. These present outlines have grown through eight successive years, with graduate students who had introductory Biblical lectures of the parrot-type. In every individual case they have said, "We ought to have had this first. This is the proper way to begin." There has been no exception. The opposition of instructors who lack both the equipment and experience with the method merits only contempt.

4. "I have no time to teach my classes Hebrew History: I only want to tell them of Israelite Religion" -- So a national figure has written me. With one who assumes that he can give the history of the religion without the history of the people, there can be no argument. He imagines and assumes all his history. Twenty-three years ago the writer was one of thirty who read the proof sheets of Louis Wallis' The Sociological Study of the Bible. Its fundamental weakness is the assumption that Israel brought all high ethical ideals into Palestine, and found none. But the modern Palestinian archaeologist knows the Israelite destroyers of cultured peoples (about 1200 B.C.) to be a rude people whose most prominent religious symbols were naked female figurines. The compiler of Josh. 24:2, 14, 15, 23, knew them as pagans, worshipping other gods east of the Euphrates. The compiler of Exodus 6:3 declares that the name Yahu (Jehovah; AV, LORD, in capitals) was never known to the patriarchs: but an Edomite name, El-Shaddai, was. This is reinforced by the fact pointed out long ago by G. B. Gray (Hebrew Proper Names) that of the hundreds of personal and place names in the Old Testament from the Exodus to David, not one is compounded with Yahu or Yo. Names like Hezek-Yah, Jeho-shaphat, are later. One who wishes to ignore such evidence cannot tell us the truth about the religious history of Israel.

5. "Why has the method of beginning with prehistory not been used before?" Because most teachers of the Old Testament were wholly unequipped. In more than 150 credit-courses I have had not one ministerial college graduate who had any instruction whatever in geology, elementary archaeology, ancient oriental history; and only one who could read a little German. And their previous Biblical instructors were often no better equipped. But our outstanding Old Testament scholars have been telling us for twenty-five years that the significant elements in Palestine lie in its pre-Israelite history. And present-day anthropologists announce that they deal, in Egypt and Palestine, with some folk-institutions not traceable to any people of historic times.

6. The fact calls for a certain adaptation of method in the following outlines. It is necessary in prehistoric or archaeological matters to state briefly such essential facts as the average student would not be likely to find out for himself; indicating sources from which a much fuller account may be gained. But in matters purely within the Old Testament text, the passages are grouped, and the student must be required to make his own constructive statement.

It may be recognized that such presentation of source material may be a little more than a paragraph of bibliography, as in sections 9, 10, and 15 of the Egypt-

tian "Outlines," but instructor and student will want to know where the information for extended consideration may be had.

7. A further adaptation of the method is necessary in cases where in important material is all in ancient language, which neither instructor nor student can read, and which no scholar has heretofore put together. Oftentimes there was no recourse but to translate and assemble it.

8. The above limitations in the knowledge of language also require that students and instructors shall not be sent to German sources of information, where English sources are available. Also, where an obscured fact depends upon some knowledge of a Hebrew term, it is necessary to classify the Old Testament passages. But the student should verify each citation. The paragraphs on "Rephaim" and "Canaanite" illustrate this point.

9. "Why are these "Outlines" limited to influences from the Mediterranean Sea, and to influences from Egypt?" --Because these are the influences systematically ignored, since the beginnings of modern scholarship. There is no historic record of any organized culture-immigrations from the Arabian deserts into Palestine, yet such are incessantly assumed. Our scholarly darkness with regard to influences from other regions has been like that of Egypt in Moses' time -- but not so ephemeral. It certainly can be felt, by those who try to enlighten it. It should be added that a study of Egyptian influences means a study of the Asia Minor influences, with which Egypt has battled from prehistoric times.

10. "Are our Bible Dictionaries reliable?" -- The compilation of Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible and of the Cheyne-Black Encyclopaedia Biblica (which bankrupted its editors) began forty years ago. They have been on the market more than thirty-five years. At the University of Chicago, within the first five years, Old Testament scholars said that one-third the articles in each could be grouped with still another third to be wholly re-written; then we would have a pretty good dictionary! But an immense body of information of the first importance has been gained since then: uncorrelated: in scholarly journals and reports.

11. "Why did we not have all this information before?" -- The Turkish Government was a chief reason. It seldom permitted scientific exploration. But since the World War, with Palestine under British mandate, Syria to the Harran area under French mandate, Mesopotamia to the Persian Gulf under British mandate, Central and Western Asia Minor under the Reform Turk movement of Kemal Pasha, the country is wide open to earnest and honest scholars: sometimes fifteen different exploring expeditions at work in Palestine in one season--turning up more new knowledge than we had gained in a thousand years.

Olmstead's invaluable History of Assyria, (1923) illustrates the point. Within a short time enough new material became available to enable Sidney Smith, of the British Museum, to write an equally large volume upon the Early History of Assyria, which Olmstead had not been able to touch. This in no way discredits Olmstead. Now there is enough more material to warrant another volume equally large.

12. "Why not give us all these new data in ready-digested form, like one of our popular modern histories?" -- Because it can't be done--not by any conscientious scholar. But the great finds each season only here and there link chronologically with each other or with discoveries already made. Every effort heretofore to cross a little time-gap with a plausible speculation has ended in failure. All archaeologists have made some interpretative mistakes. No single important new find has been forecast by any speculative "gap-filling" inference. Knight's Nile and the Jordan (fifteen years old) is pointed out to the student, in some paragraphs, as containing valuable original source-material, at the particular point. But Knight, not being a first-hand scholar, anxiously compiling shrewd guesses and interpretations of previous prominent scholars, has had about all these swept away by surprising discoveries since--and the student has to be warned not to accept much that Knight compiled, and in his own work not to go beyond the proven fact.

13. "Have we any satisfactory Hebrew History?" -- In the nature of the case, none. No competent scholar has tried to write one in the last twenty-five years. "We put these old histories on our reserve-shelves to be criticised, and lecture from our own notes of the rapidly accumulating new discoveries." So scholarly university Old Testament men have written me.

14. "Can one be a reliable teacher, or a reliable historian, without a first-hand acquaintance with the ancient languages and the ancient source material?" -- The query may be answered by Dr. W. F. Albright's review of the attempted History of Israel by the Englishmen, Theodore H. Robinson, and W. O. E. Oesterley. Dr. Albright spends seventeen pages of the Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society, 1932, (251 ff.) pointing out the swarming mistakes and the surprising omissions, of material well known to scholars. He pays this attention, because their work is likely "to remain standard text-books and books of reference throughout the English-speaking world for the next generation." By this Dr. Albright means that no competent scholar is likely to attempt such a work within that time:

Very specifically, in BASOR, February, 1934, Dr. Albright concludes a sketch of the notable discoveries in Palestine during 1933 thus: "From this very summary sketch it will be seen that archaeological excavation in Palestine and Syria has not even begun to reach the point of diminishing returns, and that discoveries of the greatest historical importance are still pouring in much faster than they can be assimilated by the historian."

15. Reverting to the review of Robinson and Oesterly in JPOS, of the necessary equipment for a historian, or university professor in the Old Testament field, Dr. Albright writes thus:

"These requirements are no longer insignificant. The unparalleled development of archaeological and epigraphical research in Palestine and neighboring lands, during the past century, has made it necessary for the serious historian of Israel to be at home in dealing with the language and literature of Egypt and Mesopotamia, as well as with the methods and results of the modern excavator. The historian of the Graeco-Roman period must be at home in the intricate fields of epigraphy and papyrology. If not an original investigator in these fields, the historian must in any case be able to appraise the work of Egyptologists and of Assyriologists, of epigraphers and of papyrologists, or archaeologists and topographers. It is naturally difficult for a single man to cover all these fields; for two men it should be possible. The foremost biblical historian of our generation, A. ALT of Leipzig, who occupies the chair of KITTEL, is perhaps the only man who fulfils all these varied requirements, being competent in dealing with Egyptology, cuneiform, Greek epigraphy, Byzantine literature, topography, ceramic chronology, etc. Not only, however, must the biblical historian be philologist and epigrapher; he must also be a historian in the modern sense of the term, a historian of social, economic, political, and cultural life, understanding and employing modern principles of historical induction. If these demands upon the biblical historian may seem excessive, let us consider the requirements justly made of a historian of modern Central Europe. He must have a satisfactory knowledge of all the important Teutonic and Slavic languages, of French and Italian, Latin and Greek; he must know histories of all the important European nations; he must be at home in political economy and science, in international law, in journalism, etc. With this equipment he must become a historian, not a mere compiler of facts. The greatest ancient historian of modern times, the late EDUARD MEYER, possessed an even greater equipment than this. His linguistic attainments included all important European languages, a perfect command of Greek and Latin, a good knowledge of Hebrew and Egyptian, a bowing acquaintance with cuneiform and with the Indo-Iranian tongues, as well as a grasp of the principles of modern comparative linguistics. In non-linguistic fields he possessed an extraordinary knowledge of political history, religious, literary, artistic, and cultural materials; economic, juristic, and social data, etc. Before Meyer wrote a history he nearly always published several monographs and books dealing with special problems, each of which he generally treated with such complete mastery that his preliminary discussion has become standard, or has at least remained fundamental.

The books before us are so far from attaining to the ideal which we have described in the paragraph above that we must, in justice to the original intentions of their authors, regard them as students' histories, and regret the secondary attempt to make them standard scholarly works. Though they are undoubtedly too large to serve the ordinary needs of students, their comprehensiveness is a good fault,

since the student will be brought into touch with many problems which could hardly have been sketched otherwise". Dr. Albright means that the student is offered unreliable information upon numerous matters of importance. The instructor who cannot deal at first hand with source material will be misled daily by the blunders of hack compilers who substitute their guesses for the needed facts. Their name is legion.

16. Philology is not needed by any student, for this work. The author had been long familiar with many languages and philological works when he began these courses thirty years ago with students who knew only English, or at most two years Latin, and he has continued to work with such, with their unanimous approval. Excessive philology long ago drove the Hebrew Old Testament out of Seminaries that once required it. A pedant pastor has been known to quote Hebrew in public prayer, then translate it so the Lord would understand.

There are places where the student should know what technical Hebrew term has been misused by translators. In such cases, like Rephaim and Canaanite, all the passages are given, and any student can see the use or misuse in the English Bible, without any philological discussion whatever.

17. New facts are to be immediately used in this method. The student is drilled in continual self-adjustment. This means annual revision of the Outlines, to include whatever new discoveries seem important. To learn what is important is in itself a discipline.

18. Much material of the first importance does not exist in English in any collected form. In such cases the author has had to translate or collect it. The equipped instructor will at once recognize and appreciate such sections: necessarily interpolated at the proper chronological point between sections that require some work by the student.

Out-standing illustrations of this necessity are "The Dead Sea in the successive Glacial periods (section 24b). "The Bones of the Giants" (Section 32b). The dramatic story of Labaya in the Tell-el Amarna Letters Sections 150-150c: 8 pages). It has not been presented heretofore by any historian in any language. Fragments published have ignored the key-letters, grossly perverting the whole history of the period. Then the presence of Ephraim in Egyptian records (Sec. 167-179b) has not been recognized heretofore.

Lastly, a great body of material proving the Red Berber activity in shaping the predynastic culture of the Egyptian Delta, Palestine, and the Eastern Mediterranean thousands of years before Semitic-speaking peoples reached the Mediterranean, has long existed. But it is not in usable pedagogic form. It has been found necessary to present a sixty-page sketch of it, following section 58.

19. Time and Place- These Outlines hold rigidly to the Chronological Sequence of events, so far as that relation is known. The well-equipped instructor needs no other index. And the student must learn to watch the dates of books and articles consulted; to know that certain books are worthless for a given point, because the essential facts were discovered later. A host of biblical instructors fail at this point.

The student must also locate all points on good maps, since "time and place are the two eyes of history". He should learn to make little sketch-maps to locate new points; or to make a little table of distances, stating how far A is from a known point like Jerusalem or Cairo.

20. The increase of material year by year does not change the method. A short survey of the whole can be made in college or high-school classes in one year. The courses began that way. A well-equipped instructor can give a year to each course in Graduate work, if he chooses, seeing points at which a thesis may be developed. Some biblical instructors have frankly acknowledged to the author their total lack of historical equipment.

21. There are biblical instructors who try to screen their own lack of equipment by saying that their college students are not prepared to do such work. The author began these historical surveys with High-School and Freshmen students and has found none

who could not do the work, nor get interested in it. See paragraph 3 again. Any instructor who "has the stuff" can give it out.

22. High-School Biblical Courses- The modern Biblical instructor must recognize that the pressure of intelligent demand is pushing into our High-Schools such Biblical courses as the author began with. Thirty-six State Universities now give entrance-credit for Biblical courses in High-Schools. Of 546 Colleges and Universities investigated in 1934 81% gave such credits: some for as much as two or three years work. But the work must be historical; not Sectarian didactics. (JNABI. 1934, Part II)

23. Qualifications for a Biblical instructor in a High-School are thus pointedly and constructively expressed by Dean Joseph C. Flynn, S.J. of the University of Detroit:

(A) The instructor must have a bachelor's degree from a recognized college, the equivalent of four years' training in Bible Study, at least five years of experience in High-School teaching, or working under a head who has had this experience.

(B) The content of the courses must show tangible objectives for each semester and year, must be cumulative, must not be pietistical or emotional; must be objective, not subjective.

(C) The method of teaching must be scientific". (JNABI. 1934, Part II).

There are Biblical instructors in theological seminaries who do not possess these qualifications for High-school instruction. College instructors announcing that the elementary facts in these outlines are "above the average college brain" advertise their own limitations. It is common for misled students to get a B. D. degree without any equipment for such Biblical instruction.

24. It is planned, as stated in paragraph 18, that these copyrighted Outlines shall be revised from year to year, to make available to all instructors and students in High-School, College, or University, all new discoveries that may seem important; and to place them in their proper chronological connection. The author accordingly invites the scholarly contribution of new facts, hoping that such annual "historical clearing-house" will gain scholarly approval and cooperation. Logomachies upon speculative matters will be excluded. Nor will time and space be wasted in pointing out the blunders of some scholars. The author has replied to more than one charge of oversight that the familiar case was passed in polite silence.

* * * * *

In conclusion, my hearty thanks are due to Dr. Ira M. Price, of the University of Chicago, who first read and approved and encouraged the publication of a preliminary form of these "Outlines" four years ago; and to Dr. Theophile J. Meek of the University of Toronto, Dr. W.C. Graham and Dr. Martin Sprengling of the University of Chicago, Dr. George L. Robinson of the McCormick Theological Seminary, Dr. James Alan Montgomery of the University of Pennsylvania, and Dr. George B. Winton of Vanderbilt University, who read and heartily approved the publication of an enlarged form of the "Outlines" three years ago; and to Dr. W.F. Albright of Johns Hopkins University for many prompt and cordial responses to inquiries upon points of practical interest. Finally my thanks are due to Dr. Elihu Grant of Haverford College, for carefully reading the important new chapters on the great pre-Semitic Red Berber culture, and other insertions in this second edition, and making useful suggestions concerning them.

Feb. 1, 1935.

Allen H. Godbey

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Instructors in colleges, large or small, will not be able to secure or use all the source-books employed in these "Outlines." And there are no old books of any value, because the "Outlines" are intended to make available the discoveries of the past twenty years. Each college should have translations of original documents, like Breasted's Ancient Records of Egypt, Luckenbill's Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia. For a "History of Israel," there is none. Those not using or discussing documentary speculations are to be preferred; such as Wade's Old Testament History (1901), or Price's Dramatic Story of Old Testament History (1929). For economic and social conditions that produce wars, there is no book. We do not know, in most cases, why Assyria plunged into some particular war. Comparatively new books, like Olmstead's, do not tell us that. Hence numbers 150 and 150b in the Egyptian "Outlines," translated from documents that few instructors can read, give a picture that cannot be put together from all the books that have been printed. As to the ethics and ideals in each cultus of the ancient world, we have scanty information. Dr. Cook can tell us what religious symbols and names are dug up, but this does not tell us the social system and ethical standards of the worshippers. We are but slowly feeling our way to the fountain heads of our current ideals and hopes and prejudices. In all this penumbral territory, each instructor who will first equip himself with all the known facts, may contribute a little to a clearer knowledge.

So in the following list, each English book or periodical that any school ought to have is marked with an asterisk; in some cases, a comment is added.

PERIODICALS

Associated Press: Dispatches and Special Correspondents. All exploring parties send reports to certain dailies. The London Times and The New York Times, with other New York papers, are regularly informed. The many such journals cited in these "Outlines" are not listed here. Each instructor should have a clippings bureau send him all important reports. The field-dispatches in these "Outlines" from American and foreign papers were furnished by The Argus Clippings Bureau, 352 Third Avenue, New York. Brief statements, "boiled down" by some editors, are seldom satisfactory.

- *AJA - American Journal of Archaeology.
- *A&A - Art and Archaeology.
- Ancient Egypt-Archaeologia.
- AJSL - American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.
- Asia.
- Antiquity.
- Annual of Smithsonian Institution.
- AFO - Archiv für Orientforschung.
- *AO - Archiv Orientalni.
- Biblica.- (Latin: at Rome).
- Biometrika.
- *British Museum Quarterly.
- *BASOR - Bulletin of American Schools of Oriental Research. (Four each year).
- Der Alte Orient.
- Forschungen und Fortschritte.
- Expository Times.
- Geographical Journal.

Harvard Theological Review.

- *ILN - Illustrated London News. (Of the first importance. Regular medium for the British Museum. Continental explorers also send it reports and photos. Reports in some cases published also by The London Times and The New York Times. For the wealth of illustration, each school should have a file of the last fifteen years.)
- L'Illustration. (Occasionally has same report as ILN, but not often).
- JAOS - Journal of the American Oriental Society. (For technical scholars only).
- JEA - Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.
- *JPOS - Journal of the Palestinian Oriental Society. (A valuable quarterly).
- JRAI - Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.
- JRAS - Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- JSOR - Journal of the Society of Oriental Research. (Discontinued).
- Journal Asiatique.
- Literary Digest.
- Methodist Quarterly Review.
- MDOG - Mittheilungen der Deutschen Orientalische Gesellschaft.
- MVAG - Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.
- Museum Journal of the University of Pennsylvania.
- Nature.
- Natural History.
- National Geographic Magazine.
- OLZ - Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung.
- PEFQ - Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly.

- PSBA - Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology. (Technical; discontinued, 1916.)
- *QDAP - Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine.
- RA - Revue Archaeologique.
- Revue d'Assyriologie.
- Revue de Deux Mondes.
- Revue Biblique.
- RHR - Revue de L'Histoire des Religions Science.
- *SNL - Science News-Letter.
- Sci. Am. - Scientific American.
- Syria (French)
- TSBA - Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology. (Technical; became PSBA.)
- ZATW - Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.
- ZDMG - Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandische Gesellschaft.
- ZDPV - Zeitschrift der Deutschen Palästina Vereins.

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- *ARA - Luckenbill, D. D., Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia, Chicago; 1926
- Luckenbill, D. D., Annals of Sennacherib, Chicago; 1924
- *ARE - Breasted, J. H., Ancient Records of Egypt, Chicago; 1906-07
- *ANF - Ante-Nicene Fathers.
- *CAH - Cambridge Ancient History.
- *DB - Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible.
- ERE - Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
- EAL - Knudtzon, J. A., Die El-Amarna Tafeln, Leipzig, 1915 (Two volumes; 1614 pages; Akkadian and German)
- *HAE - Breasted, J. H., History of the Ancient Egyptians, New York, 1908 (Not illustrated. His larger History of Egypt, New York, 1912, is profusely illustrated. Discoveries of past twenty-five years are not included.)
- *LTM - Godbey, A. H., The Lost Tribes a Myth, Durham, North Carolina; 1930. (Showing the wide dispersion of Israelites in pre-exilic times. It is invaluable in connection with these "Outlines", which make that fact clearer.)
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- 20-c. Jebel Qafze Levalloisian Man.
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- 180. The Capture Of Little Jericho.
- 180-a. Further Explorations At Jericho--Reported May 1935.
- 180-b. Albright's Statement Of Stratification--AJA Jan-March 1935.
- 180-c. Pere Vincent Reviews The Finds: *Revue Biblique* Oct.1935, pp.583-605.
- 180-d. Pere Vincent On The Distribution Of Ghassulian.
- 180-e. Capture Of Little Jericho Coincident With Capture Of Bethel.
- 180-f. Where Was Bethel Of Jeroboam I, IK.13: Beth-On Of Hosea: Bethel Of Amos 7:10?
- 180-g. Confusion Of Israelite And Pre-Israelite Stories.
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- 181. Rameses II Begs Hittite King For Iron.
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- 223. Uahib-Ra', 588-566: Greek "Apries": OT "Hophrah".
- 223-a. Introducing Military Despatches From Lachish.
- 223-b. Lachish Script Of Rameses II Time Undecipherable.
- 223-c. The Time Of The Siege-Letters Recovered at Lachish.
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- 224. Hophra And Nebuchadrezzar--Yahwism At A Parting Of The Ways.
- 225. Egypt Shapes The Christian "Future Judgement".
- 226. The Onias Temple (Of Josephus).
- 227. Early Christian Art And Alexandrian Judaism.
- 228. Christian Liturgies--Egypt And Babylonia Divide Them.

TOPICAL INDEX OF PROLEGOMENA AND MINOANS IN SOUTH PALESTINE.

1. Philosophy of History in Hebrews 1:1.
2. Old Testament Terms like "Hittite, etc. Not Ethnological.
3. Greek Terms like Phoinix ("Phoenician") or "Syria" Not Ethnological.
(Phoinix is any "Red-Skin" people. "Syria" includes many).
4. Cultures of unknown Provenance. (Arabia not the source of Megaliths).
5. Cultus-Groves of Unknown Provenance. (None in Arabia. Many in North Syria, Armenia, Caucasus).
6. No Pre-Joshua History of any people in The Old Testament.
7. Misuse of the Term "Semitic" (Error of Robertson Smith).
8. Origin and purpose of the term "Semitic." (Invented by Eichhorn as a philological term-not ethnological).
9. Arabic not the oldest "Semitic" Language (All assumptions of South Arabian origin have been without evidence.)
10. Ethnologists Repudiate South Arabian "Semites". (All explorers who have penetrated South Arabia find the early population was Hamitic. No "Semitic race" discovered anywhere).
11. "Amorites" not "Semitic" (Corrects A.T. Clay, Amurru, The Home Of The Northern Semites, Various Hamitic "Amûr, Amri," In South Arabia).
12. More from Bertram Thomas (On Non-Arab peoples In South Arabia).
13. Sheba The First South Arab Kingdom. (Hamitic till Solomon's Time).
14. No "Arabs" In the Cuneiform Inscriptions (All the data presented).
15. No "Arabs" In the Old Testament. (Mixed peoples": "western peoples" No genealogy of "Arabs" in Genesis).
16. The method of Robertson Smith (Totally ignorant of anthropology or defiant of it. He and Wellhausen contrast sharply with Sir Edwin B. Tylor)
17. The Stone Age in Palestine. (Human products in geological strata to be considered).
18. Summary of such evidence, to 1930 (Duncan's Digging up Biblical History: Cook, Religions of Ancient Palestine in The Light of Archaeology).
19. Natufian: Wady Shukbah (A Mesolithic, non-Arabian, agricultural people of 20,000 years ago. Found in Natûf-cave by Miss Dorothy Garrod).
20. Athlit--Wady Mughârah--Cave of the Oven--(Four caves on western slope Carmel, 20 miles west of Nazareth. Five years of excavations. Five ancient strata, reading back 75,000 years. Twelve formal burials in the lowest.)
- 20-b. Further Wady Mugharah Discoveries (Carmel men 100,000 years ago gathered and traded (?) wild wheat.-Complete series of strata 70 feet thick--Pottery 8,000 years ago Cleaned skeletons about 100,000 years old).
- 20-c. Neuville's survey of Palaeolithic Palestine (French Consul at Jerusalem: for years foremost in correlating the prehistoric finds. Hand-Axe men from the south; knife-edge men from the north: expelled by glacial periods).
21. Neanderthal or Not? (Earlier speculations about the Carmel men).
22. Mesolith Agriculturists of Wady El-Mughârah. (Their implements, ornaments, cooking in "potholes". No pottery.)
23. Mugharet El-Kebârah: Mesolithic (Ten miles south of the Carmel cave. Lower Natufian implements-30,000 years old? Harpoons show they had big "water-game").
24. Wady Khreitûn petroglyphs--(Seven miles southeast of Bethlehem. Lower Natufian cave, hundreds of feet above Dead Sea. Pictures of ancient game, including hippopotami. Were the hippos there?)
- 24-a. The Dead Sea in The Successive Glacial Periods. (Water stood 1400 feet higher in the above time: 800 feet deep over Sea of Galilee--Game of Tropical Africa,--Never Any Glacial Age in Palestine).
25. Teleilat el-Ghassûl: Not Sodom. (Site 3½ miles north of Dead Sea: 3 Miles east of Jordan, Great ash-beds made the discoverer think he had found "Sodom." Strata from Natufian to Lowest Jericho stage. Last city burned 3,000 B.C. or earlier. Polychrome wall painting).
26. Jebel Tubaik Petroglyphs (In Trans-Jordan. Drawings of Animals, probably of the same age as those of section 24).
27. Summary of Aboriginal culture. (No Arabian elements found. The Closest relations are with the prehistoric Berbers of North Africa).
28. Early threshing of grain (Clubs, flails, ox-trampling, sledge, in succession).
29. What Institutions will Agriculture Produce? (Study Exodus 20-23).
30. Did this Agricultural cave-people really persist? (Palestine Archaeologists agree that it did).
31. Can Cave-People become Town Builders? (All stages of development on single sites.)

32. Are there Traditions In the OT of these Aborigines? (Special consideration of the Term Rephaim - who were not "giants".)
- 32-a. The Bones of the "Giants" - Not Human bones (How ignorant humanity explains huge fossil bones as the bones of gigantic men).
33. Can These OT Rephaim Have been near the time of the Israelite conquest of the region?
34. Recurring to section 4. (The Field Museum Expedition - finds none of this Megalithic culture in northern Arabia).
35. What were these people called? (Some excavators venture the term "Amorite." This should not be the same as Amurru: a cuneiform term for any "western people.-- "Amorite" founders of Jerusalem).
- 35-b. The Sumerian "Amorites" (The Sumerian "Amurru" state, north of the Lebanon: MAR. TU; MARAT; Marathos of the Greeks; "Amrit of modern Arabs.)
- 35-c. Are Southern OT Amorites The Amrrhi of the Berber Tuareg? (Any politically inferior, unprivileged, or subject peoples).
36. Consider The Amorites In The Old Testament (Student collates all passages).
37. Prepare to consider The Minoan-Philistine Southern Highway.
38. The Immemorial Trade-Route. (From Gaza to Beersheba: Kurnub to Aqabah: map).
39. Tell El-Ajjûl Estuary Filled up. (Ancient great harbor near Gaza. Description of the slow filling of the Ancient Beersheba Basin - Then elevation of it).
40. Tell El-Ajjûl The Ancient Beth-Eglaim.
41. Gezer as a "Sea--peoples" Emporium (Presence of Mycenaean, Cypriote and other traders among the "aboriginals" who in time made a town of their cave-site).
42. Beth-Eglaim-Gaza. (Petrie discovers largest known port of the ancient world).
43. The Hyksos Element At The Tell el-Ajjûl seaport.
44. "Amorites" Persist while masters change (Petrie finds four successive invading, trading masters by Hyksos times. None "Semitic?" Yet the old aboriginal people persist. Consider again the suggestion in 35-c.)
45. Palace-Succession At the seaport (Petrie finds five palace-levels down to 1935. One necropolis he would date 5500 B.C.).
46. Excavations of 1933. (Nearly 200 types of pottery in five levels: an unsurpassed variety from many traders. Some of unknown provenance. Egyptian official tomb held by same family from 1358 BC till Rameses II period).
47. Gaza in the El-Amarna Letters (Akkadian vernacular writes Khazâtî).
48. Gerar (Petrie finds a great grain-market and Metallurgical center).
49. Sharuhén: Wady es-sheriah ("Watering-places" for cattle. The OT names for it. Strategic frontier post on roads to Gerar and Hebron).
- 49-a. Beth-Shemesh A northern Minoan Frontier Trade-Post (Shortest route from Northern Philistia to Jerusalem or Bethel. Of outstanding significance as a center of the Minoan-Philistine Sun-Cult: see the Samson Stories. Excavating by Dr. Elihu Grant, Haverford College).
50. Tell-Fara--Beth-Pelet: The Pelethites. (Known in Greek times as a Minóis - a fact of outstanding importance relative to the persistence of Minoan Culture in Palestine. Second: an outstanding site of Paleolithic culture: passing into Neolithic with chopped straw pottery).
51. "Amorite" Permanence At Beth-Pelet: and "Caleb" (The persistence of aborigines suggests 35-c again. Clay dog-figures suggest "Caleb". Egyptian chancellor named Hur: cf. 1: Chron. 2:18-20).
52. Beth-Pelet The Long-Lost Hyksos capital. (Greatest surprise of all. Graves of 25 Hyksos kings not known before. Iranians: not "Semites." New Chronological problems).
53. Beth-Pelet a key to the Minoan Grain-Basket (See map Sinai, at the back of this book).
54. Beersheba Basin unexplored. (Should show Mesolithic agriculture, with commercial successors, like Tell Beit-Mirsim in the highlands, where 11 successive cities were burned).
55. Southern Extension of Cretan-Minoan Control (cf. Sections 53, What was Minoan relation to Egypt?--Our "Egypt" not the OT "Egypt." The OT always speaks of "Two Mutsris." Sinai Peninsula was one. See map).
56. The Fort of the Midbar-Shur (Sea-Terminus of Wady El-Arish An Egyptian border seaport for 2500 years. Zoar of Gen. 13:10).
57. Thâru-Zoar Long outlived the Tell el-Ajjûl Port. (Terminus in Medeba Mosaic-near 600 AD).
58. Survey of Race-Sequence, Commingling and Trade Routes completed.

Here students should read rapidly the interpolated monograph on the Pre-Semitic Red Berber-Minoan Culture, which follows Sect.58, in order to appreciate the actual presence and influence of Minoan culture in Southern Palestine, down into early Christian centuries.--Then they may resume the following 59-132, studying the Old Testament data.

59. Read Hastings' Dictionary and other passee authorities.
60. Can JEDP documentary speculations discover any archaeological data?
61. Note the Philistine origins mentioned in The OT.
62. Who were the Anakim, "Anak-folk in the OT? (All passages cited).
63. How many Anak strongholds? (Compare "Minos and the Minotaur" chapter, section U).
64. Other Anakim and Caphtorim (Egyptian Cursing-Texts).
65. Anak with Caphtor in the Cuneiform. (Sargon of Akkad).
66. Anak an official Red Berber Title; still in use.
67. Anak known to Christian Fathers as an official title: connected with Ángas.
68. Akkadian Anaku, "tin, lead", Not connected with the Anak-Official).
69. The OT Extension of Minoan-Philistine Domain.
70. Hyksos In This Area In the Old Testament. (OT "Horse-Towns").
71. Minoans Link Palestine To Other Lands (Egyptian Tomb-Paintings).
72. Cretan and Carian in The Old Testament. (Temple-Guardsmen-All OT.passages).
73. Foreign Levites control (To above add Zephaniah, Ezekiel, etc., etc.).
74. First Egyptian Notice of Philistines (Rameses III).
75. Older Philistine Colonists Oppose the New Settlers.
- 76-a. The Philistine Tserán, Serán: Greek "Tyrant" Regular title of a Philistine "City-lord" in the OT. A preferred form of government in Josephus time-Occurs in other Minoan colonies).
- 76-b. Is Serán, Sarnê, of Egyptian Origin? (The Jewish scholar Eitan suggests that the title was borrowed from Egypt. Then it might be from Red Berber Egyptians).
77. Expulsion of Hyksos from Philistia (With burning Askalon and Ashdod, 1550 B.C.).
78. Persian names in Palestine After Hyksos Expulsion (A long list from the El-Amarna Letters, 1400 B.C. shows these Iranians still unassimilated, 150 years after the fall of their empire).
79. Skeptical Documentary Analyses (Of JEDP school. What is the value of their criticism of the Abram-Isaac stories, in the face of new facts about Philistine official titles?)
80. Lines of Kings of same name (Continued exposure of the fallacy of above skepticism).
81. Egyptian Law seized Families (Of Official Immigrants. Further exposure of fallacy).
82. Mycenaean And Achaian-Hivite. (Mycenaean may have been a Pelasgic culture. The name does not occur in the OT, but their culture came in with Thothmes III: Egyptian Section 120ff).
83. Mycenaeans as "Canaanites" (OT evidence that "Canaanite" is a term applied to different peoples or races. Usually "coastlander."
84. "Sons of Ham" Gen. 10:16 means "Vassals of Khêmi" (Egypt). Canaan included.
85. The Pre-Conquest "Canaanites" coastal Peoples (The OT passages presented).
86. All foreign Traders "Canaanites" (All The OT passages collated).
87. Pre-Exilic Israel never reached the sea-coast. (OT. passages).
88. Canaan is "Coast-land" in Hastings' D.B.
89. Israel Begins struggle with the Philistines. (Earliest OT. passages).
90. Edomite Power older than Israelite (Section 51. Gen 36: Caleb-stories, etc. Judah struggles to hold an Edomite Sea-port).
91. East Edom and West Edom.
92. Philistine-Edomite Fusion. (Early David-Stories).
93. Edom Absorbs The Late Philistia (Maccabean Times, Josephus, etc.
94. First Philistine Oppression (Earlier Judges stories).
95. Second Philistine oppression: The Samson Stories.
96. Third Saga: The Eli-Shiloh stories.
97. Fourth Period. Samuel-Saul stories. (Recent Excavation of Gibeah).
98. Saul makes Israel's Political power. (The OT. passages).
99. Fifth period. David as A Philistine Vassal. Judah at peace, Israel at war.
100. The Cretans save the David-dynasty. (The OT. passages).
101. David's Pelethites and Cretans against the Later Philistines.
102. Beth-Pelet Restored (Excavations prove that a line of Philistine lords ruled there from 1320 B.C. to 1100 or later. These ancient colonists of "Minois" backed David (?). Cretan pottery in their tombs.

103. What became of Gath? (OT passages down to its disappearance).
104. Earlier Lost Gaths (Gath a Masoretic mispointing of Gintu of which name there are several towns in El-Amarna Letters. "Gittite" as a "citizen" is correct).
105. Egypt, opposing Scythian Invasion, 640 B.C. ff, mistress of Philistia. (OT evidence).
106. From Isaiah to Ezra, 720-400 B.C. (OT passages).
107. Yahu-cult at Gaza, 400 B.C. (Nehemiah and Zechariah opposing factions. See "Minos and Minotaur" chapter, Q-18ff).
108. A Yehûd state-No Yahu Jar-Handles. (Suknik's inscriptional evidence that Nehemiah was establishing a "Judah" high-priest state, excluding non-Jews).
109. The Philistine Type survives in Palestine. (R. N. Salaman, Jewish ethnologist and biologist, reports extensive researches).
- 109-a. Shifting Boundaries of Edom and Judah (Discoveries of forts and mines in Moab-Edom to Gulf Aqabah, 1934, by joint expedition of 4 societies. Their bearing on Edomite elements in Cultus).
- 110 to
116. Edomite Elements in Jewish cultus: Tabernacle, Priests, Ritual and Literature.
117. Survey Glotz; Evans 'Palace Of Mines'. Excavations Tall Arpachiyah 1933, discover one probable ancestor of the Minoan culture.
- 118-
132. Minoan Elements compared with Palestine Liturgy and Arts.

PART ONE

MINOAN-PHILISTINE-AEGAEAN INFLUENCES IN SOUTH
PALESTINEA. Cultural and Ethnological Prolegomena.

1. "God, who at various times and with different fragments spoke unto the fathers in times past," begins the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

This is a philosophy of providence in history that transcends all racial, tribal, national, sectarian, creedal or ecclesiastical limitations. It is glimpsed again in Acts 10:34. It asserts that many a kingdom and tribe and religion may have contributed to the stock of religious ideas and institutions that we now cherish. We trace some of them to "Hebrew" voices; but who are the various peoples that composed the Hebrew-speaking, Pre-Israelite, Pre-Judah Palestine? We must know with what peoples and cultures the invading Israel of Joshua (about 1200 B.C.) became amalgamated.

2. OT Names not Ethnological.

Such inquiry forces upon us both questions of fact and questions of method. The Old Testament thrusts many strange names upon us (e.g., Hittites, Amorites, Moabites, Arkites, Hivites, Horites, Ammonites, Amalekites, Perizzites, Gergesites, etc.) as the names of Pre-Israelite peoples. Are these racial or ethnological terms? names by which some ancient people called themselves? Or are they merely geographical or regional terms? It may be observed at once that the term "Hittite," a "stone of stumbling" to historians and to Biblical expositors for more than 2,000 years is now well known to be a political-geographical term, meaning any people dominant in a certain north-central Asia Minor area at a given time. But political, racial, and cultural hegemony changed several times in this area; so that the term "Hittite" in the OT does not always mean the same people and culture. The elementary English student of the OT, not knowing such facts, usually has unconscious ethnological presuppositions and assumptions which are in his way. Many, for illustration, assume that "Jew" (which is not an OT term) is a racial term--and so are lost at the outset.

3. Greek Terms not Ethnological.

The same fact confronts us in a few terms which we have accepted from the Greeks, notably in the case of "Phoenician," "Syrian," and "Arab." The Greek term phoinix means "red-skin." It has no linguistic, cultural, political, or geographical limitations. Greeks of the classic period grouped all the bronzed peoples east of the Mediterranean under this term. To assume one peculiar people, culture, language and political organization is to be wholly astray. (See Introduction to Evans' Palace of Minos.) The student should remember that there is no term in the Hebrew OT that can be ethnologically or politically translated "Phoenicia." We have the names of various coast towns, of various peoples and languages along the coast that Greeks much later called "Phoenician." But the OT gives no hint of different peoples and cultures in the earlier days of such towns.

Similarly, Herodotus introduces the term "Syria," explaining that he means the whole area from the east end of the Black Sea southwest to Egypt, and thence to about the middle of the south coast of the Black Sea. So the "Syria" of Herodotus includes more than a dozen different peoples, cultures and languages. But our modern western geographers give the name "Syria" to the area north of Palestine, from the Mediterranean east to the Euphrates and Damascus. But by the term "Syriac" scholars mean a peculiar Eastern Aramaic dialect and cursive script that developed in a late period of the Assyro-Babylonian area. All this is somewhat confusing to the new student. As for the misused term "Arab," that will be considered a little later.

4. Cultures of Unknown Origin or Provenance.

In the first section we saw that the early church was challenged to accept the doctrine of a partial and progressive revelation of truth, coming through various cultural agencies; and that this compels an effort at fair evaluation of the various elements with which the church was in contact, even at the cost of personal peril, as in Luke 4:24-30. (Compare Luke 7:2-10; Matt. 8:10-12; Mark 3:31-35).

But if the OT presents us many names with no cultural or ethnological evaluation of them, driving us to extra-Biblical sources for information, it also thrusts upon us cultus and cultural elements of unknown provenance or racial origin. Some religious institutions opposed by the great prophets are proven by modern explorations to be those of nameless immigrant or invasive cultures; they are not aboriginal. Deut. 12:1-9 and 2K:23 voice a prophetic protest against some immemorial megalithic Mazzebôt or "standing-stones"--tomb-pillars. These menhirs and the associated dolmen-tombs and cromlechs are still found by the thousands in parts of Palestine, and are scattered across North Africa to the Atlantic. But modern research has discovered that they are not found through the Arabian Peninsula. Henry Field's explorations (Field Museum) have revealed the fact that they are not found east of the Hedjaz railway -- the eastern boundary of the Biblical Moab-Ammon-Bashan. They show us a culture that is not Arabian or "Semitic," as so often miscalled; allied with an ancient culture in North Africa. Survivals of it occur in modern Judaism.

5. Cultus-Groves of Unknown Provenance.

Another outstanding feature in OT prophet-complaint is the evergreen or "wide spreading" tree (dense-topped). It is still a prominent feature in Palestine, and is often hung with votive rags. Originating often as "monument trees," like Deborah's "oak of weeping" (Gen. 35:8) the time could come when the name of the resident human spirit was forgotten, and the tree would be merely "an oak of oracle" for Abram (Gen. 12:6. AV wrongly "Plains" of Moreh). Or there might be a grove or clump of them, not more definitely known, as ages pass, than the one in northern Palestine now called Benât Yakob, "Daughters of Jacob."

But in all these we have an institution that is not found in the Arabian Peninsula. It did not come out of Arabia. The "sacred tree" is far more prominent in Northern Syria than in Palestine. The missionaries Smith and Dwight 100 years ago, (Missionary Researches in Armenia) reported sacred groves a chief feature of the Armenian hills; worshipped from afar, their empty shrines visited rarely, sometimes only once in ten years. More recently we know these sacred groves extend into the upper glens of the Caucasus Mountains. (See Marion F. Wasserman, "Free Svanetia": Asia, Feb. 1927). They came from that direction into Palestine. A course in "Pre-Mosaic Hebrew Religion" finds enough suggested by these and by the foregoing megaliths for a year's work. Our present concern is only to record that these features of the OT are neither Minoan, Egyptian, aboriginal or "Semitic."

6. No Pre-Joshua History.

The student will observe that there is no attempt at even a sketch of the history of Egypt in the OT. There is not a hint of the thousands of years of pre-Israelite Palestine. Nothing whatever is told of the various peoples and cultures of Asia Minor. Thousands of years of the history of Assyria, Babylon, and other imperial cities of that region are unknown. So of the great regions still farther east, north, and south. Still more striking is it that though we have a legendary ancestor Abram (= "Ancestor"), we have no hint of the kind of culture in which he grew up, and from which he migrated. From the cuneiform inscriptions we know that Terah (Gen. 11:24-32) is the name of a god in the land of Harran: with Akkadian nominative case-ending, Tarhu. Yet we get no hint of the culture or of any religious cult in Harran. Nor do we get any suggestion of an idea or motive impelling Terah to leave Ur-Casdim (Gen. 11:31; a name that could not have existed till 1000 years after the supposed time of Abram. See Hastings' DB, "UR.") It is curious that other passages make Abram the one who wanted to leave Ur. But in the Palestine tales of Abram we get no hint of any idea that he wishes to impart to his new neighbors. In Ex. 6:3 we are told that the name El Shaddai was known to him, but not the name Yahu (ASV, "Jehovah"). Not a hint do we get of any peculiar cultus institutions. Finally Joshua is portrayed in Josh. 24:2, 14, 15, 23, as saying "Your fathers served other gods beyond the River," -- (Euphrates?) but there is not a line of description of

this ancestral cultus. Again we are dependent upon extra-Biblical sources for much that we want to know.

7. Misuse of the Term "Semitic."

"To understand the Hebrew religion we must draw upon the widest possible fields of illustration, not even limiting it, as too zealous followers of Robertson Smith were at one time inclined to do, to what he called 'Semitic Religion,' a term which in view of the striking similarities between the ideas underlying the cults of the various countries round the Mediterranean basin, obviously needs enlarging. The Old Testament is to be read in the light of the religions of the peoples contemporary with it, as also in the light of those later indeed in time, but of similar religious development." -- L. E. Binns in JTS, July, 1931, p. 414 (reviewing S. A. Cook's Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology).

8. Origin and Purpose of the Term.

In Gen. 10 and 11 is an effort to explain some people known to the compiler as being the descendants of three hypothetical brothers, Shem, Ham and Japhet. Actually, peoples of widely different stocks, languages, and cultures are grouped as descendants of one ancestor. (See Hastings' DB.) But about 150 years ago the German scholar and commentator Eichhorn proposed to use the name of Shem to designate a group of very peculiar allied languages: Hebrew, Phoenician, West Aramaic, East Aramaic or Syriac, classic Arabic, Ethiopic or Amharic. Since then there have been added to the group Akkadian or Assyro-Babylonian, Katabanian, Hadramautic, Sabaeen, Minaean, Nabatean, Lihyan, etc. No racial suggestions were made by Eichhorn; his proposition was purely philological. The oldest records since recovered show Aramaic or Hebrew or Akkadian spoken by much mixed peoples, and we do not know from which element in the mongrel populations the popular language came. We cannot put our finger upon a definite "Semitic race."

9. Arabic Not the Oldest of the Group.

With the rise of modern comparative philology, about the middle of the last century, Semitic scholars sought to parallel what was known of the Indo-European languages. Of these, the Sanskrit was at first thought the "mother"; finally the "oldest sister." So the classical Arabic of the Koran was at first "guessed" to be the oldest Semitic language. Therefore, South Arabia had the oldest "Semitic" people; all things "Semitic" periodically "boiled" out of South Arabia when it grew over-crowded. No scholarly traveller had ever penetrated the South Arabian peninsula; there were no observed facts, no recovered records, to support the speculation. The student who knows only English may see old books and scholarly articles dominated by this exploded speculation. It is enough for this place to know: (1) that Semitic philologists have long abandoned it, and that they now know the Akkadian (2800 B.C.) or Assyro-Babylonian to be a much older form of Semitic speech than the Arabic of the Koran; (2) That careful and critical historians have steadily repudiated the use of the term "Semitic" as a racial one. They do not know any "Semitic race." (See Richardson, AJSL Oct. 1929; Gsell, HAAN vol. iv, 177; CAH Vol. i, 188) Buxton and Rice, in JRAI. 1931, p. 74, note). But we have hack-commentators and expository scribblers who know neither ethnology nor anthropology nor the history of progressive Biblical research. The student should remember that titles like Barton's Semitic Origins and Robertson Smith's Religion of the Semites and Curtiss' Primitive Semitic Religion Today are expressions of an exploded speculation and of an outworn nomenclature.

10. Ethnologists Repudiate South Arabian "Semites."

Ethnological expeditions into South Arabia (Yam, Asir, Yemen, Tihama, Hadramaut, etc.) report that the aboriginal culture, peasantry, and villager population is everywhere Hamitic, like eastern Somali peoples, speaking a non-Arabian language: the Arabs being an intrusive gentry from the north. "Tribe-towns" are all Hamitic. (Carl Rathjens, with Dr. Wissman and Mile. Apitz, Revue Asiatique, 1929, 141 ff; E. Glaser, 52 years ago; Bertram Thomas, in recent exploration of Ruba'a el-Khali; the Italian Giuffrè da Ruggeri; Eduard Naville, Egyptologist; and Norwegian Egyptologist Lieblein, 80 years ago; Niebuhr, in 1763, cited by Hogarth, p. 143; R. E. Cheesman, Geog. Journal,

1925, p. 125; In Unknown Arabia, 254; Ameen Rihani, Arabian Peak and Desert; Philby, In the Heart of Arabia, s. v. Murra and Awamir). Herodotus and the Arab geographer Ibn Khaldoun also declared the "Puni" came from the South Arabia. "Arab" culture there begins with the southward push of the Minaean Kingdom (Maonites of Judg. 10:12) building on an older Hamitic culture. "To speak of Semites as a Bedawi overflow from Arabia is beside the mark"; (See S. A. Cook in CAH I: 191, bottom).

"There is no evidence of any northward migration from Arabia before Nabatean times" (about 500 B.C.) "All previous historic movements are from the north, into Arabia, forced by migrations from Asia." (J.P. Peters, "Home of the Semites" in JAOS, 1919, pp. 243-260) "It is high time that the Semitic hobby should, if not entirely disappear, at least cease to be the ruling element in the reconstruction of early Egyptian history." (Eduard Naville, PSBA p. 213 note) "There is a growing tendency to exaggerate the preponderance of Semitic influence in Eastern Libya. It has been long well-established that such place-names of Africa Minor as are not of Punic, Greek, or Roman origin were Berber." (not Arabic). (Orric Bates, PSBA, 1912, p.234f). "There was no uniform racial stock or physical type in ancient Arabia. So-called 'Semitic peoples' are the racially mixed population of Southwestern Asia; a social group of mixed ancestry . . . Nor were these uniform in culture and institutions . . . In the widest sense, all those that adopted a language of Semitic origin. In the narrower sense, therefore, it was a social group of relatively backward type: in the broader sense it includes all Semitic-speaking peoples: in neither sense does it imply a race, as understood in physical anthropology." (DeLacy O'Leary, Arabia Before Mohammed, p. 15.) Cf. Buxton and Rice, JRAI, 1931, 74, Note)

11. "Amorites" not "Semitic."

The above facts enable us to deal decisively with the theory of a great "Semitic Amorite" empire and the notion that Hammurabi of Babylon was an "Amorite." (See A. T. Clay, Amurru, The Home of the Northern Semites, 1909.) And we find the meaning of the savage Amurru reported in a religious text from Nippur, about 2700 B.C.

"On the mountain the weapon is his companion,
To catch meat he crosses over the mountain.
What is good he does not know;
He eats uncooked meat.
While he lives he has no house,
His dead companion he does not bury.
In the land (?) his protector (?) is the god Amurru.
-- (Barton, 1925 edition, p. 539)

Also in the reign of Libit-Ishtar in Southern Babylonia, 2270 B.C. we are told of the savage Amurru breaking in from the south; they submitted to Ibi-Sin 100 years later. (Museum Journal, 1926, p. 374)

Now the explorers cited in the preceding paragraph show us these wild peoples beginning at Jabrin, 200 miles south-west of the Gulf of Bahrein, and ranging south to the Gulf of Aden. Northernmost are the Murra (singular, Marri). These are the Aal Morra of Hogarth, whose emphasis in 1904 upon the fact that up to that time the Empty Quarter had never been crossed adds to the value of the recent explorations. (Penetration of Arabia, 139, 147, 171, 333 ff.) South through the Empty Quarter, are their enemies, 'Awamir (singular, 'Amir) and the 'Amur (singular 'Amri). Philby (2:227) reports the Murra as one element of a tribal confederation, the Ahl Yam, centered in the Najran, and only recently touched by Islam: the wild 'Awamir living on camel-milk and Oryx-meat and with little clothing (p. 222). Cheeseman later reported the Murra whom he saw as pagan in 1921, and knowing very little Arabic, while the 'Awamir speech was not Arabic but "a series of grunts." (Vide Supra: also Philby 2:118, 176, 182, 188, 204, 217, 222, 229 f.) Bertram Thomas, who spent 15 years in Arabia ere he crossed the Empty Quarter from the south, reports the languages as Hamitic, of the Mehri and Sokotri group. The case for "Semitic Amorites" is lost!

(It should be said that the French coffee merchants of St. Malo who reached Sanaa in 1712 learned that the whole interior of the Empty Quarter was inhabited by Mahri-speaking peoples, for it is so marked on La Roque's map, 1712, and D'Anville's, 1755. But Hogarth, p. 213, never grasped the fact that Mahri is not Arabic!)

12. More from Bertram Thomas, 1929-1932.

More fully in the JRAI (1929, Jan. to June p. 97: 1932, Jan. to June, pp. 83-95) Thomas reports aboriginal non-Semitic peoples of four languages. The name "Arab" was not ethnic, with the desert folk. "From what Arabs are you?" he was often asked! It meant only "desert folk." He quotes Maitland, British resident in Aden, about 1900: "The tall hawk-faced 'Arab' (as we call him) from the north is only a Must-Areb for these Southern people: 'Arab' by adoption, or naturalization."

Thomas reports that the following non-Arabic-speaking tribes, Qara, Mahra, Shahrara, Barahama, Bil Haf, Afar, Bit Astart, Harasis and Afar are nomadic; the Bautahara are fishers. The others form a solid block of mountain-folk, with a common, unique, non-Arabic culture. There are other mountain folk, of the same brachycephalic type, and like culture, who are now speaking Arabic: the Manahil, 'Awâmir ('Amûr), Sa'ar, Mashai, Hamumi and Yafi. He quotes Ibn Batuta (AD 1325 ff.) who visited Dhufar and said that its people were like those of N.W. Africa in customs, and that the inland population was not Arab, but of Sudanic type.

13. Sheba the First South Arab Kingdom.

In Section 10 reference was made to the explorations of Rathjens and von Wissman in 1927-29, published in 1929. Arnaud in 1843 and Halévy in 1869 had learned a little of Saba-Yemen at great risk; afterwards the Austrian scholar Glaser, in 1888, gathered many inscriptions which have not yet been made available to the general public. In 1927-28 Rathjens and von Wissman excavated the temple of a Sabaeen Sun goddess, Dhât Bahdân, at Hugga, 25 miles north of Sana'a, the present capital of Yemen. Its period was from 300 B.C. to 300 A.D.

In 1931, they made a second expedition. They brought home about 2000 inscriptions and 500 specimens. "The site was plainly Hamitic till about 1000 B.C.; statues were of the same shape and technique as those of earliest Egypt. The earliest inscriptions recovered were about 800-700 B.C. The early Hamitic buildings were round, like those of Zimbabwe in Rhodesia; those of Sabaeen invaders are rectangular. Artificial tombs-chambers cut in the cliffs, with statues cut in the round and placed in niches, are like Hamitic Egypt again. The explorers summarize by saying that Semitic-speaking invaders from the north founded "Sheba" upon a very old Hamitic culture. Still later invaders from the north founded the Semitic-speaking coastal states of Hadramaut and Kataban. Since Solomon's accession is usually dated about 977 B.C., the Queen of Sheba who visited him must have been one of the earliest of this southward-pushing Semitic-speaking colony. But the connection of David and Solomon with this push into South Arabia is at present shrouded in mystery. (B. Tüngel, ILN, 10-7-1933. 3 pp. 10 photos: one temple-restoration.)

14. No "Arabs" in the Cuneiform Inscriptions.

In Section 3, consideration of the Greek misuse of the term "Arab" was deferred. Their misapprehension of it as an ethnological term including all the peoples of the peninsula, passed on to the Romans and to us, has confused history. But ancient Egypt does not know any people who called themselves "Arabs." There are people of the "sand-wastes," but they are not ethnically designated. So in the cuneiform inscriptions we read of hundreds of peoples, but of no "Arabs," though they often tell of "Arameans." In JSOR (Jan.-Apr. 1932, pp. 1-37) T. W. Rosmarin gathers all the cuneiform passages that speak of aribi, arubu, arbai, etc. The earliest occurrence is in Shalmaneser III's account of the battle of Qarqar, 854 B.C. in which King Ahab was engaged. Assyrian history reaches back 2000 years earlier, without any occurrence of the term.

Now the term is always regional. It is significant that the term A-ri-bi is used by Sargon (Annals 162: Prunkinschrift) of the arid Persian Plateau. Rosmarin finds a Mat-aribi or urbi, or aribu, 55 times = "an aribi land" or region. With the determinative amelu, "man", we have 51 times amelu urbi, aribi, arabi, arubu, arbai: "a man of the wilderness." But such a combination followed by the plural sign meš, so as to express a people who called themselves by that name, never occurs. Assyria did not know any peoples called "Arabs." Also, no such "men of the wilderness" are spoken of south of Teyma (Teman of the OT).

15. No "Arabs" in the Old Testament.

After the above, the like fact in the OT will not surprise. In Genesis 10, 11, is the effort to explain the ancestry of many Semitic-speaking peoples, Sheba, Dedan, Raamah, Eber, Asshur, Aram, Uz, Hul, Gether, Mash, Joktan and his descendants. But the compiler did not know an "Arab" people who had to be provided with an ancestor! Again in Gen. 25: 9-4 and 12-15 are about 30 more tribal names, but no "Arab"! In Gen. 36 is a long list of Edomite chiefs or leaders--but none are called "Arab"! As a folk-name or stock-name, the term "Arab" was not known to these genealogy-compilers.

We may recognize then that the very few occurrences in the prophets must be considered regional expressions, as in the cuneiform inscriptions; not ethnic. Jer. 25:24 has "all the Kingdoms of 'Arab, even all kinds of the mixed peoples that dwell in the wilderness," (The English student should know that in Jeremiah's time, a thousand years before the invention of vowel-points, the same consonants that our AV translates "Arab" could mean "mongrel" or "mixed-blood", or "raven", "willow", "evening", "westland", or "desert." There is really no reason for inserting our term "Arab" into the translation.) Compare then Is. 13:20; 21:13; Jer. 3:2; Ezek. 27:21; 2 Chron. 9:14; 21:16; 26:7; 22:1; Neh. 2:19, 4:7; 6:1. It should be noticed that 1 Kings, 10:15 translate "mixed peoples," like above Jeremiah passage, where the AV of 2 Chron 9:14 has "Arabians." It would appear that "mixed peoples" are meant in each Chronicler passage. And it is possible that Nehemiah passages mean merely "mongrel", "mixed blood", "half-breed": compare Neh. 13:3 where this same term, 'erēb is used.

16. The Method of Robertson Smith.

Section 2 opened with the statement that both questions of fact and questions of method were thrust upon us; and the statement has been followed by a great body of facts, not known in the days of Robertson Smith and Wellhausen and the publication of Driver's LOT, (1891). The student, from the foregoing facts, knows something of what is meant by the anthropological method of study, and must decide whether or no he can do without it.

Sir Edward Burnett Tylor has been called "the father of modern anthropology." He was professor of anthropology at Oxford. His scientific studies in Mexico, 1856, produced his Anahuac, or Mexico and the Mexicans, 1861. His Researches Into the Early History of Mankind appeared in 1865 (second edition 1870); Primitive Culture 1871 (second and third editions before 1889); Anthropology (now in its seventh edition) in 1881. In 1888 he was Gifford Lecturer at Aberdeen. Yet Robertson Smith brought out his Religion of the Semites in 1889, ignoring the thirty years of work and method, of his Oxford neighbor. For Smith's fundamental assumptions are not reconcilable with such broader anthropological methods and studies. These have discredited Smith, as well as Wellhausen's Reste Arabischen Heidenthums. Wellhausen's "three fundamental positions have been seriously shattered" writes Canon Battersby-Harford, (Articles "Since Wellhausen", Expositor, 1925: collected into a volume 1926). "The Exegetical errors and archaeological ignorance of Wellhausen make discussion useless," writes Max Löhr of Königsberg (OLZ, Nov. 1930, p. 894). "The most conspicuous trend in OT criticism now is that the Wellhausen School has been too much under the influence of Arabian analogies." (S.A. Cook, JTS, 1924-5, p. 161) In short, Smith and Wellhausen simply assumed or imagined that certain institutions and ways of thinking which interested them were of "Semitic" or "Arab" origin. Then when they found the like among various peoples who spoke non-Semitic languages, they assumed again that such peoples had borrowed from the Arabs. The student will recognize that such method is purely fantastic. Mere "analogies" do not prove interrelation, or origin in a single race of stock. Hence, all books dominated by Robertson Smith-Wellhausen speculations are heavily discounted--some totally discredited.

17. The Stone Age in Palestine.

The student must now consider another body of evidence, wholly unknown till within the last 15 years, and determine whether it should be ignored or not. Artifacts of bone or stone, associated with human skeletons and with those of species of mammals extinct ages ago--all in various old geological strata convince geologists and anthropologists that man has been in the world for 500,000 years. (Some see evidence pointing to 1,500,000 years. G. G. MacCurdy's Human Origins should be in reach for a general

reference book.) But now we have proof that humanity has been in Palestine as long as anywhere in Europe; and the very oldest agricultural implements known to us come from the caves of Palestine.

18. Summary to (not including) 1930.

This brief summary should be verified by reference to the outstanding authorities cited.

This originally cavern-dwelling people was not related to any Arabian stock. See S. A. Cook, RAP, 72-74: Duncan 1-17. They were agricultural. They had the oldest flint-tooth sickles and hand-mills yet known to us. They had agriculture before pottery. They had no cattle, nor sheep. (S. A. Cook, 74) These came in at a later time from Central Asia (Macalister, near 2,000 B.C.). So they were not nomadic. Nomad institutions do not underlie the OT popular culture. They cultivated the rich lowlands, dwelling in caves in the adjacent slopes, as some American agricultural Indians have done. (It should be remembered that our agricultural Indians also had no domestic animals save the dog, and also had agriculture before pottery.) Their hill-sites often became towns in time. Their relics are already familiar at Gezer (Duncan I:3, 12, 60); at Mizpah (Duncan I:109); at Jericho (Duncan 3, 122); at Taanach, Beth-pelet, Gath(?) (Duncan I: 180, 146, 215); in the Ophel caves at Jerusalem (Duncan I:3, 14, 17, 35, 40 f); at Megiddo (Duncan I:3, 41, 57); and Teleilat el-Ghassûl (L'illustration 7-11-1931). (Further details in Egyptian paper). But a unified state, a politically centralized Palestine is no more existent than a unified prehistoric Greece.

19. Natufian: Wady Shukbah.

Since the above compilations, Miss Dorothy Garrod, of the British School of Archaeology in Palestine, made like discoveries in the Wady Shukbah, a few miles southwest of the site of Samaria, northeast of Joppa in the Natûf cave. Hence the particular stage of culture is called "Natûfian." By the spring of 1933, three dozen skeletons had been found. They were a long-headed, somewhat stooped folk, about 5-1/2 feet high, not related to any Arabian people, but showing affinities with the Mediterranean stock, and with its Mesolithic stage of development. Dr. G. G. MacCurdy places their era at 20,000 years ago, and observes that their sickles and stone mortars are twice as old as any elsewhere known. Neolithic mortars found elsewhere are not more than 10,000-12,000 years old. For a sickle the student must understand a curve of wood, the inner curve set with blades of flint, like safety-razor blades, so as to make a continuous cutting edge. These folk also had agriculture long before pottery. Curved bones set with such flint blades were also found. The Natufians collected and burned the bones of their dead after decomposition was complete. There was also evidence that at times the agriculturists were reduced to cannibalism - or did they eat slain enemies? We do not know. (N. Y. Times 4-22-1933; Pasadena Star-News, 10-22-1932; SNL, 9-24-1932).

20. Athlit-Wady Mughârah -- Cave of the Oven.

Twenty miles west of Nazareth, two miles southeast of the Crusader castle of Athlit, on the seaward slope of Mt. Carmel lies the Wady Mughârah Valley of Caves. It is about 60 miles north of the above Shukbah site; about twelve miles south by west of the Carmel point that encloses the Bay of Haifa. The largest cave is Mughâret el-Wâd, or Cave of the Oven, three miles from Athlit. Important indications being found there, Miss Garrod was promptly transferred in 1929 from Shukbah. Through five years a succession of surprises has come. (1) 5,000 artifacts of Aurignac type were taken out in the first ten days. (2) Beneath a top stratum of the Bronze Age there was no neolithic or smooth-stone stratum. From around 20,000 B.C. to the Bronze Age the cave had been unoccupied. But below the Mesolithic stratum were four Palaeolithic strata, the lowest equivalent to the Mousterian of France, usually dated 50,000 years ago) (Dr. MacCurdy dates this 75,000 years ago.) A chief anthropological interest has centered in the fossil skeletons found embedded in the hard stone of the stratum--first three, then more, then more--finally twelve. They were brought to the Royal College of Surgeons in London in November, 1933. The people had been formally buried in their cavern-home, in soft ground. Then a stream carrying much lime had solidified the soft stratum into limestone. The student should recognize that formal burial in a cavern-home 30,000 to 50,000 years ago carries much information about their thought of the hereafter.

20-a. Further Wady Mughârah Discoveries. Supplement February 1, 1934.

In the above dispatch-reports there is a little confusion. The largest cave, or "Cave of the Oven", is Mughâret Et-Tabûn. The account as given for the Mugharet el-Wâd, which means "Cave of the Valley", is correct.

Miss Garrod (in Antiquity, June 1934) reports that the three caves all face the coastal plain: all face the northwest, suggesting a determined maintenance of long contacts with the sea. Dr. Elihu Grant suggests that this may have been to receive the benefit of the salubrious sea-breezes; to avoid the frightful scorching easterly winds. Town-buildings excavated in western Palestine show some similar evidence. Consider also the fact that there was never a glacial period in Palestine (Section 24-a) as related to the fact that a species of wheat cultivated in ancient times is still found as a native wild wheat of Palestine. It is the Triticum dicoccum. So the actual cultivation of it in Palestine 20,000 years ago has behind the cultivation thousands of years of use as a wild wheat. It is the logic of Palestinian geology. We may remember the Indian tribes in America who gather many wild grains but do not cultivate them. M. Neuville is preparing a monograph upon the ancient use of this Triticum dicoccum. But early gatherers of wild wheat through thousands of years would have some for trade when the people of the glacial coast of Europe had none. Compare the wild-rice Indians (Menominee) of Michigan and Wisconsin, who still gather enough to exchange for other needed articles. Then Africa had no wild wheat, though it also had no glacial period: its Mediterranean kinsmen of the early Palestinians would have to reach Palestine coasts to obtain wheat. As with American Indians, there could be much exchange for the gathered fruits of other peoples, ages before the cultivation of any of them. Then Ps. 29 and the story of Elijah at Carmel and the woman of Shunem who fled from 7 years famine into the land of Philistia (2K. 8:1-6) remind us that at all times the crop-saving rains must come from the west-north-west, and that the coast-regions were often sure of a harvest when the interior had none. Elijah probably felt sure of grain at Sarepta (1K 17:18) with its extensive sea-trade.

Should it be asked what North African "proto-Berbers" might bring in exchange for wild grain, we should answer "olives". This is presented at length in section 58-t. Hehn's Kulturpflanze und Haustiere - (3d Edition 1877) is invaluable. But his conclusion that the olive originated on the coasts of Asia Minor and spread southward and westward has geology against it. Seventy years ago Hehn could not know that the olive could flourish in North Africa when Southern Europe was in the grip of a glacial period. And the olive - fruit will keep a long time, and can be shipped long distances; it is a natural medium of exchange for those who have an abundance of it. And the early Christian fathers knew the oleaster or wild olive in North Africa, as well as the cultivated.

Continuing with Miss Garrod's summary: there was in the Wady Mughârah a "Cave of the Camel" practically empty; apparently had never been occupied much through the ages. And the Mughâret es-Sukhûl or "Cave of Kids", where the embedded skeletons were found, was an open rock-shelter, capable of inundation: not really a cave. The culture-remains with the skeleta were of the upper Mousterian stage.

But the Mughâret et-Tabûn, or "Cave of the Oven", much the largest of the caves, is of peculiar interest as being the occupational complement of the others. Its upper stratum corresponds to the lowest stratum of the Mughâret el-Wâd. Beneath that were upper Palaeolithic strata of about 8 feet thickness: then Middle and Lower Palaeolithic of 55 feet depth, to the original bed-rock floor of the cave. The lowest was a stratum of the recently discovered Tayac stage of artifacts; as old or older than the Chellean stage of France. The older Clactonian and Ipswich flake-stages are not reported. These are very rude flakes with no plan: the sharp cutting edges have only an "accidental" connection or succession.

Consequently it is now clear that a flake-weapon people came from the north and east (from Asia) into Western Europe, Palestine, etc., fleeing advancing cold, as a glacial period advanced. The hand-axe-culture comes from the south, especially Africa, following the tropical animals into warm valleys of more northern lands in the inter-glacial periods. They dwelt in the open air. The advance of these Southern people was sometimes strong enough to push the flake-weapon people back toward the north. This fact stands out in Palestine more clearly than anywhere else-yet in the end the two cultures influence each other. And the student should recognize that the high artistic

skill in animal portrayal is shown in the cave-art of the Magdalenian period in southwestern Europe was probably attained elsewhere, by people who in the Magdalenian period were fleeing from advancing ice. How much more advanced these people may have been in their pre-Magdalenian stage is a fair question, and an unanswered one.

20-b. Neanderthal Or Not?

As for the Skeletal remains of the Wady Mugharah caves, the 9 older ones are of a single well defined type. The first partially revealed skulls showed huge beetling orbital ridges, or "eyebrows", like the famous Neanderthal man. These 9 lay in a stratum three feet deeper than the others; which indicates a very long interval between--including a long period of no occupation: 40,000 years. For Dr. MacCurdy finds these older skeleta in the Lower Mousterian, while the trussed burials upon the side, with circlets of dentalia shells about the skull were in the Lower Natufian, placed by MacCurdy 20,000 years ago: immediately above the Aurignac stratum. The actual occupation of the site extends back to the Tayacian stage. (See MacCurdy Scientific Monthly, Oct. 1934: 5 pp. 7 photos: Cross-section of the 70ft). So many apparent "Neanderthals" in one stratum is more than have been found on the whole continent of Europe since 1848. But as the limestone was gradually chipped away these ancient Mt. Carmel men were revealed as tall and straight, while the Neanderthal was short and stooped. They had faces and jaws of Neanderthal type, resulting in a some what apish face; but the brain-case is much higher, and the massive chin squarer than in Neanderthal: the teeth smaller, and almost identical with those of modern man. They were longer legged than Neanderthal and stood about a foot higher. (Miss Garrod, McCown & Sir Arthur Keith to British Association Aug. 1935: SNL 9-14-1935: Keith in ILN 1-26-1935: McCown, N.Y. Sun 6-7-1935, and SNL 3-30-1935). McCown estimates these pre-Neanderthal folk to have lived 80,000 years ago: Sir Arthur Keith, 100,000 years ago.

This last estimate is based upon the more exact statement of Miss Garrod, the excavator. The nine skeleta were not all in a Mousterian stratum. Those with early Mousterian artifacts were associated with the fauna of temperate zone, as in Europe: but others had artifacts of the much earlier Levalloisian type, with fauna of a moist warm climate of the Riss-Würm Inter-Glacial. Bones of rhinoceros and hippopotamus were associated, and one elephant-tusk. (Nature 10-12-1935).

20-c. Jebel Qafze Levalloisian Man

This Wady Mugharah humanity, far exceeding the Neanderthal in potential intelligence and efficiency, and much nearer to modern European man, has been named Palaeanthropus Palestinensis, "The Ancient Man of Palestine". He was of the flake-using peoples of Asia: not of the first-axe peoples from Africa. And coincident with the clarification of his chronological relations at Wady Mugharah a much earlier stage of his culture was found near Nazareth, extending his continued occupancy of the region backward probably 50,000 years.

A short distance southeast of Nazareth is the steep Jebel Qafze, known for its Franciscan Monastery. About 275 yards up the east side is a small cave which M. Neuville began exploring in 1933. During the first Pluvial period, corresponding approximately to the Second or Mindel Glacial, water had eroded the limestone deposited at the end of the Tertiary. When a new and warmer climate came men in the end of the first third of the Pleistocene used the cave as a home. Neuville found four skulls of these men in the 12th stratum from the top, beneath a deposit 20 ft. deep, 10 ft. below a hard breccia-stratum of long non-occupation. And they were associated with early Levalloisian flints: a much earlier type than the Clactonian. Four more fragmentary skeletons were found in this sixth Levalloisian stratum during the next season.

Their chronological significance will be clearer that in stratum immediately above them "primitive" Levalloisian flints were still abundant. Above that in the fourth Levalloisian stratum, was the Merck's rhinoceros (tropical); in the 10th stratum from the top. Three more Levalloisian strata lie upon this. Then suddenly in the sixth stratum from the top typical Mousterian artifacts appear with no intervening Chellean-Acheulian. Now there is a very long cultural development from the Levalloisian to the Mousterian type - perhaps 50,000 years--Was this Mousterian stratum a cultural invasion?--And the Mousterian of Europe, the Neanderthal age, is generally estimated as closing about 50,000 years ago. Yet the second stratum above this Mousterian contains the Ursus Arktos or "cave-bear" of European glacial times. And another Palaeolithic stratum lies above that!

Hence careful consideration of the above data resulted in these skeleta being pronounced "at least 100,000 years old (!)". They are also Palaeanthropos Palaestinensis: but of more archaic type than those of Riss-Würm - Inter-Glacial era of Wady Mugharah. These latter show a definite advance in physique (Rev. Biblique 1935: 237-259; QDAP 1934: p.202; AfO 1935: 4-5, p.303; AJA 1936, p.154; 1935, p.137).

20-d. German Glacial Terminology Restated - Solar Radiation and Glacial Epochs

It will be noticed that M. Neuville uses the long-current German terminology derived from a study of the successive glacial phases in Germany and Switzerland. If the Wady Mugharah skeletons of the Riss-Würm Inter-Glacial are 80,000 years old, then the far older Jebel Qafze skeletons might be 180,000 years old! But a restatement of German Glacial chronology suggests that they may be older than that!

The Restatement was published by Dr. Fred E. Zeuner, simultaneously with M. Neuville's publication. It is in Geol. Mag. 72, 19: pp. 350-376 (1935). Milankovitch has been studying the maxima and minima of solar radiation, and has constructed a curve that corresponds remarkably to variations in Pleistocene climate. That is, the minima of radiation of heat represent possible glacial periods, Milankovitch's calculations all date from 1800 AD. He finds three strong minima at 23,000, 72,000, and 115,000 years ago. That is, what has been called The Würm period really had three glacial advances. Then Milankovitch finds the next two glacial advances at 188,000 and 230,000 years ago: the Riss-period. (The Riss-Würm Inter-Glacial of Wady Mugharah skeleta lies between 115,000-188,000: about 50,000 years older than Sir Arthur Keith's estimate in 20-b).

Continuing: Milankovitch finds a very long period between 240,000 and 430,000 years with no strong minima of radiation. This is the Mindel-Riss Inter-Glacial period. It will be observed then that if the Jebel Qafze skeletons are older than the Riss Glacial, as the data in 20-c suggest, they might be 300,000 years old, or even older. Next, Milankovitch finds two radiation minima at 435,000 and 476,000 years. That is, the so-called Mindel period has two glacial advances, 40,000 years apart. Then two still earlier minima are located by Milankovitch in the Günz period: at 550,000 and 591,000 years ago. Archaeologists who have been insisting that some artifacts found are in strata 500,000 years old now have evidence that still earlier glacial advances may have swept away evidences of still earlier human activity. Dr. Zeuner recognizes several pre-Günz strata in the Alps and old rivers. (Nature 6-20-1936: 1 page).

20-e. Palestine Data Not Complete - German Stratigraphy Leads.

The invaluable services of M. Neuville have not yet furnished us a Palestinian stratigraphy that will span 500,000 years. We shall be long in attaining it. But Dr. Zeuner tells us that a great number of geologists have been concentrating upon the stratigraphy of Central Europe for the past 20 years, till it is now possible to date exactly the fossil skeletal remains and the associated artifacts in thousands of years. [The student should remember that North America has thirty-times the area of Central Europe with few workers concentrated upon such stratigraphy. We shall not soon attain this German certainty.]

Dr. Zeuner then illustrates by pointing out that the oldest human fossil in Central Europe is the Heidelberg jaw from the Mauer Sands, which are not later than the Günz-2-Mindel inter-glacial: that is, may be later than 435,000 years ago: but the sands may be pre-Chellean, and about 500,000 years old -- Then the Acheulean artifacts at Achenheim are in a loess of Riss-2: about 183,000 years ago -- Then Mousterian artifacts at Taubach and Ehringsdorf show the Neanderthal culture in the last phase of the Riss-Würm inter-glacial, 140,000 years ago. It continues into the Würm, period, not exterminated, and is found at Wallertheim after the peak of Würm, 105,000 years ago: a duration of 35,000 years -- Next, Aurignacian artifacts appear at Linsenburg near Mayence in the beginning of Würm-1-Würm-2 - Inter-Glacial, 95,000 years ago, and continue till 69,000 years ago. And the Solutrean of Predmost (Moravia), on the evidence of the Kesserloch site, appeared after the peak of Würm-2: about 67,000 years ago. -- Finally, Magdalenian artifacts also appear at Kesserloch after the above maximum of Würm-2, about 65,000 years ago, and continue through the following Inter-glacial and Würm-3 to about 18,000 years ago; making a duration of 47,000 years. And for the succeeding Mesolithic, 18,000-7,500, more than a score of strata are known.

Whether glacial subdivisions corresponding to the German pre-Günz, pre-Günz-1; to Günz-1 and 2: to Mindel 1 and 2: to Riss 1 & 2: to Würm 1,2 and 3, can be shown else-

where, remains to be determined. But the same periods of time must be accounted for.

20-f. Twenty French Mesolithic Strata - No Similar Palestinian Stratigraphy

The term Mesolithic or Epi-Palaeolithic has been used to include several phases of culture subsequent to the Magdalenian and anterior to the appearance of polished stone artifacts. Neither the number nor the order of succession of such phases has been known. No site with several such super-imposed has been known. In consequence the term Mesolithic has conveyed no definite knowledge. In Palestine in particular, some current reports merely cloak a blank of about 15,000 years in definite knowledge.

But now we have a great body of definite information. One French scholar has been exploring the cave of Isturitz in Spain for 12 years, and reports 12 strata there, since Magdalenian times. Details have not been published. Another, M. Laurent Coulonges, has spent several years excavating two cavern sites at Sauve-terre-la-Lemance, Department of Lot-et-Garonne, France. At the cave of Le Roc Allan, no less than 19 levels were found between the Magdalenian and the surface. M. Coulonges does not give the details in his first publication. The second cave, La Martinet, had ten. Nothing like these caves for successive occupancy is at present known anywhere else. One result is that the time between Magdalenian and Neolithic must be longer than has been supposed. Another is that the relative order of some cultures is not what has been supposed. A third is that the so-called Tardenoisian does not develop out of the Azilian, but is a very early Neolithic: while the Azilian appears as a development from the Magdalenian. There is a succeeding interim. Then there is a change of climate, a long period of drying up, with a disappearance of game, and a change of fauna; a forced change in the economic conditions of life. Then the Tardenoisian culture appears as a new intrusive people. (Nature 6-6-1936).

20-g. MacCurdy's Tabulation, With German and French Addenda

The veteran G.C. MacCurdy's Human Origins in the Bibliography is a library necessity. But every student needs its little abridgement, the Coming of Man (1935) as a little summary upon all the terms Chellean, Acheulean, Mousterian, Tayacian, Clactonian, Magdalenian, etc. On his page 45, MacCurdy gives a tabular survey of the known archaeological stages from the earliest to the then untabulated Mesolithic. MacCurdy ventured no dates and no subdivisions of the German glacial periods, for the data in 20-d and 20-e had not yet been made public. So these subdivisions are inserted in a narrow column at the left. It will be observed that American geologists have not yet worked out a similar subdivision of time for America.

Second, MacCurdy had no dependable tabulation of a few Mesolithic phases known: so he attempted none. The post-Magdalenian discoveries of M. Coulonges in 20-f are accordingly prefixed to MacCurdy's table.

20-h

TABLE OF PRE-NEOLITHIC CULTURES

POST-GLACIAL PERIOD: MESOLITHIC	Tardenois III: Early Neolithic characteristic forms as below: but larger. Bits of Pottery: none show form. No polished flints.
	Tardenois II: true Tardenois: Trap-flints, half-moons: small tools with transverse cutting edge hint coming Neolithic technique.
	Tardenois I: A new intrusive race: different in artifacts and habits. Trapezoidal barb-points: no microlith triangles. <u>Fauna changed!</u> Dry climate: beaver, etc. gone. Pit-Hut. Maglemos or "Big Bog", Denmark, similar. No painted pebbles.
	Asturias, Spain: Shell-heaps of the Tagus, and of coasts of Brittany. <u>Game of Azilian period gone!</u> Inland people of hut-pits make immense shell-heaps on coasts, etc. Very long period.
	Sauveterrian. A characteristic Azilian with sharply contrasting Micro-liths in a great variety of pygmy forms. A <u>very moist-climate</u> . Abundance of beaver and associated fauna.
	<u>Interruption of Azilian occupation: Sterile Straum at Le Martinet. How long?</u>

(Concluded on following page)

TABLE OF PRE-NEOLITHIC CULTURES--Concluded

POST-GLACIAL PERIOD: MESOLITHIC	Azilian appears, as an "Upper Magdalenian". But Magdalenian reindeer is displaced by plenty of Stag: and cave-art is gone - Microlith flints are fitted into bone or wood hafts: pebbles are chipped to knife-edges or chisels. Painted pebbles occasional: for <u>what?</u>
	Coulonges reports a sterile stratum at Le Martinet, on top of his <u>final</u> Magdalenian. This then is the time of the curious <u>Champigny</u> culture, in which the reindeer has not disappeared altogether, but the stag is <u>beginning</u> to appear. (See Osborn, <u>Man Rises to Parnassus</u>). This period of change of climate and fauna must have been rather protracted. No reindeer is known in the <u>Azilian</u> above. As MacCurdy considers the <u>Natufian</u> of Palestine older than any European Mesolithic known to him, it should be about this time.

PALAEOLITHIC CULTURES

FOURTH GLACIAL: WISCONSIN OR WÜRM PERIOD LAUFEN RETREAT HERE	German Subdivisions		
	Würm-3 23,000 Years Ago	Lower Magdalenian, Reindeer, Mammoth Cave Art Period. Caromognon New Solutrean Horse-Eaters: Laurel-leaf Points.	
	Würm-2 72,000 Years Ago	Aurignac Period. Final Mousterian.	
	Würm-1 115,000 Years Ago	Mousterian. Fifth European Le Valloisian.	
THIRD INTER-GLACIAL OR RISS-WÜRM BETWEEN ILLINOIS AND WISCONSIN PERIODS	3rd-Inter-Glacial from 115,000 Years to 188,000 Years Ago	Early Mousterian (Grimald: phase Weimar phase)	Third and Fourth European Levalloisian? = 6th Palestine Levalloisian Micoquean
THIRD GLACIAL: ILLINOIS OR RISS PERIOD	Riss-2, 188,000 Years Riss-1, 230,000 Years Ago	Middle Levalloisian in Palestine. No European sites yet. Derived and <u>worn</u> specimens of <u>earlier</u> cultures in its drift.	
SECOND INTER-GLACIAL OR MINDEL-RISS BETWEEN ILLINOIAN AND KANSAN	2nd-Inter-Glacial from 230,000 Years to 430,000 Years Ago	Upper Acheulian Middle " Lower (Levalloisian IV in Palestine?)	European Levallois II, and LeVallois I, Micoquean, Final Clactonian
SECOND GLACIAL: KANSAN OR MINDEL	Mindel-2, 435,000 Years Mindel-1, 476,000 Years Ago	Tayac and Levalloisian in Palestine: Chellean, Derived and Worn Specimens of Earlier Cultures in Europe.	
FIRST INTER-GLACIAL OR GÜNZ-MINDEL BETWEEN KANSAN AND NEBRASKAN	1st-Inter-Glacial 476,000 to 550,000 Years Ago (Concluded on following page)	Chellean Pre-Chellean	<u>Early Micoquean</u> Base of Clactonian Acheulean and <u>Old-est</u> Levalloisian, in <u>Palestine</u> : With Jebel Qafze Skeletons; more than 100,000 years old? Tayacian

PALAEOLITHIC CULTURES--Concluded

<p>FIRST GLACIAL; NEBRASKAN OR GÜNZ:</p> <p>DATE? SOME PUT FIRST GLACIAL 1,000,000 YEARS AGO. MORE ABOUT 500,000.</p>	<p>German Subdivisions</p> <p>Günz-2, 550,000 Years Ago Günz-1, 591,000 Years Ago</p>	<p><u>THE SUB-CRAG INDUSTRY.</u> Dr. MacCurdy refers to the Red Crag (= gravel) beds of Norfolk, England. Beneath this Red Crag lie the Suffolk Bone Beds: a vast accumulation of fossil bones of the Pliocene period, with some Miocene. The presence of ancient artifacts in these Bone Beds was first recognized about 25 years ago--J.Reid Moir has shown that these are far older than the stratum in which they are found. All are heavily patinated. There are four different stages of development, with different patinas. They have come from Miocene strata on the sea-coast, broken up by wave-erosion, and re-deposited in the Pliocene period. But origin in <u>Miocene</u> times makes them 1,500,000 years old. (<u>Scientific American</u>, June, 1935). Independently French archaeologists have found some evidence of human activity in France 500,000 to 1,500,000 years ago: While J. Reid Moir has estimated Rostro-carinate forms at 500,000 years and "Eoliths" at 1,500,000 years.</p>
<p>PRE-NEBRASKAN AND PRE-GÜNZ?</p> <p>SEE SUB-CRAG INDUSTRY</p>	<p>Pre-Günz. Several Strata in the Alps and in Old Rivers,Dates Undetermined</p>	

20-k. Depth At Wady Mugharah -- Age of Natufian

The cross-section of all strata at the Wady Mugharah caves shows a thickness of 70 ft. (Miss Garrod, Antiquity, June, 1934: MacCurdy, Scientific Monthly, Oct. 1934). The upper six feet of Natufian means a long period, though less than one-tenth of the whole, in which there are long periods of no occupation. Yet this accumulation of ashes and hunter-agriculture refuse does not show any pottery. This does not prove that they never had any. For much evidence of Palaeolithic pottery has been found in Europe. But these earlier potters had not discovered the art of tempering their clay. Hence a fragment from such ancient stratum may appear only as a black friable mass which may pass for charcoal, even with a trained observer. That has happened in known cases (Moir, Man, June 1935). The same facts appear in Natufian strata underlying Megiddo. Père Vincent, "a prince among Palestinian archaeologists and gentlemen", comparing the two sites, points out that very advanced types of pottery, known to have been in use in the Delta of the Nile at least as early as 5,000 B.C., have been found at Byblos-Gebal by Dunand, and are found in a forth or Upper Natufian stratum which does not occur at the Mugharah Caves, or at Megiddo, (R.B. July, 1934). But that advanced pottery had a very long anterior period of development.

20-j. Age of Natufian Reaffirmed

But this then does not mean that the Natufian grain-raising and grain-trading folk never saw any pottery through thousands of years. It should not mean more than non-production of well-tempered pottery. It does not mean bringing Natufian down to a Neolithic time. Some excavators in Palestine, innocent of any geology, recklessly transfer its terms to any stratum that catches their fancy. "Natufian" and "Mesolithic" have been identified, and both put about 5,000 B.C. by persons with a mania for reduction. But in the preceding Table MacCurdy puts the Natufian before any European Mesolithic: and in a letter, June 1936, repeats that it is older than European Mesolithic. He takes account of the important factor that because of no glacial interruption in Palestine a given stage of development would be reached earlier than in Europe. Also it will be reached earlier at points of trade and exchange than in isolated or secluded communities. Later we shall have reason to emphasize the fact that the olive originated in non-glacial Africa, and was carried by trade into non-glacial Palestine. But no explorer has yet reported any olive-seeds or pits in Natufian vegetable refuse. All Natufian seems older than the introduction of the olive.

20-m. Unmeasurable Gaps In Our Present Strata - Succession

Since some cultural strata already known in Palestine are missing in the Wady Mugharah series, the length of time represented by such gaps and formations is to be

considered. Again, of two contiguous strata of the same type of culture one may represent a far more advanced stage of the culture. In such cases the length of time of the interval is to be reckoned with, in reaching an estimate of the total length of the period of human activity. There may be a very long period of time between two periods of residence on the site. A whole glacial period may cut across some culture-stages, as the foregoing Table shows. Such are some of the factors that make so many eminent archaeologists think humanity may have been in Palestine 500,000 years ago; or even 1,000,000. Eminent American geologists admit the evidence for the Mediterranean region, though not yet satisfied that there is evidence for equal antiquity in America (M.M. Leighton, Scientific Monthly, Jan. 1932). The thoughtful student will feel the necessity of correlating surprising facts from Palestine with similar facts from other lands.

Again, the reader may suppose that particular stages of culture follow each other in a regular tandem. The Table will make clear the fact that a rude type like the Levalloisian or Clactonian may persist through 50,000 years or more, while more advanced stages are being attained at other points in the same countries. The author has heard astonishment that any skeleta as old as the Clactonian stage had been found. But the Table shows that the Jebel Qafze skeleta are older than any known Clactonian. The Tayacian stage is the oldest M. Neuville has observed in Palestine. It is a thin flake, without any definite outline. But fire was in use in such earliest times.

20-n. Progress And Deterioration In Flint-Working

Further, flint-tools are no unvarying proof of antiquity. So late as the time of Saul the rank and file of the Israelites had no metal weapons (1 Sam. 13:19ff; cf. Judge 5:8)--That situation recurs in many lands: because of the scarcity of metal only chiefs, nobles, or wealthy persons can afford them. "The masses" may use flints for centuries after a little metal appears. The terms "Chalcolithic" and Aeneolithic" have been coined to describe this stage. Flaked flints have been found in all strata at Bethshemesh, in the old Philistine territory (1 Sam. 6:10ff). Metal was never cheap enough to completely displace it.

Successive strata of earlier periods are distinguished partly by the stages of progress in flint-working. But in an "Aeneolithic" stage there is apt to be deterioration, because the demand and reward for the very finest product no longer exists. The flints may come to resemble those of a stage long past: a fact that certainly misleads some hasty Palestinian archaeologists.

20-o. Neuville's Survey of Palaeolithic Palestine

For many years M. Neuville, French vice-consul at Jerusalem, has been foremost in the study of the Palaeolithic artifacts of Palestine. Great volumes of the results are anxiously awaited by technical scholars. A 23-page article with eleven plates and two-page chronological diagram in Revue Biblique, April, 1934, gives a general survey of the results of excavation at scores of sites. The busy student in this course, with neither preparation for technical studies nor time for them at this juncture, will be satisfied with a few leading facts added to those in sections 17-27.

First: Old Pleistocene cultures, or Lower Palaeolithic are those traceable in the first Pluvial period of Palestine, down to the close of the third; including the Mousterian stage. The Late Pleistocene or Upper Palaeolithic extends from that time to the close of the last Pluvial period.

Second: there is now general rejection of the earlier idea that terms like Chellean, Acheulean, etc. express an invariable chronological order; and also of the idea that a "knife-and-hatchet" culture might develop out of a "hand-axe" (German, "fist-axe") culture. The student must understand two ways of making weapons. One is to knock a flake off a block of flint: the sharp edge may serve as a knife, or spear, if a haft can be fitted to it. The other method is to take a heavy sharp-edged or rough-pointed stone and use it for striking, without a handle, as the native Tasmanians were still doing within the last century.

But within recent years there have been discoveries of rude "hand-axe" cultures and relatively advanced "flake-weapon" cultures side by side; that is, in the same stratum, in the same valley: notably in the Rift Valley (Egyptian Section 9). Two fundamentally distinct types of culture are proven to be possible contemporaries. Then

both types of weapon may be found on the same site occasionally, proving them nearly contemporary at that point.

20-p. Fauna Associated With Palestinian Palaeolithica

A final fact about these long ages of humanity in Palestine is shown by the great abundance of animal remains in these cave-strata and in open sites. Never was there a time in all the ages of glaciation in Central and Western Europe and North America when animals of distinctly cold climates were in Palestine. Some familiar now in North and Central Africa were in Palestine for ages. It was never a frozen land. How this will affect literature will appear in Sections 24-b and 32-b.

M. Neuville in above survey made three years ago estimates the beginning of Mesolithic at 12,000 B.C., and identifies it with Natufian. He had not then the verdict of veterans like MacCurdy that Natufian is older than any European Mesolithic. Nor does he appear to have allowed for the fact that a given stage of efficiency in "artifacure" should be reached earlier in a region free from glacial interruptions. And the data as to a long succession of Mesolithic stages presented in 20-f and in the Table were not then available. He would now date the beginning of Mesolithic earlier than 12,000 B.C., and will probably find chronological subdivisions.

21. Ez-Zuttiyeh And Zichron-Jacob Natufian

Prior to the discoveries in the Wady Natûf and Wady Mugharah, Turville-Petre had explored a cave overlooking the western shore of the Sea of Galilee, and found in lowest palaeolithic stratum a fossilized skull. From the hostelry Et-Tabigha near by, it is sometimes called the Et-Tabigha skull. Then in 1926, Miss Bate explored the cave Mughâret ez-Zuttiyeh in Galilee. An exact stratigraphy was not secured: Miss Bate not being responsible for this. But her account of the animal remains shows a tropical to sub-tropical period, including Merck's rhinoceros, the hippopotamus, great wild ox, water-buffalo and bison or wisent. The account is included in Turville-Petre's Researches in Pre-historic Galilee, London, 1927.

Then in 1931 Turville-Petre began excavating in the Mughâret El-Kebarah or "Big Cave" valley, 10 miles south of the Wady Mugharah, in the Zichron Jacob Cave. Five strata were cleared in two years. The upper most was recent: the second was Lower Natufian, the second one of the Mughâret El Wâd series. The third was not Natufian, but a new Microlithic industry with long triangular microliths - The next three were Middle Aurignac, Lower Middle Aurignac, and Mousterian (Man, Jan. 1932).

22. Natufian Epoch A Time of Flooded Palestine

The Natufian was the most remarkable, for the extraordinary number of its bone implements, including very delicate harpoons with a single row of barbs. The like equipment in other sites is of first importance in determining the exact epoch of Natufian activity in Galilee. It was a time of deep waters with game that required harpoons. (See 24-b below). Dr. MacCurdy in 1933 announced that the finest of all the bone-haft flint-edged sickles were found at this site. There were 4 remarkable carvings of animal heads: two on the ends of sickle-hafts. (Miss Garrod, Man, Aug. 1931: MacCurdy, N.Y. Times, 4-22-1933: AJA, 1933, p.161: BASOR, April 1932.)

23. The Natufian As A Race

It is to be emphasized that at each site the Natufian culture follows an older and different microlithic culture. In each site it is a notable agricultural culture. In each site it is associated with a period of abundant waters and water-game, like the hippopotamus and water-buffalo, and large fish? In no site is it found developing into a community of large size. Miss Garrod, Dr. MacCurdy, and Père Vincent are agreed that it does not develope independently into an Aeneolithic or Chalcolithic stage. Such a stage is attained by the intervention of new peoples, with other elements of culture.

Physically the Natufian cannot be derived from the tall powerful Palaeanthropus Palaestinensis at the bottom of Jebel Qafze; more than 80,000 years earlier. They were a short people: the men averaging 5 ft. 5 in height: the women 5 ft. Two upper front teeth were drawn from jaws of young women. There was a curious custom of burning the bones of women, after long burial, in some mystic rite. These may have been the bones of enemies, or of witches. They were a large-headed, long-headed people, with cap-

shaped lower back part of the head. The dimensions of their heads were larger than those of pre-dynastic Egyptians. (Miss Garrod had found 87 skulls by 1932). The faces were short and wide: the chin not prominent, the nose rather flat: the whole being a somatic type still common among Berbers of North Africa. MacCurdy compares them with the Cromagnon of France. Thighs and legs were remarkably strong: arms and shoulders weak.

They buried in their cave-homes, or in the terrace in front of the cave or on hearths, packed about with stone, with abundance of Dentalia-Shell-beads and necklaces: one cape of such was found. They used limestone mortars and basalt pestles. At Mugharet el-Wad, rock-paving was laid on an artificial terrace, and quadrangular slabs set up as a retaining wall: the earliest yet found. A puzzling fact is that human skulls and thighbones were found split and broken. Sir Arthur Keith guessed "cannibalism", which has little to commend it. More probably it means dooming the spirit of a dead enemy by smashing his bones: a custom widely known. (Man, Jan. 1932: N.Y. Times 8-4-1932).

24. Umm ez-Zuweitina, Umm Katafa and Wady Khreitûn; Petroglyphs

M. Neuville, French Vice-Consul at Jerusalem, and long pre-eminent in Palestinian pre-historic archaeology, announced in 1929 the discovery of one of the most important palaeolithic sites yet found in Palestine. The lowest stratum in this cave he considered at least as old as the most ancient human deposits yet discovered in Europe (N.Y. Times, 7-14-1929--Since then he has discovered the Jebel Qafze Skeletons). The cave is in the Wady Khreitûn, about 7 miles south-east of Bethlehem. (The name Khreitûn is an Arab corruption of the Byzantine Charitôn, name of a monastery built there). More vital is the fact that at the Umm el-Katafa in this valley in 1932 he found the same Lower Natufian agriculturist culture that we have seen: all essentials repeated. Again at Umm Ez-Zuweitina, south of the Wady Khreitûn, in 1933, he found the same culture, with its most characteristic artifacts, including a bone sickle-haft with a flint still in place. A statuette of a cervoid animal in grey limestone was found in a hearth. Angle-gravers, microlith crescents and micro-gravers told of art-work: there were sickle-blades, end-scrapers and core-scrapers.

But the great surprise at Umm el-Katafa was the series of petroglyphs on the rock: a charging elephant with upright hair, a sort of crest and mane: two hippo-

potami, peaceful and stupid; a second elephant with a heavy club-tail; some cervoid animal, without horns; a wild boar; a fine one-horned rhinoceros; a black animal, not clear; some cervoid, grazing. All are on the same level, facing the entrance of the cave. An ox-head is drawn behind the last cervoid. The elephants have no tusks. All appear to be of the Natufian Mesolithic, and comparable to the Magdalenian of France. These are the first ever found in Palestine. Hunting and fishing implements are mixed in the cave with agricultural. (ILN, 11-5-1932; 2 pp. 3 pictures; BASOR, 49, p. 16; AJA, 1933, p. 162; Q.D.A.P.).

24-a. The Dead Sea In The Successive Glacial Periods.

The student may wonder at such animals as hippopotami being shown in gorge-caves so far above the Dead Sea level. The answer is that "during the Glacial Period of Europe the Dead Sea was covered by a fresh-water Sea" (Prof. J.W. Gregory, "Cyrenaica:" Geog. Journal, May 1916, P. 336). But how deep was that fresh water sea? Early Vernon Wilcox, of the United States Department of Agriculture writes that this water-level was once 100 feet above the Mediterranean. But the Dead Sea level is now 1400 feet lower, or 1300 feet below the Mediterranean level. (Country Gentleman, August 1934, p. 16). So that fresh-water sea covered the Jordan valley, was 800 feet deep on the shore of the Sea of Galilee, and reached on north to include Lake Huleh. Its volume of water was more than ten times that of the present Dead Sea.

Tristram long ago pointed out how much this fresh-water sea had to shrink before it became notably salt. He records that deposits of salt-marl on the shoulder of the Lisan or "Tongue" that projects into the Dead Sea on the east occur at 500 feet above the sea level: which is 900 feet lower than the old fresh-water level. But on the steep slopes of the Judean side the salt-marl is nowhere more than 400 feet above the sea. That means that much older thin deposits of a less salty period have been washed away (Tristram, 74f). Nummulitic lime-stones on high areas show how very recent some upheavals and subsequent deposits are.

Now such warm fresh-water Sea, like the Central African lakes, was inevitably a haunt of hippopotami (Behemôth). Job 40: 23 suggests survival into historic times. Elephant-bones have been found associated with human remains in some excavations already noticed; and in July 1934 part of the skeleton of an elephant of the Pleistocene period was found in a garden in Bethlehem, only 7 miles from the Wady Khreitûn cave-pictures. The student may realize that a vast number of huge bones strewn over a wide region as the sea shrank would be a cue for later legends of "water monsters" or tanninim, (Gen. 1:21, RV), and for "giants" of section 32b. For the descendants of an aboriginal humanity persisted in Palestine through tens of thousands of these changes. Four skeletons found in a cave near Nazareth in earth strata considered to be of palaeolithic times are at present considered to be the most ancient human remains ever unearthed in Western Asia. M. Neuville, Dr. Stekellis and Prof. Albright consider them to be more than 100,000 years old. (U.S. despatch, 10-6-1934).

But the student does not yet grasp the antiquity of a persistent human culture in Palestine. He must think of several successive periods of such freshwater seas submerging the Jordan Valley, with long periods of lower water between. Yet when he has come to the agricultural Natufian culture, 20,000 to 7,000 years ago, (section 19) he finds an abundance of fish-spears, harpoons, etc: which means that where we now see dry Wadys the Natufians had permanent streams with abundance of sizable fish.

The more recent discoveries prove that Palestine had none of the successive glacial periods of Europe. On each such occasion the temperature of Palestine remained unchanged. The fauna remained those of temperate-tropical regions. The rhinoceros and hippopotamus persisted. There was never a time of reindeer, mammoths, elk or musk oxen. Europe's glacial periods meant very long pluvial periods for Palestine-Arabia, separated by periods of shrinkage of the great freshwater Jordan-Lake.

But no period of deserts came till in very modern times. (Neuville, Revue Biblique, April 1934: 237-259; XI plates). There has been no glacial or cataclysmic destruction of humanity or forced migration of human culture, as in Western Europe. Humanity lived in the open through the most of the ages. A temperature cold enough to herd humanity in caves is peculiar to the more recent eras. In consequence skeletal remains show that one continuous type of humanity did persist through the uncounted millenniums of Late Pleistocene with their waves of immigrants. Hence a line of transmitted

traditions in Palestine might have origins in Pleistocene times. As for the successive Fresh water seas, each would obliterate more or less the shore or beach marks of its predecessors. Those now recognizable are naturally the work of the last one; at its peak 12,000 years ago.

How this fact would affect literature is a matter of the first importance. Contrast this geology with that of the Lower Euphrates Valley. From Hit, the ancient head of the Persian Gulf, to the present mouth of the Euphrates, is a distance of about 425 miles in an air-line. For ages a process of burying everything has been carried on by the river; no huge mysterious fossils have ever been in view. There are city-foundations that are now 90 feet below the surface. It follows theories of Creation in Palestine and Babylonia would differ widely. An intelligent Pre-Israelite culture would have data for successive stages of living creatures like that in Gen. 1; a people who saw no varying skeleta, and made everything out of mud, and conquered their own garden lands from the marshes, are reflected in Gen. 2. They would not have made the fantastic palaeontology of section 32-b.

This never-glacial Palestine is not in conflict with the fact that the only surviving "Cedars of Lebanon" grow high up in the mountains at the snow lines, on what has long been considered a great terminal moraine, that is 10,000 years old (G. Frederick Wright, Records of the Past, July 1906, 195-204). But that would not mean a Glacial Age in Palestine, any more than present glaciers in the Rocky mountains mean a present Glacial Age in the United States. But recent geological opinion does not recognize even such a modern glacier in the Lebanon. The "moraine" of the cedars, and like deposits in some of the U-shaped valleys are now viewed as illustrating the difference in permeability and erodibility of the various Jurassic and Cretaceous Strata, (Dubertret, cited by Neuville, RB. April 1934; 238, note 4)

But while we consider how the absence of a glacial period has given Palestine a curious chronological advantage over Southern and Southwestern Europe, in the matter of an early developement of an agricultural population, we must associate with that the like geological fact about North Africa. Proofs of glacial action exist high up in the Atlas Mountains, from Algiers westward, But the like evidence does not exist for the lowland coast regions of Eastern North Africa, from Tunis to Palestine. It is "geologically foreordained" then that the same Mediterranean race should bask in climatic peace in both regions when the North Mediterranean shivered in the breath of the Ice-king. At the close of the section on "Pre-Dynastic Delta Dynasties" are suggestions that Africa was the original home of the olive. Is it not clear that the Red Berber Culture was the earliest high Mediterranean culture, because of the said geological advantage? Throughout the historic centuries North Africa and Palestine have remained peculiarly linked in peoples and culture. What God hath joined together man has not succeeded in putting very far asunder.

A corollary of this non-glacial North Africa and Arabia- Palestine would be that a coastal trade along the coast of the Red Sea, Gulf of Aden, and south Arabia- Persia could have existed from Palaeolithic times. There was no climatic hindrance. All would depend upon the social trading impulses of humanity. There are exegetes who have thought that people of Egypt or Palestine could never reach India. But the route through the Gulf of Aden is immemorial. This is noticed again in 58-u.

25. Teleilat el-Ghassûl: Not Sodom.

The name may be translated "Hillocks of soap-plant" or "lyc-plant"; there is an abundance of a plant whose ashes are used in washing or soap-making. Because of an abundance of ashes found in first excavations some hasty scribblers announced the discovery of the Biblical Sodom. All such the student will reject, with Hastings' DB article. All Biblical, classical, patristic evidence places Sodom at the southwest curve of the Dead Sea (Collected by Père M. J. Lagrange, Revue Biblique, October, 1932, 489-514).

The site is three and a half miles north of the Dead Sea, three miles east of the Jordan. Excavations began January 17, 1929; have continued at intervals. Four strata have been reported. The two lowest certainly belong to the stone age; possibly the two upper also. A few bits of copper found may have been brought by traders. The last city was burned somewhere between 2500-2000 B.C., in the opinion of eight explorers. Albright doubts if there is anything later than 3000 B.C. The oldest cities were built

of soft mud blocks piled together. The people had not learned to use stones or mould brick. Mud pits or silos stored grain. For such people, the early settlements were not walled; not even a rampart of earth. There must have been little fear of marauders. How much older than 4000 B.C. the beginning was is not yet certain. Our immediate interest is its non-Arabian culture, very long in development on one site, and continuing when finally abandoned, in the lowest strata at Jericho--a gradual development from the Natufian stage. See Section 19: the authorities there cited recognized the fact, in the first year of the excavations. Since then a close study of the oldest culture at Tell Fara⁶ recognizes development into the Ghassûlian, and identities with the Ghassûlian are regularly noted. Pottery is found in the Ghassûlian. The oldest Tell Fara⁶ is Palaeolithic, and has none, but soon develops mud and chopped straw pottery. (MacDonald, Beth Pelet II). The debris strata, nine feet in depth, mean a very long continuous occupation. The Ghassûlian pottery is fine and persists longer, but an identity of artifacts lasts through centuries (Albright, BASOR, Dec. 1932).

Unique is the fact that in the last Ghassûlian town polychrome wall-paintings were found--the oldest known outside Egypt; and language-signs on various objects, not like anything hitherto known. (ZDPV., 1932, 26-42; Biblica, XIII, 3, pp. 273-292; AJA, 1933, p. 162; Syria, 1932, 334-244; N.Y. Times, 1-16-1933; N.Y. Sun, 1-17-1933)

26. Jebel Tubaik Petroglyphs.

The surprising Mesolith rock-drawings of Umm Katafa (Section 24) now have company. The Glueck-Horsfield expedition from Mafraq to Kilwa, in the Trans-Jordan region, 1933, found the sides of a hard sandstone ridge for some hundreds of yards carved with figures of animals, chiefly of the ibex type. Lines, sharp and clear, had been weathered into the same color as the original rock. The artist had first punched an outline of fine holes, then proceeded to chisel the outlines, working from right to left, in diagonal lines /////////////// till the small splinters of rock cracked off where the holes were previously made. The discoverers decided that the drawings are related to the vast body of such art discovered in North Africa by Frobenius. Albright admits the kinship. The discoverers think the drawings are from the same period as Neuville's finds at Umm Katafa.


27. Summary of Aboriginal Culture.

The last ten sections while showing no Arabian elements in early Palestine, have meanwhile shown a great aboriginal agricultural culture there, persistent through the last 20,000 years, whatever peoples may have been there in earlier geologic ages.

Archaeologists recognize their older cultural stages as Capsian, then Mesolithic, then Neolithic. (The name Capsian is from Roman Capsa, modern Gafsa, in Tunis, the site where a particular stage of artifact-development was first studied.) Anatomists and ethnologists agree that the people were rather small, slender, unrelated to any Arabian peoples, apparently a Mediterranean stock; their closest relations being found among those we call Berbers, now spread across North Africa. The persistence of their physical type in the coastlands of modern Palestine is asserted by observing ethnologists. The student is to decide whether this basal element in the population of the OT Palestine can be ignored. And he is to remember that each season now brings new knowledge of their prehistoric past.

28. Early Threshing of Grain.

We have seen that these people cultivated grain for ages before they had cattle. Hence they did not thresh by making cattle tramp it, as shown in Egyptian pictures, or Deut. 25:4; I Cor. 9:9; I Tim. 5:18, nor by dragging a sledge over it, as in Is. 41:15. Beating with sticks or flails, known among Greeks and Romans, and to all ancient peoples of Europe, would be the only method. Beating out grain persists in Judg. 6:11; Ruth 2:17; Micah 4:13; Is. 27:12; 28:27. And in modern Palestine, in the East Jordan region, Moslem Bedawin grow the sacred "prophets' barley" with much ritual, and dare not thresh it with oxen, but with flails or staves. (L. Bauer, MDPV, 1911, p. 89). The Egyptian historical records, for more than a thousand years before such Biblical passages, often group all Syro-Palestinians, as Aamu. It has been conjectured that this term means "boomerang people" (Revue Biblique, 1929, p. 570, note 7) and the boomer-

ang suggested to be the familiar determinative for any foreign land. But universal boomerang-throwing has not been proved, and the determinative for a foreign land seems to be a good flail,  If the historic Egyptians spoke of "flail-people," it would indicate that contemporary Palestinians were notably tenacious of prehistoric agricultural devices.

29. What Institutions Will Agriculture Produce?

Read the secular laws and customs in Exodus 21-23 ("Book of the Covenant," of the document-analysts). Observe (1) no herd and flock legislation, (2) no pasture-land prescriptions. (3) Nothing of hunting, tenting and camping laws; nothing at all of the nomadic life. (4) Nothing at all of commerce, trade, shops, etc. (5) All shows a simple agricultural people, with agricultural festivals. Is it not clear that the foundations of Hebrew social life and customs were laid by such "non-Semitic", non-Arabian, non-nomadic, agricultural people, as archaeology is showing us? Read Olmstead, Chap. II, (History of Palestine and Syria) discarding his "Armenoid" interpolation. Or Shailer Mathews (GIG) "The Hebrews did not invent monotheism and did not live in the deserts. The history of the Hebrew people was a struggle between folk-polytheism, and prophetic henotheism."

30. Did this agricultural cave-people really persist?

Explorers agree that it did; local phases always influenced by foreign trade. Thus Asia Minor influences are inevitable in the north, Egyptian in the south, and those of the Hamitic peoples whom we have seen in South Arabia (See Sections 10-13.) from very early times. Some influence comes from the sea. People who drew traders by their agricultural produce would continue to do so. The eventual appearance of a little copper among people who had not yet reached the polished stone stage does not mean their extinction or expulsion. It only means better trade. Hence the conclusion that the culture of such sites must be regarded as continuous, whatever foreign influence came in (S. A. Cook, p. 90). Père Mallon regards Teleilat El-Ghassûl as the finest ancient city-site of this culture. Its last stage is identical with the oldest (first) city-culture at Jericho, before 2500 B. C., over which several later cities were built; and is identical with the earliest city-culture at Gezer. Not fortified, it suggests a peaceful people, with no serious political or racial rivalries. Of the grottos in Southern Judea, that of Mughâret Umm Katafa presents the finest example, unmixed with later culture. Umm Kala, or "Fortress Cave" has later Bronze culture in addition. These are in bluffs of the Wady Khreitoun. El-Masa' on the same Wady shows the early Gezer-Jericho culture. So does Tell el-Mustah, the Biblical Beth-Nimrah on the Wady Shaib, ten miles east-north-east of Jericho. (See Hastings' map; Neuville, JPOS, 1930, 201 ff; Neuville and Mallon, Syria, 1931, 24 ff). Khirbet 'Adeimeh six miles east of the mouth of the Jordan, has a like culture, with a dolmen-field south of it.

31. Can Cave-peoples Become Town-builders?

In Section 18 was pointed out the fact that this cave-dweller culture at Gezer eventually became a town. It was stated that the caves of Ophel contain this same Mesolith culture. But Ophel is the southeastern spur of the hill outside the "city of David" on which Solomon built his temple. And all scholars in matters of Jerusalem know that the Temple-Hill stands over an ancient sacred cave. That hill and cave remain sacred to many people because ancient cave-people held them so.

Sir Harry H. Johnston (Story of My Life, 321 f.) shows the present coexistence of all stages of development in the ancient Berber cave-site of Matmata (southern Tunis). (1) An unimproved "crevice or hollow in the limestone." (2) Wide entrance partly closed by planting timber-stakes. (3) Enlargement of the natural cavity by hewing. (4) A precipitous front or wall of limestone, in which doors or windows are left, the interior hewed into three or four rooms. (5) A horizontal or one-level system: into a stone pit or depression a gully-path descends: cave-homes are hewed out all around the plaza-court at the bottom. (6) The gully-path may be covered with a vaulted roof, protecting all descent. Some such "pit-towns" are large enough for a whole clan.

32. Are There Traditions in the OT of these Aborigines?

There are megalithic regions and vanished peoples in the OT referred to as "Rephaim." Israel never saw any, never fought with any. People who had been Anakim once are now "Rephaim" in Deut. 2:11; so also the Zamzummim in 2:20. The former Bashan people are now "Rephaim" in several passages. But the term is the regular Hebrew word for "ghosts, phantoms." Hence the German scholar Karge, agreeing with others as to the actual application of the term, calls his monumental work upon the megalithic tombs of Palestine, "Rephaim." The term is specifically "ghosts" or phantoms in Is. 14:9; 26:14-19; Ps. 8:11; Prov. 2:18; 9:18; 21:16; Job 26:5. As a place-name then it suggests a necropolis, or specter-haunted region; as in Gen. 14:5; 15:20; Deut. 2:11, 20, 3:11, 13; Josh. 12:4; 13:12; 17:15; 15:8; 18:16; 2 Sam. 5:18; 23:13; 1 Chron. 11:15; 14:9; Is. 17:5; in all cases but one, regions east of the Jordan. In only seven of these 24 passages have various late LXX translators guessed gigantes. There is no archaeological justification, no skeletal support for the word "giants" in some AV passages. "The Rapha" of 2 Sam. 21:16; 18, 20, 22; 1 Chron. 20:4, 6, 8, probably means people of the Philistine coast-town of Rapha or Raphia, southwest of Gaza. Is it Beth-Raphia in South-west Judah, of 1 Chron. 4:12? Further, the Greek word gigant is explained by old classic authors to mean "Earth-born," without reference to size (cf. Liddell & Scott, and Stephens).

32a. The Bones Of The Giants--Not Human Bones.

In saying that there is no skeletal support for the word "giants" in some AV passages, "human skeleta are meant. But we must consider what "folk-science" did with other skeletal. Substantial evidence of non-human "giants" was familiar from immemorial times.

Josephus (Ant. V:2,3) says of Caleb's capture of Hebron (Josh. 14:122), that "the giants" had bodies so large and countenances so entirely different from other men, that they were surprising to the sight and terrible to the hearing. The bones of these men are still shown to this very day, unlike to any credible relations of other men." The palaeontologist will fully accept Josephus' cautious intimation that the monster bones were not human bones at all. And with regard to the rabbinical "giants" of Gen. 6:4, he is equally skeptical. "The tradition is that these men did what resembled the acts of those whom the Grecians call Giants" (Ant. 1:3,1)

A thousand years later than Josephus, Benjamin of Tudela (Adler's edition, p.30) was shown the bone of "King Abramaz of the giants" in the great Mosque of Ben-Hadad in Damascus. The bone was 9 cubits long! (A whale's rib?) Josephus (Ant. IX: 4,6) says temples of Benhadad and Hazael is his own day claimed prehistoric antiquity, but does not mention any bone evidence. With Josephus compare Arnobius on the demigods, "whose bones when dug up in different parts of the earth, have made the discoverers almost doubt that they were the remains of human limbs." (ANF. V:462). He replies to pagan scoffs of tales of ancestral giants in Judaeo-Christian lore. And he reminds them that the Palladium of Troy was made of the bones of Pelops: (ANF V:484); a fair counterpoise for the giant-bones of "Father Abram" of Damascus. Elephant's bones were objects of his own worship in his pagan youth, (ANF. vi:423). Clement of Alexandria probably means elephant's bones when he adds to the Pelops-Palladium the assertion that the "Olympian Jove" was composed of "Bones of the Indian wild beast." (ANF. 11:185)

Seventy-five years earlier than Josephus the Emperor Augustus with an archaeological bent collected at Capri "the huge limbs of Seamonsters and wild beasts, which some affect to call the bones of giants; and also the arms of ancient heroes." (Suetonius, Augustus lxxii). It is possible that residence at Rome in contact with men like Suetonius produced the anti-rabbinical sanity of Josephus. Modern excavations in Capri have found bones of the rhinoceros and other huge beasts, with rough 6-lb stone hammers in the reddish clay at the bottom of the marsh. (Lanciani, Athenaeum, 2-17-1906; 209).

The Jewish-Christian author of the Recognitions of Clement, on the "giants" of Gen. 6:4, says that "their bones, of enormous size, are still shown in some places for confirmation." (ANF.VIII:85). He twits the Greeks on their "dragon-footed giants" (Saurian tracks?). Tertullian also credits the stories: "there are the giants of olden time... their bony frames are still extant." (ANF. iii:576). Clement of Alexandria, more skeptical, says that these ancient heroes "are called giants" (in Greek). But the "souls of the giants, which are the daimonia (spirits of the dead) who wander about the world" (ANF. 11:142). Mere Rephaim."

Rabbinical fancy connects the bones of the gigantic rîmû (Hebrew re'em), or wild ox of the mountains, with Og, King of Bashan and with the Deluge. The reason lies in the cuneiform ideogram for the Akkadian rîmu: Ox+mountain + Gul. Now Gul is a Sumerian character, originally meaning "inundate, deluge," secondarily "destroy." So the "destroying rîmû" has been understood as "rîmû of the flood": and the Sumerian for rîmû has been read "Ugu", (Muh), "on top of." So the rabbins got "Ugu of the flood," or "on top of the flood." But Ugu (Oga) is also the name of the Sumerian Lion-Sun-god, who cannot be drowned, no matter how often he plunges into the Sea! So the rabbins bequeath us tales that "Og" was an antediluvian giant too big to get into the ark, so he rode on top of it, and his bones are dropped here and there about the mountains. Thus they make the "Og" of Israelite conquest merely a recrudescence of an antediluvian monster. Another version is that instead of riding on top of the Ark Og with a rîmû walked in the water along-side the ark. Another group of rabbins explains that the rîmû took refuge in Palestine, which was not submerged! (Correct: see Section 24:b) Another version is that when King Og got on the roof of the Ark, Noah turned the hippopotamus and the rîmû out to keep the ark from foundering. As for Og's big bones, Rabbi Johanan said, "I was once a grave-digger, and I ran after a deer, and went in at one end of the shinbone of a dead man, and ran for three miles, and could not catch the deer or reach the end of the bone. When I went back, I inquired and was told that this was the shinbone of Og, King of Bashan," (Baring-Gould, LPE, "Noah:" "Moses", Sec.12.) Baring-Gould did not know the rîmû, AV "Unicorn," and translates "rhinoceros". (Poor Rabbi Johanan is out-done by modern Palestinians who tell of bones several scores of miles in length. Elihu Grant).

The rabbinical explanation of all hudge bones is beyond question. Was there ever such a person as "Og, King of Bashan"? Are the rabbis merely personalizing the huge bones in this "Land of Rephaim" (Elihu Grant).

Assyrian royal inscriptions show the hunting of both Elephants and rîmu in the region of Harra, along the Khabour, as late as the days of David. Egyptian kings earlier hunted the elephant at the Syrian bend of the Euphrates. We do not yet know what species of elephant. The OT does not mention any: folk-science probably confused the bones of the elephant with those of the rîmû. But the bones of some species of elephant of Pleistocene age were dug up in Bethlehem in the summer of 1934. (Nature, 8-11-1934; Science 9-7-1934.) The African type of elephant is found in the stone age of Palestine that we have already sketched.

Every Palaeontologist knows a host of such popular misconstructions of huge bones, from many lands. The like data relative to OT regions have not been collated before. But since they suggest that in very ancient times a really intelligent scientific explanation of huge bones fossils or non-fossil, did exist alongside of extravaganzas about a monster prehistoric humanity, it is important to notice that the intelligent explanation is possible to our contemporary North American Indians. The great Mammalian palaeontologist, Dr. J.W. Gidley, long with the Smithsonian Institution, has recorded a dramatic feature of his original discovery of a skeleton of the Mesochippus, "curious little ancestor of the modern horse, that ramped and squealed upon our Western plains some 50,000,000 years ago. The little beast was about the size of a dog (hound). The find was made in the Black Hills, in the days when any approach of an Indian was still considered a peril. As Dr. Gidley worked, a feathered and moccasined Sioux Indian suddenly appeared, sat down, and "watched the clearing of the skeleton, and in broken Sioux+English made observations about the "little horse" that would have done credit to a University man!" (SNL, 10-15-1932). Add to this fact that the modern Indians have transmitted many legends and traditions of the former existence of the mammoth and mastodon, and have occasionally found the bones of "the Big-Buffalo"; but they have not yet reported them as "Big Men". Perhaps such distortions are made only by people who have totally lost the memories and traditions of ancestral hunting experiences.

Having seen that there are no giants in the word Rephaim, nor in any other OT word, let us see how ancient these Rephaim were.

33. Can These OT Rephaim Have Been Near the Time of the Israel Conquest of the Region?

English explorers in 1930-31 found a line of Bronze Age cities (2000-1200 B.C.) running south from Bashan through Ammon, Moab and Edom, with great copper mines in the latter two. And a basalt stele with an unknown script was found in Moab. This power-

ful culture can hardly be the origin of the "ghostland" tradition of the OT. For the tradition is far older! The Egyptians had it more than 1000 years before Israel settled in Palestine. Their records, from Menthu-hotep III (2050 B.C. ff.) apply the term Ta-Neteru to all this region in 17 cases: to Punt (Somaliland? South Arabia?), in 23 cases (ARE). Ntr is usually translated "gods" in English, partially obscuring the facts. Lidzbarski (3:126) observes that ntr commonly specifies "the dead"; and that htr ntr is a "necropolis" or "world of the dead." So this trans-Jordan region, swarming with megalithic tombs, was a "land of (ancestral?) dead": of phantoms or monuments, to the ancient Egyptians. And Israel accepted the idea when passing through that land.

Furthermore, a close examination of all these ancient Bronze Age stations shows that they all disappeared with the beginning of the Middle Bronze; practically simultaneously (around 1700 B.C.), 500 years or more before the Israelite invasion of the region. The Israelites gained enough contact with the people of their own time to secure definite traditions of this earlier conquest. (Glueck, BASOR, Sept. 1933, p. 18)

34. Recurring to Section 4.

The explorations have shown that this prehistoric people in its Mesolithic stage practiced cave-burial, with bowls or "cup-marks" cut in the stone besides the grave at times, for offerings to the dead, some 20,000 years ago. Also artificial "cave-tombs," megalithic mazzebôt, dolmens, gilgals, and other features of the "high places" of our AV. Such rock-cut tombs persisted in Israelite and later Jewish times. (In "Pre-Mosaic" course.)* We then have to recognize some of the most persistent Jewish ideas and practices connected with death and burial as established in Palestine for ages before Israel settled there. And modern exploration also shows these megalithic institutions did not exist in Ancient Arabia. (Field Museum Expedition, 1929). Nor are such sanctuaries known among nomad Arabs of modern North Arabia. And Major C. S. Jarvis (p. 44) reports that swearing by an ancestral tomb or sheikh is unknown in the modern Egyptian province of Sinai, of which he has been governor for nine years. All writing about either cave-tombs or megalithic necropoles as "Semitic high-places" is fundamentally misleading.

35. What Were These People Called?

We do not know their name for themselves. Their language is unknown. Some form of it may be extant in an unknown language discovered at Ras Shamra, the ancient Ugarit, in recent years. In Section 11 it was shown that the theory, that the mysterious "Amorites" were Semitic, is exploded. It may be these ancient peoples were the Amorites. The term Amurru (ideogram MAR-TU) means merely "Western" or "Southwestern." It may mean any people at all west of the speaker. In the Assyrian inscriptions the term Amurru persists and is not restricted in application to any one region or stock, any more than "westerner" is so restricted in America. In the same way, in early Christian times in Egypt all the various tribes east of Egypt were Shirakin or "Easterners." We turn the term into "Saracen." But one result was that the mixed marauders west of Egypt were also called "Saracen." But the Sumerians called their trade-coast on the Mediterranean, MARTU: in Akkadian commercial vernacular, Amurru, (English, "Westport"), and the name stuck, appearing in Egyptian records as Amor: in late Greek, Marath-us, modern Amrit, near Arvad (Ruâd). The Akkadian term was probably used by later people as the designation for all this aboriginal culture-people of Palestine. The Arab still calls the Berber folk of Morocco-Algiers, Maghrebî or "westerners." Duncan uses "Amorite" to mean the advanced culture that began to build cities upon old cavern-sites, between 2000-2500 B.C. (e.g. pp. 38, 89 f., 93.) But he later admits the "Amorite" was akin to the North African (plate facing 63). But scholars who do not recognize the early rud town-builders as invaders, but as a development of the ancient agricultural cavern-people will say that "Amorite" in Palestine should mean this "aboriginal" people. It may be observed that Ezekiel credits the founding of Jerusalem to the "Amorite." (Ezek. 16:3, 45; cf. Gen. 14:7, 13; 15:16; 48:22; Deut. 2:24; Judges 1:34 f, 11:19ff.). Observe that the pre-patriarchal population of Palestine is regularly called "Amorite." Observe again that the Amorite names Aner, Eshcol, Mamre, in Gen. 14:13; 24, are not Semitic names. The "Amorites" are not a "Semitic" people. In Gen. 50:13, Num. 13:24 Mamre and Eshcol are place-names near Hebron. As to Amorites founding Jerusalem, in Ezekiel's assertion, we have seen that Ophel, the original city, began with the cave-dwellers. (Duncan 14:36, 40 f.) But we do not see a great "Amorite" state; an imperial Palestine. We have early valley-cultivating communities, developing some independent towns.

35-b. The Sumerian "Amorites" - (Supplemental, June 1, 1934.)

Clarifying Section 35 -- P. Dhorme in Revue Biblique, 1928, 61 ff. gathers all the cuneiform material containing the terms MAR.TU or Amurru: holding to the theory that the terms are ethnic, or ethnological, meaning always a particular people and culture. He has not proved it. Sidney Smith of the British Museum agrees that "Amurru does not express any linguistic or racial unity: it is merely a geographical term, and used rather vaguely." (EHA, 176 ff: 371, notes 17, 18). Frankfort observes that some writers give the term an ethnological connotation that it does not possess. It is used of any people west of the speaker or writer.

Reverting then to the above Sumerian "Westport", observe first Burckhardt's observation (1822) that the Baalbek district is Jebel es-Sharki, or "eastern mountain," while the Lebanon range is "Western mountain" (TSHL, p. 4). The distinction still exists. We now know that the westward push of the Sumerian king Lugal-Zaggisi (Section 67) was politically nullified by his overthrow by Sargon of Akkad (Section 47). But commercially and culturally the Sumerian remained dominant in the valley extending inward from Amrit to Katna (see map). The Akkadian had to use him as accountant and business manager (see Section 68-b). The polychrome statues of Sumerians just discovered (ILN 5-19-1934), with long black hair in English cavalier-style raise the suspicion that the Sumerians may be the mysterious Fnhw ship-builders of the northern coast in Egyptian records, (Sec. 49). For Sumerian culture persists in the Mediterranean, and 1300 years after Sargon's time a king of Cyprus writes to the Pharaoh that the (Sumerian) plague-god Nergal has been ravaging his land for three years (EAL no. 35). Then the recent discoveries at Ugarit (Section 120) prove the Sumerian culturally prominent and scholastically dominant on that coast at the time of the above letter from the king of Cyprus. Then the recent excavation of Katna by the Comte du Mesnil du Buisson has revealed the fact that at this same time the great Sumerian goddess NIN.E.GAL was the supreme divinity. She had supplanted the Anatolian mother-goddess nearly a thousand years before. Amen em-hat II, of Egypt, paid special court to that shrine (Section 90). Dussaud concludes that the NIN.E.GAL cult was planted there during the third UR dynasty, about 2200 B.C. (others, 2400). It is additional testimony that Sargon of Akkad, several hundred years earlier, had not crippled Sumerian cults and culture.

Now the EA Letters, in Akkadian commercial vernacular, call the region and the city "Amurru." And as "Amor" it appears in the Egyptian records. As "Amorites" the state was once the northern boundary of Israel (Section 176). But this does not identify or connect this state with any other "Amorites" of our AV.

Now as "Amurru" it does not appear in any classic literature. And its Sumerian official name, Hellenized into "Marathos," does not appear in the classic records before Alexander the Great. The Pauly-Wissowa and Dr. Smith cannot find any early mention of "Marathos," though it was confessedly very old, and very great. The reason is that officially the city was MAR.TU: (Marti). Its numerous late coins are stamped (in Phoenician characters), MRT: from the Persian period to Hadrian? In Greek, Marath-os. And its harbor-stream is the Marathios, which the Arabs have adapted into Amrit. These are derived from Martu: not from Amurru. For the struggle of the Sumerian culture for its cults to the end, see the above authorities.

35-c. Are Southern OT Amorites The Amrrhi of The Berber Tuareg?

In Section 18, and Egyptian Sections 37 to 39, is presented the fact that the most ancient people of North Africa and Palestine were of the same Mediterranean stock, and the further fact that the North African Berbers had established a dynastic dominance of the Delta, reaching into South Palestine, for about 2000 years ere the dark Hamites of the middle Nile pushed down the Nile to the Sea. Did these Red Berber of the Delta, the modern Tuareg, leave in the Delta and in Palestine some of their fundamental political-social terms? Israel in the Tanis-Zoan-Avaris region would learn them.--Now in 58-W is presented the Tuareg term Imrhan, Imrhad, Imghad, applied to tribes kept politically inferior: not accorded independent action. The singular is Amghi or Amrrhi. The modern Arab attaches his plural Amrin, Amerin to several fastnesses in the region of Num. 14:42f:21:1. See Palmer, pp. 236, 287, 323, 332, 360, 422ff, and official survey maps of the Egyptian Government.--It is probable that early Israel understood that no one tribe, clan, stock, or language was expressed by Amrrhi, Amori; merely various feeble, "wild," politically subject tribes. There would be such, under any Anak (Sections 62-67). Ethnological assumptions have resulted from our ignorance.

35-d. Primitive Culture Coöperative: Not Individual

At this point the student should grasp the fact of coöperative community life being the indispensable social condition for early agriculture. No man or woman of the Old Stone Age could suddenly abandon dependence upon fish or game; dig up a little piece of ground with a sharp stick and live upon what might thus be produced. There must first be a knowledge of the preferable grains or roots. He will begin with no knowledge of fertilizers. It takes experience to learn that some soils are infertile. It takes experience to learn that grain will grow better where tall grass or jungle has been burned off. It takes experience to discover that this potash effect does not last long. And before any one can acquire this experience there is the problem of living by eating something else; of living while keeping wild animals from eating the planted grain; of keeping other animals from eating him while he watches the little field; of keeping men as needy as himself from seizing the crop. Only as every such problem is regarded as a vital interest of the while little community will there be any agriculture.

In Section 19ff, we have seen a people equipped with harpoons and hunting big water-game at times already equipped with good "safety-razor-blade" sickles. That means long antecedent experience. Yet these Natufian folk appear thus equipped about 20,000 B.C. That means experience gained in Palaeolithic times.

Similarly Col. F. Muhlhofer exploring an Austrian cave finds that its people before the last Ice Age were provided with wheat in quantity. Part of their store was left in the cave. And the wheat is botanically identified as a dwarf wheat peculiarly resistant of cold. The advance of glaciers from the north had not yet stopped wheat growing. But this means travel or exchange. The wild wheats known to us are not native to Europe. These palaeolithic agriculturists have travelled from Asia with their wheat, or have secured it and the art of growing it from Asia. The time required for the spread of the knowledge of agriculture from one community to another is much debated.

Col. Muhlhofer found cave-paintings illustrating the trials of the ancient grain grower. There is an array of points to represent the growing field. Around it is an array of red hands, and outward-pointing arrows. (?) A horse coming too near is shot by an arrow, (or dart?). A bison passes a warning red hand, is shot by an arrow, turns away with the point hanging in his side.

In such society there is no individual ownership of land. The tilled field belongs to the community; the protection of it means community effort: So does the tillage: and the community is able to see that each able-bodied person does his part in all necessary tasks. Removal from exhausted land and burning a new field is a community movement.

Werner Buttler in Antiquity, March 1936 sketches four years excavation of a Neolithic farming community found near Cologne, Germany. There were 4 stages, or strata. In the latest, a community of 2,000 to 3,000 people had occupied a palisaded and banked oval, 197 yards by 240, for about 300 years. They had hit upon a rich alluvial tract: removal because of early exhaustion of land was not necessary. A cross-ditch divided the enclosure. The upper slope held the houses and grain pits; the lower end with a water-hole was for their cattle. There were no plows, no rotation crops, no fertilizing, no individual fields. The immemorial system found in many lands still, is annual allotment in each new clearing. Harvest barns were placed between the village slope, and the alluvial field. Here the grain-heads were stored or spread on the raised platform of the barn, dried, threshed. Then the grain was carried to the storage pits in the village. Buttler concludes, "In this Neolithic period were being laid the foundations of that permanently settled peasantry on which all the later advances of civilization are based". We face a social-economics system surviving in all the Old World.

35-e. Land-System in The Old Testament

There was no individual ownership of farm land. Everywhere we read of "lots" and "lines": of "part or lot": and of "portion or inheritance". The student must take Walker's Concordance and see how these terms are woven into the whole social life of the land. The word "Wilderness" mistranslates the Hebrew Midbay which is really "allottable"; land that has not yet been "allotted" to any one. There is still such land. He will see in Deut. 21 land not claimed by any community, with the decision the nearest community must keep order there. Any man's claim or right to a piece of land for cultivation depends upon his membership in some community or clan. In Ezra 2: 59ff Neh. 7:61 we are dealing with a social system that expects the descendents of some ancient community to

return to that community's "inheritance". Persons who cannot give their genealogy have no claim to a share in the land of that community. Dr. Adams in Persia by a Persian tells us that it is so yet in rural Persia: an illiterate Persian can repeat his pedigree for many generations that his village ancestors have tilled the surrounding community lands. Where the individual owns no land he has none to mortgage, and none to be taxed. Such taxes can be levied upon the community only, which takes care that its non-resident members pay their quota. Luke 2:1-5 shows us the system: Joseph and Mary accepting their quota of the taxes laid upon Bethlehem. It is corroborated by the great biographical inscription of Augustus at Angora, which tells that "I caused all the world to be taxed, every man in his own city". All this will come before the student again, in connection with Amenophis III of Egypt. The student may find in Gomme's Village Community the evidence that this coöperative system is the foundation of Anglo Saxon institutions. It migrated to Colonial America.

35-f. Persistence of The Sumerian Amurru State

Passing to the longlived Sumerian Amurru State of 35-b, its strength was in its coöperative agriculture base. The Sumerian came from no one knows where and settled in Southern Babylonia after a disastrous flood there, Gen. 11:2, sometime prior to 4000 B.C. Woolley Excavating at Urduring past 12 years, places the Zenith of its splendor about 3500 B.C. Kish and Uruk (Erech, Gen. 10) were greater cities and older. After 2,000 B.C. the Sumerians lost the political hegemony to the Semitic-Speaking Akkadians. But Von Soden observes that the Akkadian was conceded political leadership only upon condition of his accepting the Sumerian culture and social system. The land-system that the Sumerian brought with him was the only one that could maintain a strong state in the Euphratean lowlands; alternately marshy and drought-stricken - "The idea of Order in Sumer gained what is for us an almost inconceivable metaphysical significance and religious and artistic strength, probably due to a racially conditioned unusually strong sense of order in the Sumerians, it reached a most intensive expression in consequence, of the natural circumstances of Babylonia. Its fertility was everywhere dependent upon an orderly husbandry of water; this could be maintained only by a strong orderly state. The Sumerian tablets of the third millennium B.C. show that the Sumerian State ordered traces of State Socialism. Private property in irrigated land apparently never existed. All land belonged to the Temple-State, as representative of the Gods. "(And the Temple-State supplied every tiller of the soil with land, seed, tools, animals, according to the seasonal need)". This order of the Earth-State was identical with the State of the Gods. Neither Highest God nor Highest Ruler could vacillate or vary at whim. Each was bound up in a World Order, whose realization was his task. Gods who maintained the World Order lived, those who did not, died. But no Akkadian God could sin, or die, any whim of a God was "right" (ZDMC 1935: 3-4: p.*13*---- The Sumerian mind could have written Drummond's Natural Law in the Spiritual World: No Semitic mind ever could. The Sumerian mind could picture the fall of Lucifer, in Paradise Lost - No Semitic mind could).

Records recently recovered from Nuzi show an Akkadian people of the third millennium B.C. who have accepted Sumerian culture. There is strong reaction from Akkadian private ownership: it continues to the end of the 4th Ur Dynasty. These are no private business contracts. All records are public administrative documents dealing with lists of laborers; instructions to the receivers of the contents of public food stores: receipts for shipments from the same: lists of "runaways" (tramps) dodging their duty of labor. The Tamkar (merchant) is frequent; but he is not a private speculator, but a public functionary transacting wholesale exchanges for the State, and receiving his own support from the same public stores like his fellow citizens. Hundreds of such officials through centuries show us mercantile business conducted without the motive of private profit. In one case the tamkar draws from the public stores "to sell in Lullubu" in the Zagros Mountains. He was expected to return with "slaves" sold by their poor mountaineer kin for bread. These, trained in the Nuzi ways might in many cases be adopted into Nuzi families.

Now reverting to the long-powerful Amurru State in 35-b, a glance at the last map in this book shows the reason of its power. Competing coast cities had a narrow strip of land, one or two miles wide. They did not feed themselves. Amurru had a tract 30 miles by 20, fronting on the seam, and flanked by high protective mountains. It lasted near 3,000 years. When finally stripped of its lands by pirate neighbors, the great Sumerian social state disappeared.

36. Consider Amorites In The Old Testament.

The student will examine Gen. 10. Is there any such name as "Palestine?" Any statement of the ancestry of its pre-Israelite peoples? Any "Amorite" race? No Semitic-speaking Pre-Israelite peoples there known to the compilers. Third, they do not know the land as held by "Hamites."

Now with a concordance, note the 52 passages mentioning Amorites or "the Amorite": 46 more mentioning Sihon. (1) Note there is no genealogy or kinship of Amorites with other peoples. (2) Consider above Assyrian use of Amurru for any or all west lands. Is "Amorite" in the OT applied to all peoples of Palestine, or to one of many? Note the passages. (3) Are they widely distributed? in Gilead, Moab, Bashan, southwest hills, northwest also? (4) Have they one king, or many little chieftains? (5) Are they anywhere credited with iron, like the people in Judg. 1:19; 4:3, 13? (6) Have they anything but hill-strongholds? (In Gen. 14:13 read "oaks of Mamre, the Amorite" --not plains). (7) Was Abram's Machpelah then, (Gen. 23:17) originally an Amorite sacred cave? Any case of Amorite Kings having a cave-refuge? (8) What is the probability that the Amorites were the hill-cave aborigines we have considered? --(With Walker's Concordance, the systematic student should check the passages in two hours.)

B. The Minoan-Philistine Southern Highway.

37. The foregoing sketch of some known aboriginal elements in the making of Palestine prepares for the consideration of important elements that came from the sea and unquestionably aided in differentiating the region later called Judah from the one called Israel. In the OT these influences are prominently expressed by the terms Philistine, Cherethite, Pelethite, Gergesite, Anakim, Canaanite ("coast-lander", "low-lander", all traders from the sea: see Zeph. 2:4.). In such study we confront at the outset the fact shown by the archaeology of Crete, Egypt, and Palestine, that there were exchanges of commercial wares, between Cretan-Aegean areas and the Egyptian and east Mediterranean coasts, as early as 4,000 B.C., probably as early as 5,000 B. C. Who were these Palestinian peoples, founders of a special culture in southern Palestine, thousands of years before Israel arrived?

38. Their Immemorial Trade-Route.

The tenacity which the Philistines of the OT clung to the southeastern curve of the Mediterranean north of Egypt finds partial explanation in recent discoveries in Crete that her trade reached as far as India. That means a route through the Red Sea independent of Egypt. Just south of Gaza, the student will observe a water-course now called Wady Ghuzzeh extending far inland, past Beersheba, south-eastward to the Wady Arabah. Following this southward one reaches Edom and the eastern fork of the Red Sea at the head of which stood Elath and Ezion-geber. Consider their importance: Deut. 2:8; 1 Kings 9:26; 2 Chron. 8:17; 2 Kings 14:22; 2 Chron. 26:2; 2 Kings 16:6; Num. 33:35,26; 1 Kings 9:26; 22:48; 2 Chron. 8:17.

39. Tell El-Ajjûl Estuary Filled Up.

About four miles south of modern Gaza, on a sea-side promontory on the north side of Wady Ghuzzeh is the Tellel-Ajjûl, "Ruin of Oxfigures" (or "Little Calf"). It proves to have been one of the greatest seaports of ancient times. Its estuary is now filled up.

Beersheba stands in a depression or basin. Alluvial deposit from the limestone hills northeast and south of the basin now covers its marl floor. That means the stream once extended from hills to hills--had cut down into the marl: broad and with strong current. Then came a depression of level, resulting in the broad valley being slowly filled by silt of a sluggish current. Later came an elevation of this interior compelling the quickened current to cut down through its alluvium into the marl again. The deposition of silt and cutting through it again have occurred within a relative modern human period, for artifacts are found all the way through the silt down to the marl. The ancient people of Umm Khatafa on the Wady Khreitûn, in Section 24, were familiar with hippopotami. Their region has been upheaved since then. The character of these changes is plainly shown at the outflow from the Beersheba basin. Around Tell Fara, eighteen miles below Beersheba, shafts in 1930 found silt nine feet deep

at one point, eleven at another, beyond fifteen at another, did not reach marl at others. (McDonald, Beth-Pelet II).

The patriarchal period shows diminished stream and the digging of storage-pools, and the making of dams (Gen. 21:25; 26:18-32). The rate of deposition of alluvium in the Nile valley and Euphrates valley has been proven to be six inches in a century. That would mean 4,000 years to deposit twenty feet. At that rate the Tell el-Ajjul estuary began to be blocked up near 2,000 B.C. But a complete survey of silt deposits of the whole valley has not been made; the estimate given is merely a suggestion.

40. Tell el-Ajjul not Gaza, but Beth-Eglaim.

Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie's discoveries have been astounding and revolutionary. He publishes his finds under the assumption that the present Gaza was founded after the silting up of the estuary ruined the old seaport, about 1700 B.C.

To this B. Maisler (ZDPV, 1933, 186-8) objects that Petrie's own discoveries prove that the great seaport was never abandoned through the Bronze Age, that Petrie shows a whole series of ceramics of Late Bronze II, especially Cypriote of thirteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C. Perhaps first destruction was by the "sea-peoples" invasion recorded by Rameses III, about 1200 B.C. The site was not occupied in the Iron age.

Again, the present Gaza "coexisted" in the Bronze Age; Garstang found the ruins of its strong outer wall in 1920. Phythian-Adams in 1922 found sherds of early Iron and Late Bronze including Cypriote. Scarabs with the "forename" of Rameses II, and of Amenophis III (1411-1374 B.C.) have been found.

Conder in 1896 suggested Tell el-Ajjul was the Beth-Eglaim of Eusebius, Onomasticon, 48:19 f, a little way-station south of Joppa, on the road to Egypt. Both names mean the same: "place of ox-figures," and the Beth-Eglaim may have been the translation of the old Minoan-Philistine name.

Now consider the En-Eglaim, "spring or pool of ox-figures," in Ezek. 47:10. The whole "dream" of a water-way with abundant fish and fruit-trees must be based upon a tradition of a time when such was the case, as shown in Section 39.

41. Gezer as a "Sea-Peoples" Emporium.

Ere tracing sea-trade up the Wady Ghuzzeh, we should notice its concentration at the aboriginal site of Gezer, already noticed in Section 18. It is forty-three miles north-west of Gerar, seven miles east of Ekron, on the latter's high-road to Ajalon and Gibeon. Excavated over thirty-five years ago by Macalister, when he did not know of the existence of Minoan and Mycenaean elements in that region, he later made important corrections in his earlier terminology, recognizing that the shaft-graves he had found were practically identical with the later Mycenaean, and with the Carian at Assarlik.

In 1909 he thought these Aegaeon trade posts originated with the invasion of "Sea-peoples" in the time of Rameses III (1190-1167 B.C.) and had lasted till Solomon's time, 1 K. 9:16 (Luckenbill, Biblical World, Feb. 1910, p. 103 f.). Masterman reported Aegaeon or Cypriote occupation of the neighboring Bet-Shemesh (Ir-Shemesh of Josh. 19:41: Biblical World, Aug., 1913, 101-109). But Kurt Galling finds that the recent far earlier and datable Mycenaean finds at Byblos are the same as the Mycenaean at Gezer, pushing the Mycenaean colonies back some three centuries. (Historische Zeitschrift, vol. 133, 67 f.) Semitic-speaking peoples had come near 1500 years earlier. (The oldest recorded invasion from Arabia was in the reign of the Pharaoh Pepi I, 2580-2570 B.C. An early form of the Hebrew language appears in names in the Egyptian records about that time.) Macalister proved that the old agricultural cave-dwelling population with their pigs and flint sickles had become a rude-walled town-folk long before any such Semitic-speaking peoples settled among them. Their attraction of traders from Egypt and the sea had long been established. Immigrant Semitic-speaking traders and artisans accepted local cults (Olmstead, 61-65 f.; Cook 78 ff; Duncan 104). Gezer was still an emporium of "coast-traders" - Canaanites--in Solomon's time 1 Kings 39:16.

42. Beth-Eglaim - Gaza.

Petrie began excavating at the great estuary-seaport Feb. 9, 1931. The silt-filled harbor had become a poisonous marsh. Work could be done only at certain limited periods. The site proved to be twelve times as large as the popularly accepted site of Troy (Hissarlik: certainly not the real Troy; see M. Charles Vellay, ART and Archaeology, Nov-Dec. 1933. The real Troy, six miles southeast, had an acropolis twelve times as large as Hissarlik, with a great city spread around it). It is twice as large as the Megiddo site, and is the largest Mediterranean seaport yet found. Petrie announces that the earliest culture was the aboriginal one we have considered, and independently designates it as "the fair Amorite"; the men small, 5 ft., 1 in. to 5 ft., 7 in; women 4 ft., 7 in. to 5 ft., 1 in. The sallow "Arab" type Petrie says began to appear only in the ports "latter days" which for Petrie means near 2,000 B.C. It is noteworthy that Macalister thirty-five years ago reached the same conclusion in the case of Gezer. Sea-peoples were the political masters; their weapons, Cypriote and Cretan. The largest commerce aside from grain was with Egypt; second, with Babylonia, reached by the Red Sea-South Arabia routes.

43. The Hyksos Element at the Seaport.

Josephus, (Against Apion, I:14, 15, 26-29, 34, and II:2) has kept scholars debating for nearly 1900 years over the mysterious Hyksos or "Shepherd Kings" whom Apion and others identified with the Israelites escaping from Egypt. We know them to have been Iranian horsemen. It seems that such foreign troopers began to overrun Palestine and the Delta of Egypt near 2375 B. C.: Sir Gardner Wilkinson shows "Syrian" or "Asiatic" Pharaohs in Egyptian regalia about that time. Petrie found in his first season at Tell el-Ajjul scarabs of the known Hyksos King Apepa I, in the upper levels. This date being about 1700 B.C., Petrie hastily concluded that there were no later occupants, and announced his view that the Hyksos abandoned the seaport about that time and founded the present Gaza, about four miles north--a conclusion not sustained by his own later discoveries. These XVI-XVIIth Egyptian Hyksos scarabs were found associated with those of the XII-XIIIth dynasties of south Egypt: suggesting that they were contemporary. The Hyksos masters had their horses buried with them, in circular pits, with side-loculi for the human bodies. But the old native population cut rock-chamber tombs with a door-slab at the bottom of a square pit (Egyptian Old Kingdom type, or like early "city-Amorites".) So this older small people made the great town, with its wells and siege-postern, to welcome Cretan-Aegean trade. And the Hyksos horsemen, later political overlords through some centuries, contributed little culturally, but adopted the insignia of Egypt officials. One may walk through the partially excavated town as through Pompeii, finding many chambers and walls, and some doors, practically perfect. (London Times, 5-1931: 6-20-1931. It will take 50 years to complete the excavation.)

44. "Amorites" Persist While Masters Change.

In an Ethnological statement to MAN, Oct. 1931, Petrie presented the succession of racial elements then known. First, what he called "Amorite": the old small city-founders whose pottery is an inferior neolithic, as at Tell Fara'. Their tombs and beads, so far, are like those of the IV-VI dynasties of Egypt: indicating a period of Egyptian dominance. But the presence of large copper weapons and vessels points to Cyprus commerce. Since Cyprus had bronze by 3000 B.C., mere copper suggests an earlier trade. Houses of these early copper-buyers (3500 B.C.?) not yet found. But fifty of their graves have been opened in the plain below: very small, narrow shaft. Twenty or more had a ribbed and riveted copper dagger, (3300 B.C.?) and a flat-based drab pot with ledge handles, for drink offerings (ILN, 7-9, 1932, p. 57).

Next came an invasion from North Syria or Cilicia (From the region later called "Hittite" in the OT?). These swept through, appearing (as above) in Egypt as the VII-VIII dynasties; making a complete break in the type of pottery and tombs at the seaport. But they merely ruled; they did not exterminate the old aboriginal population.

Then came a people who buried their dead upon their backs, limbs irregularly outspread, as in death. Tombs had ramp-entries sloping down to one chamber, or two.

They built with large bricks; had baths, privies, and good pottery of imported forms. Palm-decoration showed nothing north of Cilicia. Middle Bronze was dominant (2400-1800 B.C.?) indicating Minoan-Cypriote trade. So-called "Semitic" peoples are probably one element in this new era.

Then the above mentioned Hyksos horsemen: very short men averaging sixty-one inches; sturdy big-headed "cob"-horses. (Horse not yet known in Arabia.) Tombs circular or oblong. Horses buried in center; men at full length in loculi around sides. There was a curious unexplained custom of removing one or more limbs of horses and men at burial.

This summary omits the known Minoan-Philistine dominance, - unless Petrie identifies it with the first foreign dominance. The others ruled as "Egyptian" Kings. There is a long succession of such. For the present point, no other site has shown such continuous occupation from aboriginal days to the Iron Age.--Petrie's article on "Peoples of Palestine", A & A, Mar.-Apr., 1933, adds nothing to previous statements.

45. Palace-Succession at the Seaport.

Successive builders raised the surface of the Tell twenty feet above original surface. On the plain west of the Tell, an old cemetery whose beginning was estimated about 3500 B.C. was found. Of 50 square shaft-tombs with terminal chambers, half had copper daggers in perfect condition, which means a pre-Bronze date (AJA, 1932, 337; Ancient Egypt, 1932).

Continued explorations have proven five palace levels. The oldest and largest, over 130 feet wide, is at the west side of town, with a basement of dressed sandstone blocks; the whole, with its fosse, of a type familiar in North Syria, suggesting dominance by that region about 2600 B.C.? When burned, it lay desolate long enough to accumulate three feet of dirt and ashes. Next came a lighter palace of very hard yellowish clay brick--probably XIIIth Dynasty Egyptian. Taken down, the old yellow bricks, mixed with grey, built a third palace. Then there was a fourth palace, smaller, with floors five feet higher, and a horse-sacrifice in connection with it. This is the Hyksos palace. Then after their expulsion Thothmes III (1500 B.C.) built a small palace there, with a cemetery of that period. After that there was nothing till Arab times; over 2000 years total abandonment. But this ancient site shows over 4000 years of the mingling and trading of pre-Israelite Palestinians--Albright (BASOR, Dec. 1932) objects to the dates. He wishes to date the last three palaces in a very short Hyksos period. He dates the first about 2000 B.C. and ignores any culture earlier than Middle Bronze. Maisler (See Section 40) does not consider this justified.

46. Excavations of 1933. (London Times, 6-2-1933, p. 10)

Petrie reported the third season, cleared the earliest palace site (166 feet long, east and west; 127 feet north and south). The plan is: buildings on three sides of a large rectangular court; a rough wall of unfinished blocks on the fourth. He thinks the builders of this pushed into Egypt and founded the Seventh Dynasty (2475 B.C., Breasted). Tell el-Ajjûl was their "Bridge head," till the Delta was conquered. Artifacts and Bronzes show an invasion from the Caucasus area, west of the Caspian.

The palace was on a flat platform of rock, from the west slope of the hill to a steep terrace which fell away on the east. This was filled up, and drains run through the filling. On the south were massive buildings of the 8th and 12th Dynasties (in opposition to Albright's objections) with many dozens of pieces of fine painted pottery of unknown provenance. (N. Syria? Armenia? Cappadocia?)

Nearly 200 types of pottery in half a dozen other sites of the Tell, connecting five palace periods (3200? to 1400 B.C.). The great family tomb of an Egyptian governor was found with an official ring of massive gold with the cartouche of Tutankhamen and a scarab of Rameses II, showing the family's tenure of the tomb without a break. There were three successive layers of burial in it, with Aegaeon, and Cypriote pottery and local imitations, and an Egyptian bronze knife. Another tomb was of earlier date (Amenophis II and Amenophis III) with flying horses of eastern type. A golden ear-

ring of Irish torque pattern was in the 18th dynasty level, and a Luristan-type dagger in the 12th dynasty level, showing communication with Persia near 2000 B.C. The whole again shows the unwisdom of hasty generalization upon an early knowledge of so vast a site. It has many more surprises for us.

47. Gaza in the Tell el-Amarna Letters.

The above finds suggest the fact. The name was familiar in those pre-Israelite days (1500 B.C. ff.) as Ghazat, or Khazati. Later Hebrews and Arabs have dropped a feminine ending, t. The Arabs also double the z (original fact?) and say "Ghuzzeh." The name of the seaport is not known. But as it is called Minoa in Greek times, it is probable that the name dates from Minoan times. And the fact that the city-site is Tell el-Ajjûl, or "Mound of Ox-figures" suggests that the now famous Minotaurs and bull-vaulting works of art were long recognizable there.

48. Gerar.

With the Minoan-Cretan port of entry established, we travel up the Wady stream six or seven miles, to a great metallurgical center, the Gerar of Gen. 20. Here again the original towns-people were aboriginal "pre-metal" "Amorites," (3400-2600 B.C.) and grain-growers (Duncan 85, 137).

The large number of flint sickles shows a great grain-growing population. See Isaac's immense crop at Gerar, Gen. 26:12. (For fine loose soil from Gaza southward, see Strahorn, Geographical Review, 1929, 590.) The founders and metal-workers were the later Cretan-Aegean colonists. Early Egyptian overlordship, 4000-2400 B.C., was succeeded by the Hyksos domination (2400-1600 B.C.). Then Egypt was master again (1500-1200 B.C.). Then came Philistine lordship. But the metal-working Cretans were not assimilated in many respects. They regularly imported Cretan decorations for their personal use. The Egyptians clung to Egyptian. The native population accepted some of each culture. (Petrie, Gerar, 1928; and ILN, 7-12-1927; Duncan, 137-143).

49. Sharuhén: Wady es-Sheri'ah.

Near Gerar notice, on map in Hastings' DB a tributary Wady from the east joins the Wady es-Seba; forming the Wady Ghuzzeh. The modern name is Wady es-sheri'ah, or "Canyon of watering-places" (for herds: Albright). It is formed by several short Wadys which meet about twenty miles east of Gerar. At this junction is believed to be the site of Sharuhén of Josh. 19:16, which is Shaaraim in the parallel 1 Chron. 4:31; (Cf. Josh. 15:35; 1 Sam. 17:52; Shilhim Josh. 15:32). "Sharuhén" is a mispointing of Sirhân, "pasturage-place" (Arabic): while "Shaaraim" is "Double Gates"; possibly "The Gates", simply. The great Hyksos stronghold, Sharahana of the Egyptian texts, is believed to have stood here. Excavations have not been made. It was their last stand in South Palestine. Probably the ancient fortress was called both "Pasturage City" and "Gate City"--the lowland frontier post between Gerar and Hebron. It is desired to emphasize the commercial and strategic significance of the streams at whose mouth Beth-Eglaim stood. The political frontier character of the Sheri'ah Wady is illustrated by Put-i-Kheba (Arta-Kheba?), Egypt's Hurrian governor of Jerusalem, 1410?-1400f. B.C. He speaks of "the lands of the Sheri' region" as the southern limit of the territory over which Pharaoh has placed him. (El-Amarna Letters, 288:26)

49-a. Beth-Shemesh A Northern Minoan Frontier Trade-Post.

Thirty miles north-north-east of Sharuhén, a strategic commercial frontier point for the most direct road to Jerusalem and Bethel from Askelon, Ashdod, or Gath led through Beth-Shemesh: and the shortest road from Gaza to Jerusalem and Bethel also passed through Beth-Shemesh. It appears that the preferred road from Ekron also passed through Beth-Shemesh; for in 1 Sam. 5 the ark has been sent to Ashdod, then to Gath on the east frontier of Philistia, then north to Ekron, which suffers most. There the diviners' council is held, and from thence the "cow-cart" went straight to Beth-Shemesh. As a strategic frontier-point, it would be a "spear-point aimed at the heart of Philistia", if fortified by Hebrews. In pre-Israelite and early Israelite times, Philistia controlled it. Solomon made it center of a revenue district: 1K.4:9. And a supreme proof of its commercial importance is in the story of Amaziah's challenge to Joash. He has routed Edom, which had seized the Valley of Salt, near the south end of the Dead Sea; and thereby he cleared the trade route from Jerusalem to the Gulf of Aqabah. Next he would regain Beth-Shemesh. Carian guardsmen in Jerusalem during the weak days of Athaliah (2K.11:4,19) suggest that Cretans and Carians then held the Beth-Shemesh road. The point which Amaziah would regain from Joash is Beth-Shemesh; but he is killed there: 2K.14:7ff.

Beth-Shemesh, "House of the Sungod", is a Hebrew attempt to translate a foreign name. In Josh.21:14; 19:41-42; it is Ir-Shemesh "town of the Sungod": In Judg.1:34, Har-Heres, "Mount of the Sungod". Heres is used for "sun" in Judg.14:18: which non-Hebrew word shows a Hebrew adaptation of a non-Hebrew tale. Then we have the Samson-stories. The Hebrew name is Shimshôn: "belonging to the Sungod (?)" Does Judg.13:5 say which god the youth is devoted to? Then he is born and buried within three miles of Beth-Shemesh; Judg.13:2,25; 16: 31;18:2,8,11. And Timnah, Judg.14:1ff, is three miles west. The whole Shimshôn saga is from a great pre-Israelite Sun-sanctuary district. It has been pointed out that "Zorah and Eshtaol" seem adaptations of "sunrise" and "sunset-land" (from Sha'al, She'ol. See Carus, Story of Samson). And Timnah may be an abbreviation of Timnat-Heres, "Platform of the Sun": in Judg. 29 Joshua is awarded such an old Sanctuary (Akkadian Temenu, "Sanctuary-platform"). And Mahaneh-Dan, "Camp of Judgement" (or "Oracle") which was Shimshôn's home, Judg.13:25 (cf.18:11) was certainly a Sun-Oracle, in such political conditions. Rameses II names Sha-ma-sha-na, a place "belonging to the Sun" as one place he captured in Palestine; perhaps a century before the time of the OT Shimshôn saga. Then in the El-Amarna Letters a century earlier, is the name Bit-NIN-IB. This is Akkadian, with a Sumerian god of Sunset, or Western Sun. It is of course an Akkadian translation, or equivalent, of the local Palestinian name. But it is illuminating; for in Akkadian or Assyrian boundary-stones, in the closing imprecations, NIN-IB is invoked as "Lord of Necropolises" or of cemeteries." In the Melishipak deed he is "Lord of possession, of boundaries and boundary-stones". It is as "Lord of the Sunset" that he has care of "all souls" who have "gone west"; and he decrees the Hereafter-misery of all who desecrate Cemeteries or tombs, or confiscate burial grounds. Extensive material upon the Minoan Sun-Cult is in the "Minos and Minotaur" Chapter, Sections S & T.

Then another foreign name for the regional sun-god seems to survive in the OT Chesalôn, or (Kesalôn), about three miles north of Kiriath-yearim, and three miles east of Eshtaol. To-day it is Kesla. This suggests that the original was Kesal- On: "the flank or border of On"- the Egyptian sun-god of Heliopolis, from whose priestly family Joseph secured a wife. For the same use of Kesal to indicate the frontier of a sun-god-territory occurs in the compound Chisloth-Tabor of Josh. 19:12. This "flanks of the Atabyrion" is the western boundary of the sun-god-territory of Issachar, another Beth-Shemesh being its eastern sanctuary ("Minos and Minotaur" Chapter, Section T). In it also we meet the Egyptian name for the sun-god: Anu-Khertu of Thothmes III survived as Ana-Kharat of Josh. 19:19, five miles south of Tabor- These data will make the student see clearly that Hebrew or other Semitic names attached to any sanctuary do not imply its Semitic origin at all. The oldest sun-god name for the Beth-Shemesh region we do not know.

The Beth-Shemesh-region then was vital as a commercial frontier: the seat of a great pre-Israelite Sun-cult: notable as a place of oracle: particularly concerning the dead; and a region of necropolises of those who sought the care and protection of him who is "Beyond the Sunset's Radiant Glow!" This association is found in the remnants of the Minoan-Berber cult of a Sun-god. An outstanding case is that of the great Berber oracle of "Jupiter Ammon", as the Roman called it, which drew Alexander the Great across 400 miles of desert, and made Cambyeses lose an army of 50,000 men in the same desert.

"Jupiter" had nothing to do with it. The great divinity was a Sungod, with a headdress of ram's horns. And modern explorers have found Siwa an immense Cliff-necropolis, with thousands of rock-hewn tombs. There has been no excavation as yet. The Ammon or Hammôn of the Greek and Latin authors appears to be the Temashight iman, imman, immānen: "soul, souls." The Sungod was "Lord of Souls". With Christianity, the "Messiah" became the name of the sungod, and Mesīs-immān is now "Lord of souls". (Barth 3:750).

Dr. Elihu Grant of Haverford College began excavating at Beth-Shemesh (Ain Shems) in 1928: results appearing in Beth-Shemesh, 1928: Ain-Shems, Part I, 1931: Part II, 1932 Part III, Rumeileh, 1934. So far strata have been found reaching from Early Bronze (3000 B.C.?) to Byzantine times: over 3500 years of successive history, with pottery of Middle Egyptian, Mycenaean, Cypriote, and Philistine manufacture. Latterly it is recognized that the "Philistine" pottery begins at a much earlier period than the Early Iron age; paralleling the fact that tombs of Philistine lords at Beth-Pelet are known and dated as early as the 14th century B.C.: the century of the El-Amarna Letters. The Philistines then were the immediate predecessors, and the contemporaries of early Israel, and transmitted to Israel the Minoan (?) sun-cult. The Minoan Double-Axe was found as a cultus-mark on a copper axe, and seems the motif for pictures of certain animal-bodies.

Unique is the painting on a clay sherd of an inscription in characters that seem a link between the Serabit characters of the Sinai Peninsula and the Phoenician of 1250 B.C. (Egyptian Section 182). Scholars may find discussions in Syria 1930, p. 392: Revue Biblique 1930, 401f: AJA 1931, p. 97; and in above Haverford publications. A similar one was found at Tell-ed-Duweir in 1934: See Egyptian Section 180-d.

The excavations continue. A systematic summary is not yet possible. Ain Shems or Rumeileh may yet prove to be not the most important Sanctuary or necropolis in the district. We now return to the Gaza-Beersheba Valley.

50. Tell Fara⁶ - Beth-pelet: The Pelethites.

Thirteen miles up the main stream from Gerar is the great fortress--promontory Tell Fara⁶: "Hill of refuge," or "of refugees." Since the Hebrew name Beth-pelet means the same thing, Petrie identifies the two: Duncan concurs. (Albright thinks it the Sharuhén of Josh. 19:6.) It has two outstanding features of interest.

First: it is an outstanding site of Palaeolithic culture with no pottery, grading into Neolithic with rude pottery of earth and chopped straw. The lowest levels examined in 1930 show the hearths of a people who built neither stone nor mud-houses, though they had the said pottery, and flints and limestone bowls like later house-builders. (Consider temporary lodges in Is. 1:8; "booths" for temporary residence

in Gen. 33:17; Lev. 23:42 f; Neh. 48:14 f; like our American "brush-arbor" for meetings. (MacDonald fails to consider these common make-shifts.) It should be plain that simple folk living on a mud-flat by a stream must move during the winter flood-season. MacDonald records very thin layers of silt and ashes alternating, and speculates upon a nomad people, not thinking of those who had both hillside and stream-side residences as in parts of the modern world.

MacDonald unconsciously proves the suggested fact by recording the appearance of some settlers who made residences by cutting notches in the slope of the native marl-banks, just above the alluvial floodplain. Such roofed-over notches, familiar in all our western states as "dug-outs," are still common in many parts of the world--a fact not noticed by MacDonald. They do not prove any new ethnic element. Cave-dwelling and cave-enlarging peoples would do such things. MacDonald suggests 4000 B.C. for the early rude pottery stratum with no foreign admixture. But Egypt had a far-reaching trade in far higher cultural products before that date; such should appear at Tell Fara. No sheep and cattle are reported, which puts nomad peoples (in the ordinary sense) out of the question. And some good archaeologists now credit Egypt with pottery 6000 B.C.--or even 7,000.

Settlers at another point in the alluvium dug a hole about a foot deep as a dwelling-site. How they completed it the explorers do not know. But lattice-work decoration on some of the pottery suggests such lattice work for house-walls. Such pit-and-brush dwellings are well known in American Indian archaeology.

Copper fish-hooks found four feet from the bottom of the alluvium suggest that the stream bed had been filling up about 1000 years before such hooks were obtained. They mean permanent water, and small boats (?) (Beth-Pelet II)

51. "Amorite" Permanence at Beth-Pelet; and "Caleb."

In Tell el-Ghassûl we saw that certain peculiar artifacts, such as hoes and fan-shaped scrapers, were identical with those at Beth-Pelet through a very long period, showing the same people and culture. But Beth-Pelet shows above a much earlier stage of the culture. But another mark of the persistence at Beth-Pelet is the great abundance of clay dog-figures. These are found through various levels, from the lowest hearths found to the topmost levels (Beth-Pelet II). Thus a peculiar cultus or cultus-institution persists through a very long period. We are reminded of the stuffed dogs still hung up as household guardians by some Siberian tribes, and the house-hold(?) dogs buried in their village cemeteries by the contemporary Badarian culture (Section 29, Egyptian outlines) and the dogs kept in Cypriote and Phoenician temples, and at least at Beth-Shean. This dog-figure period is about 5000 to 4000 B.C. (Albright, in private note); ending about 3000 years before Israel entered Palestine. As the figures promptly started a speculative connection with "Caleb" in the OT, the speculation is here stated, reminding the student that a "dog people" must have survived through 3000 years of political changes, and then have been absorbed by Judah, to validate the speculation.

A dog in Hebrew is "Caleb"; Arabic, Kelb; Akkadian, kalbu. The "Caleb" of Josh. 14:6 is a "son of Kenaz," who is reported as an ancient Edomite chieftain in Gen. 36: 11, 14, 40; Judges 1: 11-16. The Calebites were, in English, "The Dog People." Were the "Caleb" people who captured Hebron and the regions southward the aboriginal "Dog people" of Beth-Pelet, who had accepted the Hebrew language somewhere in the thousands of years before Joshua's time? (about 1200 B.C.). It is an interesting question; the student will watch for decisive proofs. But observe in 1 Chron. 4:13f. that Kenaz was an ancestor of a "valley of artisans" (gē-charashim), who claimed a Yahwist ancestor, Jo-ab. (As to the term "Edom" - "red-land," it is not ethnological, and may mean any race living in those red hills.)

Among the royal officials near 1700 B.C. was a "keeper of the king's seal" who bore the good Hebrew name of "Hur." (Albright, JPOS, 1931, no. 2, p. 30, note; and BASOR no. 39, p. 6) He was already known from scarabs and records in Egypt, and aids in synchronizing the Beth-Pelet discoveries. But this Hebrew in Hyksos employ many centuries before Joshua's Israel makes us again wonder if the aboriginal "Dog-People" of this site now spoke Hebrew. Was this Hur the "son of Caleb" in 1 Chron. 2: 18-20?

52. Beth-Pelet The Lost Hyksos Capital.

The second great surprise at Beth-Pelet was the discovery that it was a hitherto unknown Hyksos capital. The fragmentary records left by Manetho name only ten Hyksos kings; this has resulted in some modern historians squeezing the whole Hyksos period into about 150 years. But Egyptologists have long known about 100 scarabs with the names of twenty-eight different Hyksos kings: more names, says Petrie, than there are of dynasties XI-XII, XXI-XXV, XXVI-XXX (Knight, p. 104, note). Now the graves of twenty-five kings not mentioned by Manetho have been found at Beth-Pelet. Some are not included in the said twenty-eight names on scarabs. We have, in short, to find time for over forty Hyksos kings; and we must ask if Manetho's assertion that the Hyksos regime lasted 518 years may be about right (Against Apion, 1:26; perverted by Josephus in 1:31). It is plain that Manetho's Hyksos included peoples not so styled by some present-day scholars. Petrie takes that position. The student will watch for more light on the fervently debated chronology. Egyptian sources of information are to be respected, for, apart from the Hyksos kings, Beth-Pelet has given us the names of fifteen (or more?) Pharaohs of the two next dynasties, showing 400 years of uninterrupted Pharaoh rule. There was originally an immense body of official information on the whole Hyksos period.

It must be said here that Egypt did not eradicate the ancient local culture and art. Much of the local scarab work is done by the native artists who imitate in a blundering way the Egyptian models furnished them. There is some Mycenaean decoration of pottery, and some Syrian elements, and the native artists can imitate both. Yet they go their own aboriginal way when free to express themselves. (Beth-Pelet II)

53. Key To Minoan Grain Basket.

This fortress did more than safe-guard caravan routes. Crete today still imports from Egypt some food supplies that she imported 3000-4000 years ago (Egyptian records). At this point the old water-course still has open water - the last now open between Palestine and Egypt. We have seen that light draft-boats of the Egyptian type could once have reached Beth-Pelet. The lowland for nearly sixty miles southward was once a vast grain field. (See Jarvis, Yesterday and To-Day in Sinai, 2, 9, 166; map). Jarvis, despite the encroachment of modern wind-blown sand, observes the traces of ancient intense cultivation for some sixty miles in breadth, reaching far across the Wady Arish: substantiating the marvelous productiveness in Gen. 13:10.

54. Beersheba Basin Unexplored.

In Section 39, this broad basin, eighteen miles west of Beth-Pelet, was seen to have special interest for the hydrographer. No excavating has been done. Its prominence in the OT promises exceptional evidence of ancient cultures and immigrants later on. In Section 24 the outstanding character of the Mesolith culture of the Wady Khreitun was summarized. And Tell Beit-Mirsim, 1600 feet above the sea, southwest of Hebron proves to have been a strategic Hyksos and Philistine-Cretan stronghold. Eleven successive cities have been burned on this site (Albright, JPOS, 1931, no. 2). As five of these precede the two cities of Hyksos occupation, and the bottom is not yet reached, the earliest settlement was probably in Mesolithic times; before 4000 B.C. (See Duncan p. 134). The Cretan or Philistine trade probably sought the Amorites of the Wady that reached Beersheba from the northeast. Thus a glance at the map shows that the great Wady es-Seba, emptying into the sea near Gaza, was a culture-mingling highway through thousands of years: comparable in early importance to the Orontes valley between the Lebanons.

55. Southern Extension of Cretan-Minoan Control. (Partially suggested in Section 53.)

What was its relation to Egypt? The "Egypt" of our AV is not the region so marked on our modern maps. The Hebrew term Mitsraim ("two Mutsris") included for centuries the Delta of the Nile and the Sinaitic Peninsula, and Midian, which was east of the Gulf of Akaba, in what we call Arabia. (G. A. Smith, Jerusalem, 11, 157, and CAH, vol. II, bottoms of pp. 364, 365, 366. Consider Ezek. 20:36.) In southern Palestine its frontiers were long defined by the "river of Egypt" of our AV; 2 Chron. 7:8; 1K. 8:65; Gen. 15:18; Ex. 23:31; Num. 34:5; Shi-Hôr of Josh. 13:3, 1 Chron. 13:5;

Jer. 2:18; Is. 23:3; "border of Egypt," 1 K. 4:21; 2 Chr. 9:26. The Assyrian King Esarhaddon uses this boundary-term several times. (See Luckenbill, ARA) This valley is the modern Wady El-Arish, the principal drain of the Sinaitic Peninsula, heading in southern Sinai, and running north and then north-west 150 miles into the Mediterranean, about fifty miles southwest of Gaza, 90 miles east of the Suez Canal. Egyptian forts held this northern and eastern line. Amem-em-hat I, founder of the XIIth dynasty built or extended a wall on the east to exclude rovers from Arabia. (Knight, p. 77; Barton, p. 480; Peet, p. 371)

56. The Fort of the Midbar Shur.

In Exodus 15:22 Israel is leaving the Midbar-Shur. Midbar (dabar, to allot, decree) is primarily unappropriated land, allottable or assignable by authority. (Cf. Jarvis, 60-65). To translate "wilderness" or "desert" is obscuring. The fortress at the sea-terminus of the Wady el-Arish is not mentioned in any extant Egyptian documents till 500 years after Amen-em-hat I, but then well known, before the Israelite Exodus, as Dharu, or Tharu, the Shur of the OT in 1 Sam. 15:7; 27:8; Gen. 25:18, 3; Ex. 15:22; 16:7; 20:1; (Assur in Num. 24:22; Ps. 83:8; Ezek. 31:3; AV, wrongly, "Assyrian"). It was the great port near the sea. The Rhinocorura or Rhinocolura of the Greeks: "Chop-nose" town. Tharu is "Zoar" in AV of Gen. 13:10; the compiler then knew it as a marvelous "Yahu-garden" land; no wilderness or desert in the compiler's days. Such it must have been to support an important border-seaport. Tharu first appears in records in the twenty-second year of Thothmes III; next in those of Harm-hab. Then Seti I, Merneptah, Rameses I, Psamtik I; over 900 years as frontier post. Harm-hab made it a penal colony, cutting off the noses of oppressive officials and thieves, and sending them thither. (ARE, II, 415; III, 51, 54, 55, 56, 59, 88, 100; 542, 307, 631; IV: 956.)

57. Tharu- "Zoar" Long Outlived the Tell-el-Ajjûl Seaport.

Tharu was formerly the terminus of the caravan route from Jerusalem via Hebron and Beersheba; or of that from eastern Edom through Beersheba. In Greek times Red Sea and Indian Ocean traffic landed at Leukê Komê on east coast of the Red Sea. Then it went north by caravan to Petra in Edom, and on north, down the Arabah, till within fifteen miles of the Dead Sea. Thence it went northwest by wady to Beersheba, and west to Rhinocolura; at that time the great coast-emporium for exchanges between Egypt and Palestine and the two seas. The Medeba Mosaic, near 600 A.D., shows towns between Beersheba and Gaza, which was then once more the coast-terminus. Note Beersheba as a south limit of Israel-power, in the expression "from Dan to Beersheba," Judg. 2:1; 1 Sam. 3:20; 2 Sam. 3:10; 17:11; 24:2, 15; 1 Kings 4:25, in Samuel-Saul-David times. South of that was Cretan-Edomite land.

58. Survey of Race-Sequence, commingling, and Trade-route, complete.

We may now consider the great body of OT testimony upon Minoan-Philistine-Cretan activity in the territory later called "Judah" and Judea." The student will be helped by knowing that the Philistines do not appear in any records till the time of Rameses III, when they are one of the migrating "Sea-Peoples," coming down the Palestinian Coast about 1198 B.C. As they were a last wave of the failing Cretan-Minoan power, and settled on the north frontier of the old Minoan culture area, later OT writers sometimes confuse them with the earlier Cretans; and in the patriarch stories we find "Philistines" where the much earlier Cretan colonies are meant. This is made certain by the above mentioned Rameses III. His great battle-reliefs at Medinet Haboo picturing his defeat of the Philistines show us warriors like them in every detail among his own mercenary troops. There were then already in Egypt and Palestine Minoans exactly like the immigrant Philistines. And at Beth-Pelet or Tell Fara, Petrie found "Philistine" pottery in the stratum of Rameses II; about 1240 B.C. The ancestors of David's "Pelethites" were already there.

ANCIENT ORIENTAL HISTORY

New Light On The Old Testament

Some Factors Shaping Ancient Palestine

THE PRE-SEMITIC RED BERBER MINOAN CULTURE

A MONOGRAPH

BY

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ALLEN HOWARD GODBEY

THE PRE-SEMITIC RED BERBER MINOAN CULTURE

It is a commonplace in Egyptology that a powerful Red People with a capitol known as The Red House, and a peculiar Red Coronet for the head of the state politically dominated the Delta of the Nile for probably 2,000 years before the dark Hamites of the infra-cataract Nile pushed through the Delta to the Sea. The Red House capitol was in the Western Delta about 40 miles east of the site of Alexandria. But who were these Red People? Their commerce was far in the Mediterranean, and up the Nile, many centuries before the Nilotic tribes attained political coördination—Trammelled by the dynasties of Manetho, the histories for the popular reader leave him wondering if the people of the Delta Red House were of the same stock as the Nilotic dynasts. Were they a local culture, with no North African relations? Were they exterminated by the Menes Dynasty? Did their culture pass, "like the snows of yester-year?" Or did 3,000 miles of coast-land to the west of them make them relatively indifferent to the 200 miles of Delta Coast? What were their relations with Palestine? Did they remain in the Delta, always its dominant commercial people? Did they connive with "Sea-peoples" against Egypt? Was Minos King of all Sea-peoples? Did the culture of 3,000 miles of coast west of the Delta mean more to the world than the culture of the infra-cataract Nile? The student finds no historic answer, and no cyclopaedic collection of material for study.

Therefore a sketch of some of the elemental facts is inserted here for reference. Neither student nor instructor will be prepared for any inductive construction. If no Minoan posts are mentioned west of Sicily in section Q, the deficiency is that of our fragmentary Greek sources.

"We are glad that you have correlated the Red Berber material. There is so much of it that most of us do not even know that we should look for, that it is good to have some one find out that we need to know it, and put it before us. That is just what you have done all along. You gave us of your classes a new interest, and then satisfied and stimulated our curiosity in turn. We enjoy the discovery."—Garland R. Stafford.

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FOUR THOUSAND YEARS OF CRETE-TARSHISH IN NORTH AFRICA

On this topic no research or inductive work can be done by the student. The data must be supplied him. There is no collection of material to which he can be referred. And they cannot be supplied in the form of a connected history of the powerful influence of Central and Eastern North Africa upon Palestine. Such history has not yet been and cannot yet be written. What is now available is like a line of electric lights: much of the roadway remains in darkness for a distant observer, but he knows that the highway is certainly there. But the title of this division might as well be "Four Thousand Years of the Red Berber in Crete". And at present our arc-light street is a one-way street. There are known periods of conquest of Palestine by North Africans like Shishak in 1K.14:25f; 2 Chron. 12. (Egyptian sections 196-198). But there are no records of Palestinians conquering North Africa. The reason is geographical. No Palestinian kinglet ever controlled 100 miles of coast, to say nothing of the hinterland. North Africa had 4,000 miles of coast, with an ancient and comparatively homogeneous coastland culture. The aboriginal element in Mesolithic Palestine was a Mediterranean overflow from North Africa made possible by like "geological climate" that turned the Berber of European glacial ages to the east. Some phases of that eastward Red Berber movement are considered in sections 58t to 58ff. Then in Egyptian section 37 the shattered Palermo Stele presents the fact that a Red Berber culture founded in the Delta the greatness that was Egypt, and that these Predynastic Berber dynasties dominated all eastern North Africa (and Palestine?) as early as 5,000 B.C: perhaps for 2,000 years before the dark Nilotic Hamites of Egyptian section 39 broke through the Delta to the sea. Our interest in this chapter is to notice the evidence of Minoan or Cretan cooperation with the Berber forces. We have a vivid impression of an ancient, powerful, long persistent culture, though names of its great human figures are not yet known to us.

58-a. Are The Turisha of Merneptah The Tulissa of Post-Knossos Crete?

The Pharaoh Merneptah (1225-1215 B.C.) records an attack of Ribû and Mashawasha (Libyans and Imôshagh: See 58-V and 58-dd), upon some Tahennu colonists of Egypt, and their joint invasion of the Western Delta, aided by Achaïans, Lycians, Sherdenu, Shekesh, and Turisha (Tulissa? ARE iii, 579-588, 611, 616). The movement was clearly a migratory one, for it was several years before Merneptah mustered courage to attack the immigrants, and his boasted victory was soon followed by other immigrations.

Our special interest is with the Achaïans and Turisha. Greek tradition preserves the memory of an Achaïan piratical raid upon Egypt immediately following the fall of Troy. In Homer's *Odyssey* (XIV: 237-287; XVII: 418-445), the Achaïans are defeated, with the consequent captivity of one of their leaders, successful in 9 previous piracies. The Achaïan contingent was a small one of nine ships, which sailed from some base in Crete, with a north wind. There is no mention of the size of the Cretan contingent, but an alliance of Achaïans and Trojans in this raid, less than two months after the fall of Troy, seems impossible. In the Merneptah parallel the only possible Cretan element would be Turisha, which might be the hieroglyphic attempt to write Tulissos, the powerful district west of Knossos.

But Cretans in a coalition for directing powerful Berber invasions of the Delta presupposes Crete controlled by Berber colonists and culture, or Cretan colonies on the Berber coasts, and alliances with some of the stronger settled peoples, as in the Graeco-Cretan Cyrenian settlement 600 years later. This is supported for earlier times by the fact mentioned in section 37: that commercial exchanges between the Cretan-Aegean areas and Delta coasts existed as early as 4,000 B.C. But that is a thousand years before a Hamitic political hegemony in the Delta-(Egyptian sections 37-41). It was the Coastland Berber art and culture of the Delta that was shaping early art in Crete. More specifically Evans (1:16f) points out that the pre-dynastic forms of this "Coastland Egyptian" art moulded Crete. The dynastic art of middle Egypt never displaced the earlier Minoan artistic traditions. (See PFE). Tahennu North Africa lay next door to South Crete, while the final splendor of Thebes lay far away. As yet we lack the concrete evidence of the great North African past that Knossos and Phaistos have given for Crete. But the fact that these cities acknowledge Tahennu masters in art assures us of a splendor once regnant on African coasts much nearer to Crete than the Delta was. And the two show us the cultures that Philistia in some measure ever kept infusing into South Palestine! and Tyre and Sidon into the north.

Evans found also some suggestion of Sumerian art in the earliest Minoan, and was a little perplexed by it, 15 years ago. But now we can recognize a probable migration influence. In section 117, notice that the Double-Axe Culture, (and possibly the bee-hive tomb) which produced the Palace of Minos was driven from a region where Hurrian Nineveh arose centuries later. The expelling people are suspected to be Early Sumerians. The Double-Axe emigrants eventually reached South Crete by way of Egypt. That again means a contact of Delta Pre-Dynastic culture with south Crete before the "Minoans-to-be" arrived. These being carried to Crete by the commerce of Berber Pre-dynasts, their continued tutorship by the Berber Coasts was inevitable.

58-b. Pre-Israelite And North African Philistines.

Then it is not strictly correct to say that Philistine participation in an invasion of Egyptian in the days of Rameses III is our earliest record. Exodus 13:17 pictures the fugitives as avoiding the territory of the war-like Philistines. This is discredited by the subjective JEDP critics; because they did not know any other record, this one is not true! They are "hoist with their own petard": at the time they consider Exodus to have been compiled the Philistines were no longer an independent sea-coast-power. They had not been such since Assyrian days. The only reasonable explanation for the Exodus statement that Philistines would cooperate with Egypt against the fugitives is that the statement is based upon records of Egyptian Political relations of the time. Tell Fara now confounds this JEDP criticism. The tombs of a line of Philistine lords, with Cretan pottery, has been found there reaching back to Hyksos times? Relations with Egyptian Kings from 1320 B.C. to 1100 B.C. are certainly shown. But that means from the accession of Seti I through the next 220 years, when Egypt was political lord of Philistia policy. Then in Exodus 23:31 we have "The sea of the Philistines", rejected by the JEDP analysis with no more reason than for 13:17.

Again as all modern theories of the date of the Exodus place it somewhere from the reign of Thothmes III (1500-1447 B.C.) to end of Amenophis III (1375 B.C.), it is to be emphasized that this was a period of absolute domination of Palestine-Syria by Egypt, yet achieved by reliance upon Mediterranean sea-powers and mercenary garrisons. (See Egyptian Outlines for these sections). The presence of powerful Philistine garrisons and navies on the Egyptian frontier 250-300 years before the days of Merneptah is one of the certain results of Egyptian policy of the time: probably a bequest from Hyksos times. Philistines in patriarchal times are now easily accepted (Gen. 21:22ff; 26).

Then we have to deal with the fact of still-existing "Pelishtî" communities in parts of north Africa, from the frontiers of the Roman Cyrene westward through the Atlas Mountains in Morocco; Southward from Tunis into Rhât (Ghât) and some other oasis-points. The student should understand at the outset that the n or m in the terms "Philistine, Pelishtim, Plishtin," is no part of the ethnic name. To the form Palaisti the Greek historians added the Greek ending -ine signifying a region or district, making Palaistînê, - we pronounce "Palestine". From the Greek form Phylisti-nê we get our "Philistines". But the Greek regional term would include all the peoples of that region, including Anakim, Caphtorim, Cherethim, Carians, and other peoples no longer named in the OT. The "Philistine" country was a mingling of various peoples under "Pelishtî" hegemony. Similarly in the OT term Pelishtim and Arabic Filistin, we have Hebrew and Arabic plural endings attached to an original Pelisht. These elemental facts are uncritically overlooked even by some Jewish scholars.

The Englishman John Davidson called attention to Plishtî communities in the Atlas mountains of Morocco, over 100 years ago (see JRGS, 1837: Notes of Travel in Africa, London, 1839. Posthumous). Graberg von Hemsó in 1833 wrote that the oldest Jewish elements among the Amazirgh of the Atlas called themselves Pilistîn. Some of these communities show ancestral tombs that are about 2000 years old. Sigmund Feist, Jewish ethnologist, reports that some of the cave-Jews of the Gharian Ridges in Tripoli still call themselves Plishtim. Kreppel (in his Juden und Judentum von Heute, p.801), includes the Pelishtim of Rhât, which he unscientifically identifies with "Gath". But these Pelishtim, claiming that their ancestors founded this trading community, are fanatic haters of the Jews (See LTM, 19, 103, 234f).

58-c. North Africa Traditions of Philistine Migrations.

With the above certainty that the present Pelishtîn communities have been driven

into their secluded glens from regions farther east should be compared the statement in Gen. 10:14. Among the "sons" of Ham are Casluhim: oasis-regions? "from which went forth the Pelishtim and Caphtorim." As the verb yātsā is not used of racial origin anywhere in the OT, the "went forth" in this passage seems to mean "migrated from", or "abandoned". Hamitic Egyptian dominance of the regions resulted; did not precede these peoples. No date is suggested. The mention of Pelishtim and Caphtorim together shows that they were not viewed as the same people, even though the Pelishtim may have come from Caphtor to Palestine. And this view is maintained by modern ethnologists, who view the older culture-people of Palestine-North Africa-Crete as Mediterranean-Berber, of the red-brown Tahennu type (58-t, 58-u), while the Philistines of the Egyptian and Assyrian reliefs and of modern Palestine (Section 109) are somatically a very different people, pictured with yellow skins. But 3000 to 4000 years among the "Red Berber" peoples of North Africa have largely assimilated the two stocks there.

Many of these Pelishtim communities have legends or traditions of a "Pelishtim land" from which they fled (Arabic, "Filistin"). Unfortunately the uninformed and superficially observing traveler usually announces that they came from "Palestine", making his notes worthless for constructive purposes, since the name "Palestine" was wholly unknown in the pre-Christian period. Greeks of the early Christian period invented it. No ancient Pelishtim ever heard our popular geographical term "Palestine", nor thought of their own name as meaning all that region. At the same time, when modern Jews of the Atlas assert that their Pelishtim neighbors came there at the time of the destruction of the Temple, (Slouschz, Rambles in North Africa 464), the story is credible. We recognize that raids by Nebuchadrezzar II, or by the earlier terrible Scythians, or by the Assyrians Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, or Assurbanipal certainly produced some Pelishtim migrations to join their ancient African trade-colonies.

During a thousand years still earlier, back to earlier Hyksos raids, there were various occasions when such flights were possible. But in the face of OT records to turn all such traditions into one flight from the terrible Israelites (p.257) is simply comic. And when Slouschz solemnly tells us, (p.464), that in North Africa El-Philistin always means "the people of Palestine", he totally discredits himself. He leaves the Pelishtim-Home-Land yet to seek.

58-d. The Philistines From Caphtor-Crete-

Then a second fact about these modern Pelishtim communities is their partial Judaization. Meakin (The Moors p.413) records that the Amazirgh of the Atlas Mts. in Morocco use the name "Pelishtim" of certain communities that are "Berber", and of others that are "Jewish"; while some of the said "Berber" communities call their Jewish neighbors "Pelishtim". But since Yahu-worship began reaching these North African coasts at least 2900 years ago, the Judaization of some of the Pelishtim trade-colonies would be a natural result.

This fact was familiar to Tacitus. He has been laughed at for his statement (in V:2): "The Jews, we are told, escaping from the island of Crete when Saturn was driven from his throne by the violence of Jupiter, settled in the extreme parts of Libya." The laugh is now at the critics. Such refugees from Crete as Tacitus knew in western North Africa had been Judaized. To state it differently, Judaized people known to Tacitus claimed that their ancestors came from Crete, at the time of some clash of ancient cults. And such clash appears in the legends of Crete. But are not Tacitus' fugitives from Crete the Pelishtim just considered? a part of the same Pelishtim who came from Caphtor, (Amos 9:7); the same fugitive people who came down the coasts of Palestine in the days of Rameses III? "the remnant of the isle of Caphtor", Jer. 47:4?

These are the only two OT passages that specifically connect the Philistines with Caphtor. The above-cited Gen. 10:14 considers that Pelishtim and Caphtorim are not the same people: the parallel passage in 1 Chron. 1:12 is lost from the LXX. Deut. 2:23 contains an interpolation, in a fragment about Moab-Ammon, that tells of Caphtorim and destroying Avvim. There is no mention of Philistines. But as Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy do not mention the Philistines at all, we cannot safely assert that the compilers of Deuteronomy considered the Caphtorim of 2:23 to be distinct from the Philistines. Deuteronomic silence about the Philistines must have been a diplomatic necessity. See end of Egyptian Section 21-B.

Now the names "Crete" and "Cretan" do not appear in our AV. But the LXX has

"Cretans" for AV "Cherethites", in Zeph. 2:5; Ezek. 25:16; and "Crete" for "seacoast" in Zeph. 2:6. Elsewhere the LXX simply transcribes "Cherêthî" as "Chelêthî".

Hence the scholarly conclusion that Caphtor, Kaptara of Sargon of Akkad (Sections 64-65) is Crete, and that the Egyptian term Keftyu, first prominent in the time of the Pharaoh Thothmes III, is a dialectic form of the same name. A few urge that Caphtor and Keftyu must have included much more than Crete. Thus Wainright in JEA 1931, 1-38, argues that Caphtor must have included Cappadocia. His fatal oversight is the failure to consider known Cretan phonology.

58-e. Cretan Greek Phonology Suggests Philistines from Phaistos.

"Crete" as the name of a country is not yet known in any ancient records. It is found a few times in the Odyssey (near 800 B.C.), confessedly the name of an ancient non-Greek island of which some fragments of legendary history are given. Was "Crete (Krê-tê)" then a name conferred upon the island by the Greek invaders, or was it their adaptation of an old native name?

A partial answer has recently come from the tablets in a cuneiform alphabet found at Ugarit (Egyptian outlines, 120ff). Unscholarly enthusiasts have hastily announced the new language as early Hebrew or Phoenician. But this is not true. Certain prominent features of the Hebrew are totally lacking. It has some of the Aramaic features, but lacks most. It has some prominent Akkadian or Assyro-Babylonian features. Prof. Johannes Friedrich in Der Alte Orient, 1933, suggests that we call the new language "North-West Semitic". The Kerêtim are there, about 1500 B.C. 300 years earlier than the attack on Merneptah in 58-a: 500 years earlier than any recorded contacts of Israel with the "Cherethites". But at present we know no more. The exact location and the nature of this coast-land struggle with Kerêtim is in debate. But the find makes us feel that the forms Krê-tê, Kerê-tim are not Greek historians' inventions.

The Odyssey (19:171ff) recorded that there was "not a common language in Crete, but a confusion of tongues. There were Achaïans and proud-hearted native Cretans, Kydonians, Dorians of waving plumes, and goodly Pelasgi" (who have been suspected to be the Pelishtî). Strabo about 800 years later still found it so: a land of mixed traditions and of mixed languages. He devotes 21 sections to Crete, including some of the traditions. He is not certain of the time of each event in the great past. But he knows that there once was a triple alliance that dominated the island: Knossos on the north side and Gortyna in the South plains of Messarâ, and Kydonia in the west end. (Was there a development of the Imôshagh-Imrhâd relations of Egyptian 21-b?). There was always friction between Knossos and Gortyna; and Kydonia, having the balance of power, kept the peace. But some turn of events suddenly gave Gortyna a free hand, and she flung herself upon the great harbor city of Phaistos, the terminus of Knossos commercial road to the south coast, and expelled the people of its region. (10-4-14).

Now in Strabo's time Eteo-Cretans or "Old Cretans" held the South plains, and the interior of the west end; a Dorian population dominated the east end, and the Knossian north had absorbed much European-Anatolian culture. Economically, Knossos wanted a free road across the island to ports on the Messarâ coast, to reach Africa. But the great Messarâ plains, held by old Cretans, were the grainbasket of Crete: the only important wheat area in the island. Thus there were clashing racial elements, and clashing economic interests. Phaistos was the great grain-exporter, in the nature of the case. With colonies on the coasts of Palestine, from Ekron southward, she was also a great importer upon occasion: a situation little to the liking of any profiteering grain-merchants of Gortyna!

Now we have no mention of Phaistos by its own people, nor in any records of any people of its own time. The earliest Greek inscriptions from that area are nearly a thousand years after the destruction of Phaistos. That was the ancient name? The peculiarities of the more or less Berberized Doric Greek dialects of Crete have not been considered by modern students of Palestine. A prominent peculiarity of the Gortyna dialect of the 4th century B.C. is the turning of an r before a dental or sibilant into i. Thus in its code of laws the word martur, "witness", is regularly maitur, in all cases. The same people would have turned the Prstu of the Egyptian hieroglyphs into Phaistu. (Buck, Greek Dialects, 71a). Another dialectic form may appear in Beth-Pelet. For St is occasionally turned to tt in Cretan, Laconian and Boeotian. (Buck 86:4). These would turn Pelisti, Peleshti, into Pelitti, Peletti. Semitic syllabaries

would not write the doubled letter; the names would seem Pelēti, Pelēt, when actually the names of a Philistine tribe and dialect. Such are the "Pelethites" of our AV. (Pelet has hitherto been supposed a Semitic word).

A parallel to this elimination of an r or l from Palistu or Prstu so as to leave Phaistu occurs in the case of "Pelasgi." It is the more impressive because the Philistines themselves seem to have been Pelasgi, and because the phonetic variation occurs in a region where strong Minoan colonies were planted at a very early date: the Pelasgian Argos ("plain") of Thessaly, (see "Minos and Minotaur" chapter, sections R and S). While the region remains "Pelasgiotis" through the classic Greek period, its sea-front on the north-east, the Pelasgian Gulf, was locally the Pagasai gulf, and its great port was Pagasai. (Kiepert, p. 306). It seems that we must allow for dialectic variations in a people so ancient and so widely spread as the Pelasgi or Pelishti.

58-f. Kaptara - Caphtor; and Kaptara - Names in Cretan Greek

The LXX version of the OT. forces upon our attention four dialectic forms of an original Kaptara. First, there is the Hebrew form "Caphtor" (actually Keptur?). Then Gen. 10:14 in LXX has Gaphtor. Then a Doric form Kapdor, (Kbdr?) was known. The translators mistook the r for a final k in their Hebrew text, and in consequence wrote Kappadokia in Deut. 2:23, Amos 9:7, Jer. 47:4: and "a remnant of the Anakim" is an important inclusion with Gaza and Askelon in 47:5. (Add this to Section 64). Then the name "Gaza" was also known in Palestine as "Aza", (Asda) writes Stephen of Byzantium; while the El-Amarna Letters, 1400 B.C. give both Azzati and Khazzati. The Arabs have transmitted "Gaza" as Ghuzzeh. Had they heard the word "Gaza" they would have transmitted it as Jaza. But those who discarded the initial guttural and said "Aza" would have done the same for Gaptara or Kaptara, and said Aptara.

Now that seems to have happened. Reverting to above story of Strabo that Kydonia kept Knossos and Gortyna from fighting each other; Polybius, Stephen of Byzantium, and Diodorus Siculus agree that Aptara, Apteraia or Aptera, a larger city 80 stadia east-south-east of Kydonia was the center of power. Kydonia's prominence came after the decline of Aptera. (See Pauly-Wissowa, "Aptera"). Polybius and Strabo agree that Aptara was attacked by Achaians and compelled to abandon its alliance with Knossos. Strabo (10:4,13) says the Achaians and Laonians fortified a great stronghold among the Polyrhemian villagers west of Kydonia, and from that base subdued Aptara. This different Greek element should partly explain the fact that Greek inscriptions from Aptara and Kydonia, etc. are wholly lacking in the most striking characteristics of (Central) Cretan Greek. (Buck, 273). That makes the direct issue, is not "Aptara" a western dialect form of Kaptara - Gaptara, made by Achaian influence?

For the clash of cults vaguely reported by Tacitus becomes specific at Aptara. Stephen of Byzantium reports it as the scene of a contest between the "Sirens and the Muses", in which the Sirens were defeated, stripped of their plumes and being then white, leaped into the sea. Has the western Cretan dialect misreported the Philistine official title seran (Section 76-a), which Ionic Greek has passed on to us as turannos? Plumed Philistines and Minoan priest-kings are now familiar to us. As for Greek folk-etymology that the mysterious pre-Greek word "Aptera" is their own word for "wingless", that is worth a smile.

Can we correlate these historic fragments? When Achaians pounced on Aptera, why did neither Knossos nor Phaistos nor Gortyna help? When Gortyna pounced on the Minoan southport of Phaistos, why did neither Knossos nor Aptara help? Evans recognizes that Phaistos and Knossos were destroyed about the same time. There was a notable inferiority in the ceramic art of the succeeding settlers. (Evans I:552). At first he thought both had been surprised and sacked. Later he found unmistakable evidence of the destruction of Knossos by a great earthquake, while many records show that the earthquakes do not disturb the plains about Phaistos and Gortyna (Evans 2:310). Tylissos also does not suffer like Knossos, and could promptly initiate an important movement when Knossos was paralyzed. Aptara Evans does not mention. But the fragments of conflict and earthquake correlate well. The destruction of Knossos at a critical time assured the Achaians that Aptera could get no help, while Gortyna simultaneously destroyed Phaistos without hindrance; and Tylissos was ready to join Achaians or anyone else in raids upon Knossian coast colonies, or upon Egypt. (58-b). But each catastrophe sent throngs of fugitives to Palestine and North Africa.

A most prominent feature of Cretan Greek is the assimilation of consonants. The northernmost Philistine colony in Palestine, Ekron of our AV, gives one illustration. The Assyrian gives Amm-Karuna (Karuna tribe?) as the current name, in late Israelite days (ARA II, 312) and Semitic phonology would not change that. But Cretan or Philistine (or Pelasgian?) phonology would assimilate the m to the k, and say Akkaron; and the LXX gives Akkaron regularly. And the Masoretes, centuries after the LXX, had that name in the Hebrew text, but they did not know how to point it! So the Cretan pronunciation was the one actually current in Israel, and written in the Hebrew text.

Next take Ashdod: in Assyrian spelling Ash-du-du, in the LXX it appears what we pronounce "A-zo-tus". But this is wrong, yet the LXX is right! The Greek Zeta in Cretan, is regularly Zd or sd (Buck, 84). The LXX transcription of "Ashdod" is to be pronounced As-do-tus or Az-do-tus: good Cretan Greek writing.

Then there is "Gath": Gintu in El-Amarna Letters: several places of the name (sections 103, 104). This name is not Semitic: nt would become tt in any Semitic language. But the same is true of Cretan! Gintu would become Gittu: a man of the town would be a "Gittits" of our AV. As the Philistines were in that region before Israel, it was they who turned "Gintu" into "Gitt", (Gith?).

This cumulative evidence of Cretan phonology supports the suggestion in concluding 58-e: that Pelet is a dialectic form of Pelest, which is the term for "Philistia" in Ex. 15:14; Joel 3:4; Is. 14:29, 31; Ps. 60:8; 87:4; 108:9. Still more Cretan Greek phonology is sure to be found in the region. But since the LXX regularly transcribes the name of the people of Philistia as Phulistai in Gen. 21:32, 34:26; 1, 14, 15, 18; Ex. 13: 7; 23:31; Josh. 13: 2, 3; Judg. 10:6, 7, 11; 13:1, 5, this transcription is a direct challenge to the much later Masoretic vowelizing of Pelet and Pelesti, and is practically the same as the Egyptian Pwrtw. But in about 250 cases the LXX has preferred to translate simply by allophuloi "foreign tribes", as though a mixture of the sea-peoples.

Returning to Crete; consonant assimilation is more extensive in Cretan than in any other dialect (Buck, 69:3). And one prominent usage is to turn pt to tt. And haplography may obscure that, as when Eastern (Pelasgian?) Cretans write Knōsos for Knōssos (Buck, part II, 113). Also Gnōsos is familiar, as in the Odyssey. (Remember the LXX gives us both "Gaphtor" and Caphtor"). And haplography as well as haplography is familiar. Thus the modern Berber, borrowing much from the Arab, has taken al-kafir, "The unbeliever" and assimilated l-k as an Arab would not do, into akkafir, and now vocalizes that as akafar. (Barth III, 756). Similarly, the Greek angelos they turn into anyelus: and Hebrew "Messiah" becomes Mesi. (Barth, 1:198). This illustrates how an ancient Cretan population of Berber and Pelasgian antecedents, would affect the vocalization of doubled letters in Cretan Greek.

Now Katreús, transposed also to Krateús, is a title of Mínōs in several Greek authors. Gayley, Classic Myths p. 480, has a Katreús a "son of Minos II", K. Pape, 50 years ago (Wörterbuch der Griechischen Eigen-namen, 1884), before our knowledge of the non-Greek past of Crete, accepted the Greek etymological guess of derivation from Kratéō, "be powerful!" He did not guess that Krateús might be the Doric form of the well known Ionic Krêteús, "Cretan!". Pausanias (8-55-3) has Katreús as the founder of a city of the same name: while Katrê, a city in Crete, is guessed to mean "exalted" or "powerful place".

But Greek assimilation of the old name Kaptará, results in Katrá, from which the adjective Katreús, with transposition to Krêteús, are inevitable. So the numerous Ionic by-forms of Krê-ta, Krê-tê, Krêteús, Krêssa, Krêtaios, Krêtaieús, appear as Cretan Greek garblings of the original non-Greek Kaptar, Kaptra. A dialectic form with an e, Képtri, would assimilate to Kétrri: the incessant transposition turns to Kerétti, Kerétim of Ugarit, and the OT, "Cherethites". Also, Cretan Greek did not have separate characters for phi and chi as late as the fifth century B.C. but preferred a p-sound to f. (Buck, 82: part II, 110). So Képtru was originally preferred to Kétrû. But Egyptians 1000 years earlier knew Berber people who turned r to i, and said "Kétyû".

It seems clear that Kaptara was the "original" Crete, and that Achaian, Dorian and other Greek invaders found their own dialects profoundly affected by local phonology of the older populations. The varied terms noticed derive naturally from an original Kaptara, and from no other known source.

58-g. Who Were The "Tarshish" Folk?

Gen. 10:4 introduces "Tarshish" (AV) as one of 4 peoples known to the authors in the Ionian area! The expression is not geographical! And LXX puts before us the fact that the Masoretes (in Babylonia?) did not know the actual pronunciation of the word. For the LXX gives us Tharsis, or Tharseis, which the Masoretes could have given also, had they been accustomed to hearing the name. Alexandrian Jews, 500 to 1,000? years before this Masoretic pointing, certainly knew this commercial people. So did Assyrians of Esarhaddon's day. He boasts that the "Kings in the midst of the sea, as far as Tarsi-si," submitted to him. (ARA. II, 709,710).

Who then were the Tar-si-si, or Tharsis folk? At once all that has been written about "Tartessus" in Spain as the one and only "Phoenician" Tarshish is ruled out. For it has been written upon the assumption that the hypothetical "Phoenicians" were not only the oldest but the only enterprising commercial people of the Mediterranean! And there is an underlying hint that the cultures of the people they traded with were of no significance! But we know now that these Phoenician speculations are not true: see Egyptian section 75. Herodotus 440 B.C., knows neither Carthage nor Tartessus, and fragments that much later Greek and Roman writers have left us about "Phoenicians" of their own time in no wise portray the situation 1000 to 3000 years earlier. Then we have the fact that relics of the Phenicians in the Western Mediterranean are almost non-existent, till the kingdom of Israel ended with the fall of Samaria, 720 B.C. Expeditions of Solomon or Ahab were not being lured to that quarter!

But this also disposes of Tartessus as the complaisant "Tarsisi in the midst of the Sea", who submitted to Esarhaddon. The desire of the Tarsisi to maintain their trading-posts on the Palestinian-Phoenician coasts makes Esarhaddon's assertion plausible. He groups his Tarsisi with the Danaan islands and "Ionia" (Javan), which again puts Spain out of the question. Luckenbill uses the reading Nu-SI-SI, in which he recognizes "Knôssos". The explanation that Nu-si-si is a scribal blunder for Tarsisi is noticed (cf. JAOS 1928, p. 95). The probability that it is a parallel, the Tarsisi being the people centered at Nusisi, is to be considered. But Esarhaddon's "Tarsisi in the midst of the sea" must be compared with the Talmud's independent statement that Tarshish is Medīnath hay-yām; "the judgment-seat of the sea" - the "Supreme Court!" (Advanced students may read the articles upon Tarsos and Tartessos in Pauly-Wissowa, if they wish. They do not touch the facts in this section).

Contrasting with the absence of Phoenician relics in the Western Mediterranean in the days of Israel and Judah, Minoan civilization was flourishing there through the 3,000 years previous. Types of Minoan money are found in Sardinia and Sicily... It seems quite possible that Minoans went as far as the city later known as Tartessus on the Guadalquivir, beyond Gibraltar. The large number of Minoan relics along the western North Africa coasts is in striking contrast with the few Phoenician relics of a late time. It must be remembered that Central Spain had trading-cities as early as 2500-3000 BC: a Neolithic City has been found at Madrid, and an unknown alphabet persisted on the coins of 9 cities in the Cadiz district till Roman times. (ZDMG, 1924, 1-18). Not being Phoenician, was it a Minoan bequest? Did the Phoenicians make Tartessus great, or by following the Minoans, did they find it already great?

It should be recognized that the moment we accept the statement of Gen. 10-4, — that Tarshish is not a geographical term at all, but the name of a widely-trading people of the Ionian seas, there is no difficulty about a colony of them anywhere. Josephus (Ant. 9:10,2) makes Jonah's Tarshish ship dump him into the Black Sea. There is no difficulty about a Cretan trading-post there: Minoan rhytons have been found on the coast. Nor is there any difficulty about such Cretan trade-posts in the Red Sea, or even beyond, as emphasized in the map in this book, and Q-2. Ezek. 33:13 associates a Tarshish colony with Sheba; near the mouth of the Red Sea? In 37-58 we have seen the Minoan clinging to the region between Joppa and the head of the Gulf of Aqabah through millenniums to hold some Red Sea trade. Some base or trading-post beyond is absolutely certain. 1 Kings 22:48 has Jehoshaphat fit out ships of Tarshish at Ezion-geber. But Solomon had such a navy at Ezion-geber, 1K. 9:26f. Were Hiram's "servants" any other than Tarshish men? Certainly there is not an item of support for the idea that Tyre before this time had been pushing naval adventures into the Indian Ocean. And Tyre did not found Carthage till 164 years after Solomon's accession! But if we recognize that the Tarsisi are the merchant-adventurers of Crete, there is no difficulty about a colony of them anywhere; and employing them would be the natural thing for both Hiram

and Solomon.

Then the "three years" in 1K.10:22 has been troublesome. No plausible reason has been offered for a three years' round-trip to Spain. But if Solomon is allied with traders whose colonies are along the North African Coast, the strongest of those colonies exist for the purpose of reaching the Central African trade by the caravan-routes across the Sahara. And a modern Arab trading-expedition may take that much time, collecting wares at storage-points in the far interior for a long time ere beginning the carriage back to the coast. And the next section will put that African Tarshish before us.

Then such commercial alliance puts before us a motive for the terrible invasion by the great Berber king Shishak, in 1K.14:25f; 2 Chron. 12.1-12. Solomon's commercial alliance cut the main artery of the great Berber inland trade. Here the Egyptian section 39-b is of the first importance.

Reverting to Esarhaddon's "Tarsisi" in the Danaan Sea, the Egyptian records 650 years earlier may indicate the same region, by the name Turisha or Turusha, one of the peoples whom Merneptah declares aided the Achaians in their attack upon the Western Delta. The Homeric tradition as already stated, makes "Trojans" impossible, and affirms a Cretan base. Now Von Bissing, after having long held that the Tursha were Etruscans, assembled all the Turisha passages in the Egyptian records. (WZKM, 1928: 177-187). He finds them in records of the 13th century B.C. and in the beginning of the 12th; and all that is told is that they come from the sea, or "dwell in the midst of the sea". So he decides that they were not Etruscans, nor Trojans. If the Egyptian characters Turisa are not an ancient form of Tarsisi, they may be compared with the Greek Tulissos, more than a thousand years later: the great sea-coast fortress some distance west of Knossos: taking its name from the people of the province Tulissos? (see Evans' map). These might be the people who attained the hegemony after the wreck of Knossos. Then we have to consider the forms "Tywr's of the Sea", whom Rameses III declares took part in the "Amoritic" war in Palestine together with the Sheridan and Philistines. (ARE iv:129, Breasted's assigning this attack to the 11th or 12th year of the reign is not now thought justified). This Tywr's must be a different scribal effort at Merneptah's Turisha - "Tulissa". Other writings are Tw-ry-š, Tw-rw-š and Ty-wy-r-š. Then a colored plaque from Medinat Habu, which is supposed to portray the Turisha, gives them red skins like the Red Berber Tahemu or the Knossian Minoans, while the Pelishti are painted with yellow skins. (Macalister, 120). It would seem that the Turisha were Minoan Berbers of Crete, since they "dwelt in the midst of the sea".

(JL Myres' long article, "The Cretan Labyrinth" in JRAI 1933, details the slow untangling of Aegean - Anatolian archaeology since Schliemann. He concludes that the Minoans of Greek tradition overthrew an earlier and more splendid culture. Using Evans' provisional terms, he would consider "Late Minoan" the only Minoan: the more splendid earlier culture is yet nameless. But he admits that West Crete must be excavated to settle the matter. That this Minoan culture of the Greek is represented by such names as Tarsisi, Turisha, etc. he does not consider).

58-h. Carthage Claimed as Tarshish.

The LXX translators of Isaiah are generally understood as identifying Tarshish with Carthage; see next section. While trade-posts in the Tunisian area could certainly secure gold and ivory and long-tailed monkeys by the ancient trade-routes across the Sahara, the primal fact is that the Tyrian occupation of the place where Carthage became mighty dates 814-813 B.C. (Gsell, 1:395-401 collates all the classic writers upon this point). If there were any people called "Tarshish" there in Solomon's time, they were not "Phoenician". A mishandled passage in Herodotus IV: 191 must be noted here. He did not travel the North African coasts. All the non-Greek peoples of North Africa are grouped as "Libyans" by him: which makes his term ethnologically of no value. He does not name the town Carthage. He does not know the distinctions pointed out in 58-t to 58-ff. He gathers in Egypt some stories from merchant-adventurers whom he calls "Karkhedones": a term which he does not explain. He reports them as saying that all the "Libyan" tribes are "nomads" as far as the "Lake Triton:" (Ghirtun. Any water-course or pool is ghir in Berber; Gsell, 1:316). This is identified generally with one of the marsh-lagoons south or southwest of the Gulf of Gabes. But this assertion ignores the long-existing Graeco-Berber Cyrene, and does not recognize the immemorial

non-nomadic olive-growing region of Tehennu-Tripoli, of 58-t. And beyond the "Triton Lake" are the agricultural (?) "Máxyes" (Imóshagh) "nobles" who are farmers. These would be the agricultural peoples of Tunis. These "say they are Τῶν ἐκ Τρωίης ἀνδρῶν, -- "of the men from Troy." They shaved their heads on the left side, as some Tuareg still do, (Barth 3:243) and smeared their bodies with red earth. Certainly neither the Imóshagh lords nor the aboriginal Berber peasantry claimed to be parvenus from "Troy?" Herodotus did not understand the term he heard from the Karkhedonians. If some non-Berber settlement on the Gulf of Gabes was meant, the Karkhedonian story suggests the Turussha whom Merneptah asserts to have been allied with the Berber invaders of his time. A Tursha-Tulissa-Tarsisi-Tarshish colony must be represented by the important Berber port of Zarsis, near the southeastern boundary of Tunis. For from Neolithic times this bottom of the Gulf of Gabes has been the terminus for the caravan-routes to the Central and Western Soudan. Herodotus above probably heard Terúish.

Now Zarsis is not a consolidated town, but a group of five villages around a great harbor of the Zarsis Peninsula. Barth in 1850 so describes it (1:34f). One cyclopaedia article has Zarsis 20 miles east of the island Gerba; out in the sea! But the peninsula Zarsis is south of Gerba; a very narrow Strait separates them. The harbor Zarsis is about 15 miles south of Gerba.

But here is the name "Tarshish" plainly written, and encyclopaedists have overlooked the fact. In the Eastern Berber or Temáshight language a hard th- sound is preferred where the western (eg. the Kabyle of Algeria) prefer ch, a fact to be noticed again. So the Temáshight says Thar-sis or Thar-this: (th as in "that") the Kabyle would say Cher-ches, which an Arab would transmit as "Jer-jis". And the Temáshight pronunciation Tharseis is the one accepted by the LXX translators who in Alexandria were in daily contact with Eastern Berber language. But a Spaniard writing "Tharsis" would write it with a Z- on his maps: he does not use th as the English does, (eg. writes teología for "theology"). So his maps mislead the careless. And there is the further fact that there is much interchange of S, Z dh and th sounds in Temashight: eg. turning Hebrew, or Arabic másgid, a "place of worship", into tamízgida. Again, the Tuareg of Ghadames, accepting an Arab Jabbâr, or "Giant" tomb, pronounce it Zabbar, ERE, 1:513). So the "visible" forms Tarsis, Tharseis, Tarshish, Zarsis, Jarjis, Zarzis, Cher-chis, Jerjis are simply different phonographies of the same name.

Mediaeval Arabic geographers knew Cherches-Jerjis very well and knew its claim to great antiquity. Ibn Khaldoun (1381 A.D.) and Al-Bekri compare the name Jírjis with Ifrikiya in which it is situated. They decided that Jírjis was the older. That "king Ifríkos" came from Himyar and killed Jírjis and seized the country! That is, they learned that "Jírjis" was older than the Roman province-names "Afrika". In the statement that Jirjis came from Palestine lies the fact Jews in Gerba and Zarsis say their ancestors came from Palestine. (Hist. des Berbers 1:168, 171). Rodd notices this use of "Ifrikiya" for "Tunisia", and that the name "Africa" was older than Ibn Khaldoun thought: but he does not consider the various dialectic and phonological forms of the name. (P.V. 341, 271) Slouschz (p. 211) mentions a Jewish view that Tharsis-Jerjis was the whole of North African coast from the Gulf of Gabes to the Atlantic. In any case, Zarsis remains a "Pre-Africa" fact, traditionally connected with some foreign sea-power. Strabo knows that there was a great emporium here, but does not give the name. But since we are dealing with an area that has remained solidly Berber from prehistoric times, "Zarsis" should be one Berber form of an ancient name.

58-k. Carthage, Karkhedôn and Kerkenna.

The Jewish translators of the LXX used Tharsis or Tharseis wherever Tarshish occurs in the AV, save in one Isaiah chapter. They retained also the name of the precious stone tarshish in Ezek. 1:16; Cant. 5:14. They plainly did not know another name for that stone. (The AV. has "beryl". Chrysolith, yellow jasper, now thought more probable. Schoff, The Ship Tyre, 120ff). Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion follow the LXX generally.


But the LXX of Is. 23: 1, 6, 40, 14, has Karkhedôn instead of Tharsis, and in verse 6, "Depart to Karkhedôn: wail, ye that dwell in this island!" This explanation is peculiarly important. It is recognized that more than one hand wrought in the translation of Isaiah. Second, except in this passage, the Tharsis used by translators of other books was accepted. All commercial Alexandrian Jews thought they knew Tharsis. Israelite residence there began as early as Solomon's time. The deportations of the great Berber conqueror Shishak and his successors meant a great increase of the

Hebrew settlements in North Africa. How early are the boasts of Zebulun's sea-traffic? Gen. 49:13; Deut., 33:18. There was never any possibility after Solomon's time of Israel losing contact with or knowledge of Tarshish. And the commercial Jews of Alexandria certainly knew what the term "Karkhedôn" meant: current with Greek traders of the town, and historians. So when the Alexandrian Jewish scholars accept the LXX translation of Isaiah with both Tharsis and Karkhedôn employed, it is certain that the two names meant the same region.

Now Karkhedôn has been assumed to be an adaptation of the Semitic characters for "New Town:" KRTHDST, which we call "Carthage". The phonetic strain is too great: only three characters of the seven appear in Karkhedôn. The factual strain is far greater: the whole trading-region was known throughout the Mediterranean for 3000 or 4000 years before there was a "Carthage:" how could an old name be eliminated for all peoples? Greeks themselves had been in the Mediterranean a thousand years before there was a Carthage: what did they call the region?

The above emphasis upon the fact that the Gulf of Gabes was the immemorial entry to the Soudan trade brings before us the island bases of that traffic: the Karkena or Kerkennah Islands, and Jerba (Gerba: Roman Girba-Mêninx). The later Greek writers have Kerkina, Kerkinna: the one Herodotus passage (iv:195) has the island Kirauis, (A.D. Godley text) 200 furlongs long. The varied forms give us important information. Buck tells us that the doubling of a consonant before a final vowel is a characteristic of the Cretan Greek (Greek Dialects, section 5). Kerkinna and Kerkinnitis then show us Cretan influence in vocalization. But the same tendency appears in Berber: Evans' discovery that the earliest culture in South Crete came from North Africa is to be remembered. The Philistine tseran of the OT becomes Greek tyrannos: section 76-a. Then the doubling of consonants by assimilation is extensive in Cretan Greek (Buck, 69, 86) rn becomes nn; or mm-- mm: dunamai become nunamai or dn = nn; Kedna could become Kenna. This is paralleled in Berber, if not actually produced by Berber influence. Uled Lémta is slurred into Awellimmid. Conversely, the regular plural Imrrhan is more commonly Imrrhád or Imghád. (Section 58-w). It is certain then that Karkhedna or Karkhedân would appear as one approximation of the name we now write as Kerkenna: whence Greek Karkhedôn.

But the strange form Kirauis, considered as Herodotus' equivalent for Kerkenna? Is this a specimen of Cretan Greek? For U is used in Cretan Greek as a guttural, or "grunt-stop". L is a deep guttural sound, for which the guttural U is substituted: adelphai written adeupiai: Khalkos, "brass", is Kaukhos: presbus = preisus (Buck 71). The parallel in Berber is continual. Compare Terrigurt, Terrugert, Turot, Terrugadt, Turbat, as different efforts of modern travellers to write the name of a stream in Tripoli: and no one of them really gives the peculiar Berber sounds. (Cowper, P. 114, note). The answer to this query is that Herodotus was not Cretan, and was not writing in Cretan phonetics. His Kirauis cannot be related to "Karkhedna". In English phonetics it is Kýr-avi, the ancient form of the Graeco-Roman Girba (Mêninx), the modern Gerba: paralleled in northern Tunis by Koroubis turned into modern "Ghurba". Kyravi-Girba was the whole of the Kerkenna group for Herodotus: the entire region was Kerkinnitis for later Greek geographers.

Finally, as (Section 58-t) this whole region is shown to be the seat of the great Berber culture that founded the predynastic Delta monarchy of Egypt, and repeatedly ruled Egypt in the dynastic period, we have to ask, Was the name Karkenna known in Egyptian pre-dynastic times?---The ancient name for the people, region and culture in the Egyptian records is Ta-hennu or The-Khennu. But the initial aspirated t,  was in earlier times given a ch sound (as in church) and developed in two ways (John A. Wilson). In 58-cc is shown just how the t and h were changed, in the Berber name Tuimakh, known in Egyptian records for 2,000 years. Herodotus, Pliny, Ptolemy, and Silius Italicus give the form Durmakh, through 500 years, as current from Alexandria westward and southward. And among modern Kabyle survives the tradition of the ancient A-thermak. Both forms have an r, that does not appear in any Egyptian writing of Temekh. The earlier Egyptian form of Ta-hennu being Chahennu, or Tekhennu being Che-Khennu, means simply a different Berber dialect. It remains so to-day. Slouschz (p. 203) observes that where Jews of Tunis pronounce th those of Tripoli pronounce ch. Tha-hennu of one=Cher-kenna of the other. Prof. Newman in Barth (3:727) observes that it is the difference between Kabyle and Temashight: ich-cham, ich-chur, ich-chah of Kabyle=it-kem, it-kar, it-kagh of Temashight. So Ta-hennu is the eastern dialect, and Che-Khennu the western of the same name. And as for the above suggestion that Kark-

hedon is simply the Hellenized form of Kerkenna, Ker-kedn, the name survives to-day: one of the Awellimmid Imóshagh tribes still bears the name I-Kher-khe-en. (Barth 3:720).

58-1. The Economic Resources of Tharsis-Zarsis-Karkhedôn-Karkenna.

The strategic importance of the Karkhedôn-Kerkenna-Girba group lies in the fact of their situation. Colonies there are safe from incursions of main-land nomads who have no navy. And caravans for the southern trade-routes are 300 miles nearer to Rrhât or Mourzouk than if they set out from Carthage-Tunis. For these reasons the southern island, Girba-Mêninx, figures repeatedly in Roman records as an important military base. (Smith, DGRG, sv. Mêninx). The island group is dotted with Roman remains. When finally masters of the region they established a great fortified emporium on the southern coast, calling it Mêninx. The remaining ramparts show a city three miles in circumference: an area of about three-fourths of a square mile. (Reclus, Africa 2:130, 141). Roman ruins also remain at the Zarsis harbor 15 miles south (Reclus, 131:1:34f), whence caravans set out for the interior. Archaeological research is yet to be made. Their later caravan-terminus at Gighthi, 25 miles west, has already been noticed. The Roman occupation of the region is only a recognition of its immemorial commercial importance. For administrative purposes the Romans attached the Karkhedna group, with its mainland stations, to their own province of "Carthagina": which was only accepting the administrative association already established by Carthage. (Gsell 2:126) From this association has arisen the erroneous supposition that "Carthage" was the original name of the ancient Karkhedân commercial area. But Tyrians did not occupy the site we call "Carthage" before 814 B.C.

The name "New Town" has been long supposed to mean a "New Tyre". It no longer seems probable. Recent discoveries in southern Spain show cities there as early as 2500 B.C. But their records have not come to us. The "New Town" of the Tyrian traders must mean their own new quarter of an ancient Berber commercial port: perhaps quite as old as the predynastic Berber settlements in the Delta. In what way they secured a "preferred" standing among these western Berbers we do not now know, but they speedily pushed other trading stations into the interior, for the very ancient agricultural and horticultural activities of the Tunisian area had much to sell to a hungry town like Tyre, whose narrow strip of coastland could not feed her. But the Tyrians could not occupy the long pre-empted Gulf of Gabes area. Similarly Sidon three centuries earlier had occupied Lepki, 200 miles east of the Kerkenna area, as a second choice. The powerful inland Berber state of the Garamantes of Phazania-Fezzân maintained caravan routes to the Eastern Soudan, Darfûr, and the Upper Nile areas, and Sidon became the export agent of that trade. Parenthetically, this Lepki colony thrusts upon us again the phonological differences involved when old North African names are reported by foreign writers. The name Lepki has no Semitic explanation. But the Semitic-speaking Sidonians used it regularly, and the form appears on coins as late as the 4th century AD, the restored Eastern half of the city being "Lepkis Magna". And some Roman authors wrote "Lepkis". But the Greeks wrote regularly "Leptis", and this was accepted by most Roman writers. Had such vocalization been heard by Arab conquerors, we would hear "Lefti" to-day. But we have instead "Lebda", and at Leptis Minor, west of Carthage, "Lamta" and "Lamda". Berber or "Libyan" phonetics have controlled. Without detailing its 1800 years of history to its complete ruin by the Arabs, Ammianus Marcellinus (28:6) records that after the Vandal tempest the city was hopelessly crippled by an invasion of the savage Aurusiani. These are certainly the Ausuriani of Synesius, the Bishop of Cyrene: Auxōrianoi of Philostorgius: the modern Aurághen, Urághen, "Auradians", or "Golden" people, (Barth 1:199, Sec. 58-z) now far-removed from the region. But the persistence of the forms Lebda, Lamta, Lamda in connection with the locations, and of Lemta, Lemda as tribe-names in the Central Sahara, suggest that Lepki-Lepti was originally named for the particular local tribe of the "Gold" people, and that the town was ruined by their final defection).

Per contra, the isolation of Girba from the mainland has resulted in the modern population being the purest Berber, with the purest Berber language, in all North Africa (Reclus, 2:131). It has not been submerged by nomadic elements. These industrial Berbers are thought to be the best survival of the culture that made the predynastic kingdoms of the Egyptian Delta.

The area of the islands is greatly diminished. Reclus observes that vast shoals extend around the Kerkenna group, and Gerba. The measurements given by Herodotus and

Pliny no longer hold. Yet in Roman days a large galley (of 4 feet draft) might ground a long distance from the land, and the crew wade ashore. The north end of Kerkenna has been eroded by the waves, and there has been submergence. The remains of one lost Roman town have recently been declared to be represented by ruins visible in the shallows a mile from the coast of Tunis. (Reclus 2:119, 122). Emphatic is the native tradition that one of the great salt-marshes, lagoons, or Shotts, of Southern Tunis, 80 miles west of Gabes, was once an immense olive-grove. (Reclus 2:117). Very surprising is the assertion of the official geographer Strabo (17:3;17), who knew the strategic importance of Kerkinna, that in his day this northern island and Méninx-Girba were the same size. Or is this an adaptation of Herodotus' information that Kýravi-Girba? was Kerkinna?

As to the economic resources of Kerkenna-Gerba, the Karkhedonian traders told Herodotus (4:195) that gold was obtained from the northern islands. Poles with swabs of cloth or wool were plunged into the mud in the bottom of pools; the gold dust was then washed out: a parallel to the "golden fleece" method in the streams of the Caucasus. The olives and the vines were preëminent. Reclus says that Gerba still has the finest olives in all the Tunisian domain. The mainland harbor of Zarsis once had a canal running southwest to the inland district of Medînet Zian, to bring its olive oil to the sea. But the nomads in Arab times have cut down the ancient groves (Reclus 2:140). The Mediterranean is in general tideless: but the peculiar funnel-like formation of the Gulf of Gabes results in a tide that rises as high as 8 feet in its southern pocket. That means mud with food for shell-fish. So the coasts of Gerba and of the lagoon south of it are piled with shells of murex and purpura, whence the famous "Tyrian purple." Note in Ezek. 27, that Tyre does not manufacture purple: she buys it. At the site of the ancient Ugarit, 185 miles north of Tyre, an account-tablet of a dealer in purple wool has been found. He was placing wool with thirty different dealers in purple dye, about 1450 B.C., 640 years before Tyre founded Carthage. (Syria, 1934:137-146). The traffic was much older. Herein the Gerba-Zarsis area is the greatest source of supply yet found. And purple remains a badge of the highest rank in North Africa. (Sternberg, 60,64). While the coastal population is largely engaged in fishing industries, there is a large weaver-population; each family working in its own home, with its favored inherited patterns. Their unique mantles or coverlets of silk, wool, and cotton are in high esteem, and are traded in the inland markets as far away as Bornu, and in Mediterranean ports. Compare Ezek. 27:16, where Aramaeans trade at Tyre with "carbuncles and purple and many-colored cloths from Tharsis" (LXX: the "Tarshish" is not in the present Hebrew text). And the population of Gerba being as dense as that of France, her skilled artisans and their merchandise are found in all the large towns of Tripoli and Tunis, in remote inland markets, in Egypt and Constantinople (Reclus 2:141). The exploiting by Minoans, Egyptians, Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, comes and goes: the ancient people and their sources of wealth remain.

58-m. Kerkenna-Gerba-Zarsis Fisheries — Minoan Cuttle-Fish.



The inalienable, unchangeable wealth of the fisheries deserves a special section. Strabo (17:3;17) says that the unnamed "Emporium" at south end of the Gulf of Gabes was on a river (or lagoon) and at the change of tide the inhabitants rushed out to catch the fish. The particular method is most primitive, and is still in use. Sections of the shoals are enclosed by reed fences or weirs; and fish coming in with the high tides find the way for their return closed: which means that each group of fishers must watch its traps, for there is much poaching. "From Cape Kadija to Zarsis there is a stretch of coast which has no equal as a fishery in any other part of the world, and in the Kerkenna Islands opposite Sfax, practically the whole population is given up to fishing, and contrives to prosper in spite of the constant depredations of Greek and Italian poachers. The existence of a tide in the Gulf of Gabes is of particular assistance to the fishing." (Vivian, Tunisia, 269). He adds that the fish caught on Tunisian shores are far superior in quality to those of the same varieties caught on the north shores of the Mediterranean.

Here in a nut-shell is another great factor in ancient rivalries of the sea-peoples of the Mediterranean. Colonies controlling such supplies of salt fish or dried fish could dictate terms to those bringing other merchandise. Recall the contentions over various fisheries in our modern world. Sponges and cuttlefish are a large item in the fisheries. The revenue now collected from fishermen reminds us that colonists of the ancient Mediterranean would have done the same. The interest of Minoans or any other colonists included much more than gold, ivory, or long-tailed monkeys.

Reclus (ii, 129) records that the mudbank between the coast town of Sfax and the Kerkenna islands is the greatest production-point of marketable cuttlefish known. The catch is dried in the sun and sold mainly in Greece. Vivian (p. 271) in 1898 observed that 65,000 pounds a year were sold at Sfax alone. Now the cuttlefish is prominent in Middle Minoan art, about 2,000 B.C. Did Mycenaean Greece eat cuttle-fish? Did Minoans at Kerkenna--Zarsis "corner" the supply?

58-n. Ancient Fishers Steal Modern Tackle.

The outstanding surprise of the current Italian excavations at Lebda, the Roman Leptis Magna, in Tripoli, is a great mosaic showing Roman fishing scenes: trolling, trident-spears, basket-traps, and sporting anglers whose tackle forms a continuous

curve in the most approved modern style.  Nothing in ancient literature or art had suggested to us any Roman knowledge of such tackle. Even more surprising is their use of a forked landing net, of the most approved modern type  . Archaeologists

had not dreamed of such ancient Roman device. Radcliff, studying Fishing In All Ages had found no portrayal or documentary evidence of such equipment.

But the same fork-net device is shown in Egyptian bas-reliefs of the tomb of Mera, at Saqqarah; time of the Sixth Dynasty (2600-2750 B.C.): 3,000 years earlier than the Roman mosaic. But the Egyptian device was larger, used to dip into a shoal of small fish, as Americans use it in shallows to catch minnows for bait. The industrial continuity of the Nile and south Mediterranean coasts makes archaeologists conclude that the Roman sports were adapting or accepting methods used all along that coast for 3000 years or more. The poly-ethnic fishing in the Kerkenna Bay or Gulf of Gabes certainly assembled all known devices. The Roman mosaic shows crabs, prawns, cuttlefish, seaworms, hippocampi, turtles, muraenas, and many recognizable species of scalefish. (ILN, 9-1-1934: 2pp: 6 photos).

58-o. Minoan Saffron-Plantations in Africa.

One of the finest of the Middle Minoan paintings recovered by Evans shows a Minoan gathering saffron. The locality is at once in question. Hehn has shown from Greek and Roman sources that the saffron (*Crocus Sativus*) highly prized in the ancient Orient, is associated in Greek myth and legend with the heroic age, with Minoan and Mycenaean days. (*Kulturpflanze und Haustiere*, 225-251). It is repeatedly connected with tales and sanctuaries of the eastern gods. It is admitted that it came from the east, Lydia and Cilicia and Lycia producing saffron of fine quality. Efforts to grow marketable saffron in the Aegaeon had small success. Pliny said it did not pay to grow it in Italy. The whole Greek area could not supply the demand: a peculiar soil was needed. Theophrastus wrote that the finest saffron was coming from Africa: especially from Cyrenaica, which developed from an ancient Cretan colony. But the ancient culture persisted. The invading Arabs made its acquaintance at Zaffrân, a port of Eastern Tripoli, and under the name Zaffrân the Moors carried to Spain where it is still "azafrán." The independent Italian zafferano points to the same African port. From the Spanish "azafrán" comes the English "saffron".

Now the area around the Gulf of Gabes and eastward has remained for centuries preëminent in saffron. Barth (1:61) observed that saffron and olives were the two staple industries of a Gharian district, in southwest Tripoli. Further on when he commented on the productiveness of the saffron plantations, the people of Gamudî vented their hatred of the Turks: saying that before the Turks came the saffron plant bore several stalks from one root: but since the land was defiled by the Turks, a plant seldom bore more than one. (1:63). Leo Africanus 400 years ago wrote that this Gharian ridge (40X15 miles) shipped large quantities of olive-oil to Alexandria and other cities, and the best saffron in all the world, at a very high price. The annual tribute from the district was 60,000 ducats and 15 mule-loads of saffron. (Leo Africanus, Hakluyt edition 1896: iii, p. 746). With this preëminence of the saffron of North Africa from the pre-Greek legendary days down to the present, and the long exploitation of the Cyrene to Gabes region by the Cretans, it seems that the Middle Minoan picture of a saffron-gatherer, about 2,000 B.C.? must be connected with one of their African colonies. A revenue from saffron must be added to their revenue from the Karkenna fisheries.

58-p. The Pre-Historic Olive at Gabes-Tripoli.

The emphatic connection of the prehistoric African saffron-plantations with some famous olive-districts brings before us another source of revenue in the Kerkenna-Tripoli area. With the above Saffron-picture of Middle Minoan times must be grouped the fact that Egyptian records of the same time speak of the Gharian Troglodyte region as the "Land of Olives." In the section 58-t below, it is shown that olive-culture was firmly established on that Tripoli coast in predynastic Berber days: it must have been a large factor in the predynastic commercial-political dominance of the Berber in the Delta of the Nile. If in the time of the Sixth Egyptian dynasty the Gharian area was known as the "Land of Olives", it was at that same time that the Sumerian king Lugal-Zaggisi was planting his "West-port" on the upper Lebanon coast, and Sargon of Akkad was assuring to the line of Akkadian trading-stations across Asia Minor a satisfactory Mediterranean terminus: at Sardis (?). To him, Caphtor-Kaftara-Crete? was the controlling factor in this Mediterranean trade. (Minoan Section 65: Egyptian sections 67-68). So any Minoan colonies on the Gabes-Tripoli coasts of the time had still another source of revenue, in addition to placer-gold pools, "Tyrian" purple, particoloured weaving, and the fisheries, and saffron trade. Added to the agricultural resources grouped near the Gabes-Tripoli coasts, their equipment for caravan-trade across the Sahara was unrivalled. Whoever held the head of Gulf of Gabes controlled trade south through Rhât to Central Soudan. Whoever held Tripoli controlled trade southward through Mourzouk to Eastern Soudan and Darfur. Succeeding the Phoenicians on the North African coast, the Romans found Algeria-Tunisia-Tripoli the granary of the western Empire. Tunisia alone was said to have a population of 20,000,000 of people (Furlong, 292). That tells what Berber farmers and horticulturists had been doing during Carthaginian exploitation, and for 3000 years before Tyrian traders came. And the Romans counted Eastern Tunis and western Tripoli, around the Gulf of Gabes, their richest possession, and called it Byzacium. Berber agriculture and horticulture, fisheries and industrial skill had made it such for ages. And Minoan trading with predynastic Egypt and Zarsis was linking the Kerkenna-Tripoli area to southern Palestine 2,000 years before any Semitic-speaking peoples gained possession of Palestinian coasts.

The olive-oil industry is a large feature in modern Tunisia, as in ancient Carthagina. But the native methods of manufacture result in a product that brings not more than half the price of Spanish, French or Italian oils. But as it was 4,000 years ago, the product of the far South is far the best. The Gabes-Tripoli area still has preeminence. (Vivian, 265f).

58-q. The Minoan Taste for Silphium, 2000 BC--200 BC.

Evans (1:284) pays serious attention to the prominence of silphium in Middle Minoan art. The florescence he identifies with the silphium shown on coins of Cyrene during the Greek period. The present point is the additional evidence of Minoan dominance along the North African coasts. All agree that the Silphi, Sirphi, was a Berber name, and that the plant was one of the Parsley family (Umbelliferae). Since a like efflorescence can not now be found, Evans conjectures an imported plant; a species of Narthex. This does not harmonize with an ancient assertion that it was once to be found all along the coast from eastern Cyrenaica to the Gulf of Gabes. Since Evans' speculation Steier has compiled 11 columns on the subject in Pauly-Wissowa (1927). Russell (p. 328) 100 years ago wrote that it was still found in eastern Tripoli, but was fast becoming extinct because the nomads thought it hurtful to their cattle. Captain Beechey records that the vegetable was about three feet high and much resembled the carrot. Russell says that either stewed or boiled it much resembled celery. Theophrastus records that it had a thick fleshy perennial root, while its leaves resembled Selinon or "Macedonian parsley." But Bailey's Cyclopaedia of Horticulture decides that Selinon, occurring once as a pretty flower in the Odyssey (V:75) was simply wild celery. That the Greek writers seem to consider the gum or juice or extract of silphium a powerful nerve-tonic or anti-spasmodic suggests our modern celery-compounds.

58-r. Cretans Introduce Cyrenian Silphium to the Greeks.

The evidence of Middle Minoan art cannot tell us for what purposes silphium was sought or cultivated. But when Cretans were instrumental in introducing Greek colonists into Cyrene, it is fair to conclude that the vaunted virtues of silphium were not Greek discoveries, but were learned by them from the Cretans and Berbers. That means, however that the Cretans had not lost knowledge of the uses of silphium since Middle

Minoan days. There is no silphium in Homer or Hesiod or the mythology. Herodotus (440 B.C.) telling of the founding of Cyrene (631 BC) says that a party of Spartans led by Battus were guided to the island of Platea in the Gulf of Bomba by Corobius, a native of Crete. But he says that "Battus" is from a Libyan word meaning "King". There seems a little confusing of earlier and later facts. The essence of the story is that Cretans who were on good terms with the Libyan chieftains introduced the Spartan colony to the island Platea (Plataia also) which the Cretans knew. (Had the name Platea any connection with the Peletin, AV "Pelethites", associated with Cretans in David's body-guard? (Sections 101,102). So intimate was this long association of Crete with Cyrenaica that the Roman imperial government made the two one province.

From the subsequent Greek writers come the stories of the great rarity of silphium, the enormous value placed upon its secretion or extract, its reservation for the nobility or royalty; the story that one stalk was esteemed a present fit for an emperor like Nero: that it would not bear transplanting: that there were only a few spots where it would grow. As for injury to some animals, several plants of the family are deadly poisons, and some are frequently confused with harmless ones in America. Silphium may have been harmless yet exterminated in the effort to get rid of a plant closely resembling it. On the other hand a noxious plant may be modified by proper cultivation. The wild celery of the south coasts of Europe is not desirable. Our garden varieties are the product of the last 4 centuries of cultivation. The expression "silphium of Battus" suggests cultivation by some Berber chiefs. Did it become a monopoly?

58-s. Evans Summarizes Minoan Enterprise in Africa.

In vol. II-2, p. 755ff Evans presents the painting of a Minoan captain leading negro troops similarly equipped. Now these did not come from the African littoral: but from the region south of the Sahara. Middle Minoans could secure these mercenaries only through the great trade-routes. That does not mean conquest of the haughty Imo'shagh Berbers who controlled the Sahara: it means that the Middle Minoans were on trafficking terms with them, all the way across the Sahara. Evans observes that Neolithic settlements are now known to mark the trade-routes from the coast to Lake Chad, the Niger, western Soudan, and Darfur. Fragments of Minoan art show suppliant figures with swarthy skins, prognathism, and steatopygy. Ivory, gold dust, numerous decorated ostrich eggs, long-tailed Soudan monkeys are additional evidence of Cretan (Pelishtim?) activity. The negro troops Evans suggests may have been palace guards at Knóssos. (That would mean unpopularity of the government with the home-population!). He thinks Amen-em-hat III's great labyrinth (Egyptian section 93) was actually built by Minoan workmen. He views the revolution of Menes (Egyptian section 37-40) as driving a large element of the more cultured Delta Berber kingdom to take refuge in the Messara plains of south Crete. Taken with the evidence of coastal hegemony through the centuries presented in the preceding sections, the student will have a better appreciation of the enterprising culture that pushes into South Palestine.

PRE-DYNASTIC DELTA DYNASTIES.

58-t. Their Regional-Economical Base--Tripoli=Tahennu.

The Palermo Stone, the early trade-boats on the Nile, the Delta provenance of the Sothic calendar, etc. prove that the non-Hamitic Coastland Mediterranean ruled the Delta long before the Nilotic Hamites were culturally and politically strong enough to push down the Nile and through the Delta to the Sea. The eastward push of this Mediterranean culture, with its thousands of megalith monuments, "dry-wall" tombs, etc. (Gsell 1:274) carried it across the Delta to Moab and northward to Bashan, mingling its megaliths with the cave-tombs of Palestine. (Minoan Section 4: more fully presented in Pre-Mosaic Hebrew Religion, Section 9, 27). Per contra, the numerous recent excavations in South Palestine show nothing Nilotic there. Nor did the Coastland Mediterranean culture push southward from Moab into Arabia.

Was Coastland Mediterranean culture extinguished in the Delta by the Nilotic Dynasties conquests? Had it a great economic and territorial base, independent of its Delta holdings? Modern writers on Egypt speak of "Libyan nomads" invading Egypt. And here the student is to be warned that the name Rebw or Lebu, which Greek writers later than 500 B.C. have transmitted to us as Libues, "Libyans," does not appear in the Egyptian records earlier than Merneptah, 1225 B.C. And the "Libyans" of the Graeco-Cretans of Cyrene were not nomads, and were not the ancient culture-people of predynastic north Africa. The use of the word "Libyan" by modern writers on Egypt, even in Breasted's ARE, is inaccurate, and hopelessly confusing to the student. But the dark Nilotic Hamitic revolutionists, summed up as "Menes" by Manetho, have shown us the ancient predynasts of north Africa, and left us an Egyptian form of their name.

The earliest document is a "Prunk-palette" of the Pharaoh "Scorpion," predecessor of N'r-mr (Egyptian section 40). It shows us booty in three rows: the upper one cattle; the second, donkeys, the third, sheep: the fourth a grove or orchard, probably representing the fruits. Certain large-trunked low trees strongly suggest the Olive. And before the grove (?) Sethe (1914) has recognized the hieroglyphs Thnw --Tehennu, Ta-khennu. We face an ancient culture, noted for fruit-growing (?) certainly not nomads of the desert.

A generation later Nar-mr has left us an ivory carving, at Hierakonpolis (El-Kab, 502 miles above Cairo. It shows three rows of kneeling prisoners; with pointed beards? The central field is occupied by characters midway between picture-writing and script, reading "Liveth Horus! who by King Narmer, the protégé of the Hawk-Goddess of En-hab, hath overthrown the Thnw, and struck down captives of them." There is booty of cattle. These two portrayals tell us of the folk with whom the Nilotic Hamitic revolutionists battle for the hegemony. (See Georg Möller, "Die Agypter und ihre Libysche Nachbarn," ZDMG 1924, 36-63: plates).

The next oldest record is a gigantic relief in the mortuary temple of Sahu-Ra, 2d King of the Fifth Dynasty. (2743-2731) There is a shattered remnant of the kneeling king (?) of the Thnw being slain by the Pharaoh, while two little sons and a daughter watch the gruesome spectacle. Other prisoners men, women and children, are in three rows above the booty, and are expressly called Thnw in the inscriptions. The enumerated booty is in 4 rows; cattle, donkeys, goats, and sheep. Below, the goddess of the west is shown, as mistress of the "Ta-hennu" region, and behind her stands the god "As, lord of Tahennu." His Egyptian insignia raise the question "Did the Hamitic dynasts take over all the predynastic Coastland Ta-hennu insignia?" The same question is raised by the royal insignia at later times being similar (Möller 39ff). That the Red Crown of the Red Berbers was appropriated all Egyptologists know.

Then there is the mutilated Palermo Stele which shows that in the time of Sahu-ra there was a Tahennu nome in the kingdom. This is obscured in Breasted ARE 1:159 by his calling it "Libyan"-- Since the above relief of Sahu-Ra makes his victory an event of major importance, it leaves us wondering if there was a revolt in the Tahennu nome, or an invasion from a Tahennu region farther west. At any rate the great pre-Nilotic Mediterranean culture had not been dislodged from the Western Delta, near 1000 years after the beginning of the "Menes" revolution.

Now the Tahennu, in all the above Old Kingdom portrayals, are a small ruddy-brown (sunburnt?) people, with blackeyes and hair: in these latter respects being like the Nilotic Hamites of Egypt and the upper Nile. Upon the basis of some fifty words being almost identical in modern Berber and ancient Egyptian, "Möller (pp 41f) infers that

the whole of North Africa was once solidly Hamitic: an impossible deduction. Seven thousand years of historic contiguity should result in many times more than fifty words in common. What Möller concluded were "Hamitic" north Africans are what we call archaeologically and ethnologically the Mediterranean-Berber stock. This does not commit us to a single somatic type: Ratzel finds five among the modern Berbers, and at least three appear in the fifty skeletons of Capsian times recently found in the Bou Rhummel cave. (Section 20, 21, Möller does not notice the "Mediterranean" stock, nor the neolithic and palaeolithic discoveries). Tahennu then cannot designate a somatic type, but a culture that had absorbed several types, and was able to absorb more. For the immediate purpose no blue-eyed, white-skinned, fairhaired Tahennu are shown before 2600 B.C.

Now this stern persistence of the Mediterranean Tahennu culture in the Delta and westward must be correlated with the fact mentioned in Minoan Section 37, and Egyptian section 45, that Crete and Egypt are known to have been exchanging wares as early as 4,000 B.C.: and with the fact of a predynastic commerce of the Delta (Egyptian section 41). But this only means that the whole North African Mediterranean culture had an extensive commerce that could not be terminated by loss of political hegemony in part of the Delta. As for its vigor in the Delta Newberry has concluded that the Berber culture always persistent in the western and central Delta never did accept the Hamitic language of the Egyptian hieroglyphs: and all Egyptologists know that cults of Berber origin persisted in the Delta to Roman times. One illustration is that of the "Mendesian goat", (Minoan Section 113) mentioned by Greek writers from Herodotus onward: specially mentioned by Clement of Alexandria of the second century A.D. He lived only a few miles away, and certainly knew the facts. The Constitutions of the Holy Apostles in the same century also condemn the cult of the Mendesian goat, and the Jews who have adopted it.

Now Alan Rowe's excavations on the site have revealed the fact of an ancient ram cult. Fragments of the Sarcophagi of these divine rams have been found, extending backward through the Delta ages. But this would mean the long-legged Barbary sheep of Egyptian section 114, whose Sun-crown "Amen-ship" conquered Thebes. (Dr. Elihu Grant). But this cult lacks some centuries of reaching to the times of the Mendesian goat. Since we now know that the Gaetuli of Roman records are the Berber Ait Ulli, "Goat Peoples", known still as herdsmen of immense flocks of sheep and goats, their settlement in the Delta in Saïte times meant that their Imrhâd divinity displaced the Sun-Ram. What cosmic power they associated with the goat we do not know. But a Berber divinity still ruled,

Next, we observe the advent of a new and powerful people, yet apparently with little cultural organization, for they seem easily absorbed by the ancient Tahennu and Hamitic Egyptians. They were a blue-eyed, white, blonde immigrant folk, first mentioned by the Elephantine Caravan-captain Harkhuf in the time of Pepi II, of the Sixth Dynasty around 2600 B.C. These are the Temeḥ of Breasted (ARE, Möller writes Tuimāḥ) persistent in the upper Nile region under that name 1900 years later. Reisner's excavations at El Kuru have revealed the fact that Tabiri, the wife of Piankhi of Napata, about 745 B.C. (Section 205) was the reigning princess of the Temeḥ or Tuimāḥ. (These may have been the mysterious element of strength in the New Nubian dynasty. Budge reports that light skins, fair hair, and blue eyes are still along the upper Nile as far south as Khartoum. (The Nile, 147). The Tuimāḥ spread in the oases! notably, occupied the whole Fayyûm in time, till in Ptolemaic times we find it referred to as "Lake of the Tuimāḥ". But Menthu-hetep I of the XIth Dynasty, near 2100 B.C. (Section 79) in a victory stele calls the conquered chief of the Fayyûm "the Prince of the White Tahennu, Waš". (Möller, 48). He knew others that were not white: for he claims to have conquered North Egypt and the Nine Bows, and the Tahennu (ARE L423f). So Tuimāḥ who have accepted Tahennu agricultural life and institutions are simply "white Tahennu" in time!--illustrating the assimilative power of Tahennu culture.

What economic and territorial base, west of Egypt, did this Berber Tahennu culture have for its incessant thrust into the Delta? Newberry (Ancient Egypt 1915, 97ff) observes "Oil of Thnw". Sebni of Wawat, who resided at Derr, 100 miles south of the First cataract, provided oil of Thnw in the provision made for the embalming of the body of his father Mekhu who had died in Nubia. (Wawat-Utheḥ). Sebni went after the body with 100 asses loaded with ointment, honey, oil (thnut), clothing, as presents. (ARE 1:366). That Tahennu Berbers had pushed into this region is evidenced by the names Barābra, Berberā, Barberia, still found in it. But does Thnut for "oil" prove that the term Thnw or T3T hnw means "Olive" Land? There is no word for "olive" in modern Berber or ancient Egyptian that resembles thnwt. But it appears that a certain oil was so famous as the

product of the Tahennu land and people that it was known in Egypt by their name, just as the famous cotton cloth of Kali-ghat, Calicut, Calcutta, is our "Calico;" and the cloth of Damascus is "damask," and "Damascene" plums are "damsons," and red leather is "Morocco".

Similarly John A. Wilson writes, "After rereading Newberry's arguments, I cannot see that he has proved that Thnw or T; Thnw actually means "Olive Land." He does convince me that the land of Thnw grew olives in quantity, but his argument does not prove that the name of the land means "Olive Land". This does not affect the thesis that in locating Tahennu we must look for a land that can grow the olive in quantity. But I should not subscribe to the statement that Newberry has shown that Tahenu means "Olive Land," or "the olive people." To put it in other terms, "oil of Thnw" may have been olive oil, but Thnw does not mean "Olive" any more than "China" means "porcelain," or "Mosul" means "muslin" or any similar derivatives., I should say that Tehenu is the name of the people, origins and meaning of the name unknown. Their land grew the olive, and "oil of the Tehenu land was recognized to be olive oil."

Next after Menthu-hetep I, Sesostris III (1887-1849: Section 91) records that he obtained "good products of Tahennu" but does not boast any conquests (ARE I: 675). That suggests commercial relations.

Then Thothmes III, (1501-1447 B.C.), 400 years after Sesostris III, declares that he smote Ta-hennu and the isles of Wthntyu, and held the whole circuit of the Sea in his grasp, and terrified the Keftyew (Caphtor: Minoan Section 65) and Cyprus. Probably with the aid of the Mycenaean fleet! That clearly includes Tahennu in the south Mediterranean Coasts (ARE II: 325, 660, 661, 659). The time is that of the disappearance of Egyptian diplomatic gifts from Knossos, and the dominance of Mycenaeans in Cyprus, Palestine, and the north "Phoenician" coasts (sections 117, 120, 121, 175). The Mycenaean legend of the 50 Danaid girls who killed their 50 Egyptian husbands (Captors) certainly comes from this time. The dynastic legend is that Apepa, one of the last Hyksos Kings of Egypt, had a daughter "Libya" married to "the King of the Sea" (Crete?) Mycenae? Their son was a "Baal" or "Lord" of Egypt. His grand-daughters were the Danaids: their husbands "Sons of Egyptus". (Gayley, Classic Myths p. 468). Such circumstantial genealogy points to the alliance of Hyksos-Libya rulers with the Danaans of the Sea, and the defeat of both when the Hyksos regime was overthrown. But it does not certainly identify for us Thothmes III's "isles of the Wthntyu," off the Tahennu coasts.

As a tribute from his mastery of the Tahennu region, Thothmes III announces 700 tusks of ivory, and numerous leopard skins 5 cubits long along the back, and three cubits in girth. The elephant should be the small elephant of Hannibal's army, existing north of the Sahara till the 5th century AD; and in southern Italy (Lucania) in Roman times, it was Bos Lucas. One in American Museum of Natural History is 6 ft. high and weighed only 4,000 lbs. (Lit. Dig. 7-22-1933). Besides being a seashore country, Thothmes tells us that his Tahennu was a land of "foreign Tribes", which should mean that the inland frontiers contacted various non-Tahennu peoples (ARE II 314, 321, 325.) The old reading of "Troglodytes" accepted by Breasted is now generally abandoned--(John A. Wilson). But had Thothmes III pushed from the coast into the Gharian region of Western Tripoli and southern Tunis, he would have found hordes of Troglodytes. (Cf. Gsell, 1:184-5).

And the Alexandrian Jews who translated the LXX, closely linked by commerce with all North Africa, knew there was Troglodytes in the region adjacent to their Libyans, for in the story of Shishak's invasion of 2 Chron. 12:3 they translate the name Sukkiim as "Troglodytes." The student will observe in the AV that they are associated with Shishak's "Libyans." The term Sukkiim occurs nowhere else in the OT, and the Greek term Trôgodutai occurs nowhere else in the LXX. Troglodytes in Nubia are not known. But since the LXX translators of Chronicles are certain that Troglodytes were part of the forces occupying Palestine in the reaction from Solomon, they must have been equally well known to earlier Egyptian politics--perhaps even earlier than the days of the "Menes" revolutionists. Continuing with the contacts specified by Thothmes III, the same grouping of Tahennu and non-Tahennu peoples appears in the oracle upon the birth of Hatshepsut (ARE II. 225). She is predestined to the "mastery of the Tahennu and the alien tribes." The collocation suggests that both were in the same region.

Holding the land was difficult. Forty years after the death of Thothmes III the Amon-Oracle sings to Amenophis III, "I wrought a wonder for thee in the West!.... I caused thee to seize the Tahennu: there is no remnant of them"(of their independence)--

"They are building therein a fortress in the name of my majesty, surrounded with a great wall reaching to heaven, settled with chiefs of the Nubian Foreigners (?)" (ARE II, 892). These may be Garamantes, called Cush in later times. See 58-ee. The tradition of Egyptian occupation, still wide-spread in the region, will be detailed below.

There was an important collision of Seti I (1313-1292 B.C.) with the Tehennu, but the reliefs have been mutilated. The oracle sings, "When I turn my face to the west, I work a wonder for thee, consuming for thee every land of the Tehennu--- They come bowing down to thee," etc. This shows several independent settled areas. Nomads would simply have retired into the interior. The mutilations of Seti's reliefs seem the work of Rameses II, to obscure the prominence of his older brothers in the war. The whole event is clouded, but it is clear that the Tehennu ambassadors made terms before their towns and orchards were endangered for very few prisoners are paraded. (ARE III, 128: 116, 134, 147). It is probable that Amen-hotep III's annexations had brought Tehennu colonies near the Egyptian frontier, and that Seti I was quelling a small revolt.

Then Rameses II says that he slew the Nine Bows, and placed Tehennu People on the heights (ARE III, 467). Does that mean that he replaced the Tehennu on the heights of their own far-off land, 1200 miles away? or does it mean placed or replaced their colonists on some fortress-heights of the Egyptian frontier? (West of the Katabathmos?) As the Nine Bows (Section 58-y) generally appear to be troublesome next-door neighbors of Egypt, the latter alternative is the more probable. We probably have Rameses II's own version of Seti I's pacification. And his son Merneptah, recording an invasion of the Delta by the Nine Bows, says they had first attacked the Tehennu with bowmen (ARE III, 579-588, 611, 616). But this again shows the Tehennu as colonists in a hostile territory near the Egyptian frontier.

Then Rameses III (1198-1167 B.C.), in his report of the "Libyan" wars in the beginning of his reign includes Tehennu among them, but claims no contact with the far off land. He says the Meshwesh (Imóshagh of 58-v, 58-ee) "invaded The Tehennu, who were made ashes: spoiled and desolated were their cities: their seed was not "(Crops)". This again shows the Tehennu cities as an agricultural-commercial colony outside of Ramesside Egypt, but near its frontier. The situation is continuous since Amenophis III--But a flash-light in IV:91 "The Imóshagh had formerly suffered defeats when induced by the Ribû to invade Egypt!"-- Just so early French and English colonist hired North American Indian tribes against each other!

The struggle with the Imóshagh, including some few Tehennu, is in the western Delta (ARE IV, 37, 54, 56, 355, 356). But the experiment with "Olive Oil" colonists has failed to provide Egypt with oil. So Rameses III refers in various passages to his efforts to establish an olive-grove in the sanctuary land of Heliopolis. (ARE IV, 216, 263, 288, 394). He did not know the Olive! But he learned!

This same Tehennu nome is thrust upon our attention when Shishak, (IK. II:40; 14:25) or Shashanq I (945 B.C.) announces himself sixth in descent from Buyuwawa The Tehennu. That is, Buyuwawa was the first King of Shashanq's line; while a successor, Shashanq IV, (763-725 B.C. announces himself as 17th from Buyuwawa (ARE, IV. 792:Budge, Book of Kings, II, 36-39). At 25 years to a generation, Buyuwawa, king of The Tehennu nome (West of the Katabathmos?) should date about 1188 B.C. in the Libyan wars of Rameses III. It would appear that the Tehennu colonist's strike for internal autonomy at that time was successful. And the Ethiopian usuper Piankhi, shortly after Shashanq IV, is warned by an oracle that this Tehennu nome is the first power he must overcome. (ARE IV. 822)

Now Cowper, studying the megalithic monuments of Tripoli 1895-1896, noted that the modern name of the Tarhûna hills might be the Egyptian Tehennu. Anxious to identify a ridge reported to Herodotus as Kharitôn, Cowper does not notice that this may be a Greek metathesis of Tarkhûna. But as he notes the small cup-and-bowl cavities in slabs about the base of many megaliths and begins to speculate about "sacrifices" and "blood offerings," etc., he finds that native tradition will not have it so. They held that these were only olive-presses, for the manufacture of olive-oil: and that some of them were cut in modern times. That a little oil thus pressed out might then be poured upon the megalith, as in Gen. 28: 18, did not occur to him. (Was Jacob carrying oil? or did he find olive-trees and a squeezing-bowl provided?). These "olive bowls" he notices again and again. And in certain hill-districts near the sea he observes olive-groves, some of vast extent with very ancient trees. And the tradition of ancient Egyptian Ex-

loiting clings to the region. Barth (1:83) had recorded 50 years before that the Arabs called particularly ancient olive-tree ghurs Faraon, "orchard of Pharaoh." (Hill of Races, 149n, 232, 255, 268, 288. Olive trees, 100, note: 126, note: 104f, 11 note, 67. Barth, primarily an economic observer, saw more of the same region; he notes places where the olives flourish and are a main dependence: others where it will not grow: 41, 44, 52, 56, 60, 61, 62, 63, 67, 77, 79, 83, 84, 85, 86, 91, 96, 97, 105). But the tradition of Egyptian occupation and exploitation of the olive-groves extends much farther west. In South Tunis, 80 miles west of the Gulf of Gabes, a section of the Shott erid ("Salt-marsh of Palms") is still known as the "Shott Faraun," or "Shott of Pharaoh." The local tradition is that it was once an immense plain of olive-trees. But Pharaoh's olives have been destroyed by depression and submergence of the plain. But some little islets remain, overgrown with a strange species of palm. So the islets are known as Nkhal Faraun, "Pharaoh's Palms" (Reclus, Africa 2:117). It seems impossible to dissociate these traditions of "Pharaoh's olives" from the claim of Amenophis III that he seized the lands of the Tehennu, the immemorial "olive-oil people".

Then there is the independent tradition that an ancient canal (?) ran southwest from the harbor Zarsis to the inland district of Medinet Zian to bring the product of its immense olive-groves to the coast. This water-way still existed in Roman times. But mediaeval Arab nomads destroyed the ancient groves. (Reclus 2:140). This tradition of the water-transportation is now backed by the discovery of boats buried in the wind-blown sands of some dry wadys of the interior, showing that some inland water-ways were still in use as late as 1000 years ago. How much more then 3,000 years earlier! The Romans found a Phoenician city Zeitha, ("olive-city, oil-city") on the Zarsis Peninsula, and the geographer Ptolemy tells that the extreme northern point of the peninsula was "Zeitha" point (Gsell 2:124). The geographic-economic base of the Tehennu-masters of the predynastic Delta was far greater than a casual glance at modern desiccated North Africa would reveal. For other resources of this region, see Minoan Section 58a to 58p.

Now this immemorial olive-culture must have been a chief feature of the predynastic Mediterranean culture that dominated the Egyptian Delta. Hehn (pp.88-104) concludes that the Olive is a native of the southern coasts of Asia Minor, and was slowly spread thence through the Mediterranean. Yet his numerous citations of Greek poets should have given him pause. For he recognizes that there is no mention of olive-culture in Hesiod, and that the numerous references to olive-oil in the Homeric poems make it a costly exotic, which only the wealthy can afford. Yet Greeks had been along the Asia Minor coasts for near 1000 years when the Homeric poems took their popular form, and yet had not carried the much prized olive through the isles of Greece. Hehn also knows that Egypt is not a land of olive culture, but he does not know what has been set forth here: that the olive-oil was highly prized by the Egyptians, and regarded by them as the peculiar product and commodity of a powerful North African rival people: and passages mentioning this are 1000 years older than any record of olive-culture that Hehn cites. He over-looks the tradition that a lone olive-tree was brought to Athens by Athene (Tanit?) and was long the only olive-tree in Greece. He knows the sacred olive of Lindos in Rhodes, and the temple-grove that resulted. But he ignores the tradition that an officer of the Cretan Minos brought it to Rhodes. Nor does he notice any olive-culture in Crete or North Africa at all, nor any tradition connecting the Minoan culture with the introduction of the olive to any Hellenic area. He knows the sacred olive of Apollo at Delos in the Cyclades: but the Cyclades as strongholds of the Minoan culture he does not know.

Then, as pointed out in Minoan 20c, 24b, he did not know the geological factor discovered since: that North Africa and Palestine had no glacial periods to produce a "relapse" from early agriculture, lasting 10,000 to 20,000 years. The movement of the wild olive and of the olive orchards simply had to be from south to north, as the retreating ice-sheet permitted.

But that is not all. The olive tree is notoriously provincial in its choice of soils, and clings to the coast-lands and lime-stone hills. So Attica, with its miserable grain lands, became famous in classic times for its olives. The olive will not grow in the deep alluvial grain-lands of the lower Euphrates.

So regions like the western Tripoli and Eastern Tunis coast-lands have a natural monopoly of its culture. They were in ancient times and are still an immense orchard. (Gsell, 1:165f). And a second important fact is that the growing of orchards means a firmly-settled, deeply-rooted people. Nomadic peoples cannot cultivate slow-growing fruits. Olive trees do not begin to bear in Africa till ten years old: they are mature

at 20. But Barth (1:51) observes that the rearing of fruit trees is a specially favored occupation of the Berber race, even in Oases of the desert. So if Egyptian records know Western Tripoli as "The Olive Land" before the time of the Hamitic First Dynasty revolutionists, the predynastic Berber culture must have made it such. And if Berber horticulture is thousands of years older than that of Europe, the fact of no interruption by a glacial period gave him more time to learn it. The olive must have persisted in north Africa from palaeolithic times.

This same uniformity of climate meant no interruption of inter-communication between North Africa and Palestine. The prehistoric Berber who spread his megalithic tombs all over Palestine spread his olives too. It does not mean systematic culture at first. Indian village-sites in America are often recognizable by the jungles of fruit-trees that have sprung up from the thousands of seeds that eaters have dropped. That happens with all eaters of wild fruits.

The use of wild olives inevitably dates from Paleolithic times: it is ages older than the growing of grain. Outcrops of rock in Palestine, with curious cup-holes or "pot-holes" have been regarded as sacrificial sites. Rather do they suggest that ancient olive-groves were near and these "bowl-cavities" were conveniences for bruising out some oil, crushing seeds, etc. The American Indian uses such "pot-holes" yet. In Roman times immense quantities of olive-oil were produced at Leptis Magna, in Eastern Tripoli, but all groves disappeared before the Vandal and Arab.

In 58-t the Tabennu were shown to be identifiable with the ruddy-brown Minoans of Knossos. It remains to be said that Minoan art shows cultus intimately associated with olive-groves: these were certainly sacred groves. Whence we may be sure that a certain sanctity attached to the great Tabennu olive-groves. This comes before us in "Origen Against Celsus". For Celsus urged that worship was due to the daimones or "Knowing ones" among the spirits of the dead, who were set over all the fruits of the earth. Origen is no better scientist: he with the other Berber folk of his day believes in such spirits of each plant or grove or tree, but insists that we should praise and bless them as "angels" appointed to such tasks! (ANF. iv 661-b). Yet he dreams of all good people becoming "angels!" The modern North Africa cult of a swarm of fruitful trees, each of which has a resident "ghost" is surely the question Origen and Celsus debated. And Origen, opposing the Celsus doctrine that "whatever we receive in this life we receive from the king", adds "moreover the olive-tree, to make his face shine, we have from the providence of God" (ANF, IV, 665-b). Whence it is clear that some olive groves, at least, were considered the work of deified kings. The tradition already noticed that very ancient olive trees in Western Tripoli, and in the Shotts of Tunis are "Pharaoh's orchards" it was suggested recall Amenophis III. Yet the tradition may come down from the days of the Predynastic Red Berber kings of the Egyptian Delta, 4000 years before the higgling of Origen and Celsus.

Two thousand years before them the Minoan "Ring of Nestor" pictures a youth and maid meeting in "Elysium": see Minoan section 120. Latterly it is thought that the tree under which they meet is an olive-tree. It throws some light upon the traditions of sacred olive-trees Minoans carried to Athens, to the Cyclades; to the Megarid - to Rhodes-- in short, wherever they had a Minoa station at which the Olive would grow. They spread the idea of "good angels" at olive-trees. In the Odyssey 1000 years later a long-leaved olive is by the cave of the Naiads in Ithaca. One gate of the cave is the passage-way for the Immortals. Goods laid at the foot of the olive no man dare steal. And by the sacred olive-tree Pallas Athênê and Odysseus sit and plot the death of the froward wooers (Od.13:101ff, 120f, 345ff, 372ff). For Odysseus dwells in a Minoan Anaktoron in Ithaca, and such are its sanctuaries.

Recurring to the cult of ancient royal gardeners in the orchards and gardens of their planting. Some light is thrown upon such agricultural baalim or Numina by the fact reported by modern missionaries in Congo Africa: any woman who has been notably successful in her gardening, especially with respect to certain vegetables or fruits, is incessantly asked for her aid after death, by her less successful fellows, and offerings are made to her in needy gardens. When we immortalize the "Burbank potato" or the "Lawton Blackberry" or the "Ben Davis apple" we have the same point of departure.

SOME "BARBARY" OR "BERBER" ETHNOLOGICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL TERMS.

Students not familiar with the very large place in early culture filled by the Mediterranean stock in North Africa will certainly be perplexed by many terms they will meet in reading of North African historical times. These points can be kept clear.

58-u. First, the term "Berber", whence "Barbary States." The statement is sometimes made that this is merely the Greek Barbaroi, Latin barbari, which we render "barbarian". If so, the Greek took an ancient stock-name, and applied it indiscriminately to all the non-Greek peoples. For the term occurs in Greek in that sense but once as early as the Iliad, while Greek contacts with North African peoples began more than a thousand years earlier. And Central African negroes cannot have adopted the stock-name from the Greeks! Yet the Haussas of the Middle Niger, who know the origin of the Kingdom of Bornu, on Lake Chad, call it "Bérberé", and every Bornu man is ba-Berberché, a "Berber" (Barth 11,26).

Then there is the fact that the tribal name Warwaren still exists in the central Sahara (Barth 1:202) Herodotus did not know them. But they were later one of the well-known coast-peoples between Egypt and Cyrene, from Alexander the Great to the third century A.D. Hence the Latin-Greek designation "Marmarica", of which "Barbarica" would be one dialectic form (See Dr. Smith, DGRG, s.v. Marmarica). Barth also names the Afer-kenen as another division of the same group; "African" is inevitable, for us!

There is the further fact that these people seem to call local districts or trade-posts by their own name. On the Somali coast of East Africa is the ancient commercial port of Bérbera, which the Greek of the first century A.D. knew as Malaó. The name Barábra or Barábara, a plural of "Berber", is written across the map of Nubia, because Greek and Roman writers knew people there who called themselves by such name. Baráberáta occurs in the Theban hieroglyphs 1500-2000 years earlier. On the Atlantic coast of Morocco is another district bearing the name Barábra. The Greek "Periplus of the Erythraean Sea" reports "Berber" trading peoples at various points along the lower Eastern Red Sea coast; on the Avalité's gulf at the head of the Gulf of Aden; 500 miles beyond on the Somali coast; the whole coast is "Berber traders" to Cape Guardafui. (Schoff, Periplus 56:23-27).

The hieroglyph passage mentioned by Schoff, containing Baráberáta, is not accessible. But Intef I, monarch of the Thinite nome of the western bend of the Nile, north of Thebes, and founder of the Eleventh Dynasty, near 2200 B.C. is shown in a relief with five favorite dogs: at least three of these bear Berber names (ARE I:421). From his capital, now Girgeh, arose the protest against Berber Tahennu dominance a thousand years earlier (58-t) which resulted in the First Dynasty. The long anti-Tahennu dynastic control has not kept Berber contacts and influence out of Intef's neighborhood. As for the point on the Somali coast 500 miles east from the head of the Gulf of Aden, it bears the name "Bérbera" still, and is a point where traders from all directions still meet by many thousands once a year for exchange of wares. But the name shows it regarded as the terminal exchange of the Berber traders. The Indus Valley now shows splendid cities 1500 to 2000 years before Intef's time, but as yet we lack evidence that their traders at that early date came to the Gulf of Aden. But we know that Hindoo traders were on East African coasts before 1,000 B.C.

Now a fact of first importance, is that the early stories of trade about the Gulf of Aden emphasize the presence of mysterious "Red Men", who "overcame the children of the Desert", and who spread all over North Africa, carrying the name "Red Men" with them, but were in time over-come by Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Romans and Saracens. Efforts to identify these people have searched for immigrants from the East, not dreaming that Red Berbers of North Africa had pushed their inland caravan trade into the Gulf of Aden and beyond Schoff (p.3) recognizes that the mysterious "Red Men" were predecessors of Phoenicians and Arabs. We now know (Minoan Sections 10,11) that the Arab was not in Southern Arabia prior to 1000 B.C.

And these Red Men traders left their name upon the "Red" Sea and Indian Ocean. The Greek Agatharchides gathered a Persian version of a Greek statement of the origin of the name "Erythraean (Red) Sea". Erythras (Red) son of Muozaí (Mocha) lived at the sea-shore facing some desert islands. As a result of a lion-raïd upon his caravan-mares he occupied the islands with a host of his landmen and built a great stronghold there. So the Sea since then is the Erythra Thalatta. But since the sea is not red, the name re-

fers to the "Red King", or to his "Red people". (Schoff 50f). Which islands were occupied is not agreed in Agatharchides' time. That the "Red People", who were also Sea people, may have had several island stations through the Gulf of Aden, insuring their safety from "Peoples of the desert" on the mainland, does not seem to have been fairly considered. That these Red People were the same Red Berbers who founded the Delta Culture has not been fairly considered. Their inland caravan route to the Gulf of Aden was one that the Egyptian Pharaohs never reached. For Meroë-Napata (see map) their "uttermost" Nile-capital, was a thousand miles northwest of the head of the Gulf of Aden. Profitable African trade went through the Gulf of Aden when Southwest Europe was an Arctic region, because there was nowhere else for it to go."

Barth observes that the many names beginning with Ber have been guessed to be connected with a supposed ancestor Ber, or with ber, or war, "a man". That an emphatic Ber-ber simply meant "The Men" par excellence has not been considered. Yet we have such tribe-names in America as Inuit, Waikna, Apache, Dannel, Inne, Muysca, Reche-each of which simply means "Men". And the African "Bantu, Wantu," also means "Men" - That certain Berbers call themselves "Red Men", picture themselves as "Red Men", improve their complexions with red paint, etc. will be before us repeatedly.

58-v. Amóshagh: Imóshagh: "Freemen: Nobles": Not "Patricians".

Amóshagh is singular: Imóshagh, plural. The term carries no suggestion of addiction to nomad life. The many traditions of former dominance in great trade-cities suggest the fall or expulsion of those who still call themselves "The Freemen" in their desert wanderings. Their "Freedom", in our view, is that of the fugitive outlaw, who lives largely by brigandage: or of the "Free Companions" of mediaeval Europe, selling their sword-service to whom they might.

Various transliterations of their "Noble" title are Amázirh, Imágiren; Imúsarh, Imiharh, Imázheren; in Arabic as Amázigh, Amázirg, Mázigh; in Greek and Roman writers as Mázix, pl. Mázikes; Mázix, Masikes; Mázax, Mázakes; Máxyes; (pl.); Máxitanus, Mázitana (Barth I:197:iii:243, 720; Möller, 50; cf. Rodd, People of the Veil (1926) and "Origin of the Tuareg", Geog. Journal 1926, pp. 27-56). The neutral term "Temashight" is applied by Imóshagh to their language. The abundant references to these "free rovers" collated by Pauly-Wissowa from Greek and Latin authors, "Máxyes", would fill several pages. They may be summed up by saying that their raids occur any where from Nubia to the Atlantic, in the Barbary states anywhere from Egypt to Tangier, through a thousand Pre-Moslem years. They attack Greeks, Romans, Numidians, Libyans, Mauritanians, or interior tribes. The Greek and Roman authors do not seem to have understood that the term was not ethnic, but a class-term: that when they wrote of Mázakes or Máxyes and Gaetuli they were speaking of the same people, but of two different strata of its social organization. They did not recognize the fact that Gaetuli in general were never at war unless set in motion by the Imóshagh-Máxyes.

That the pride of these "Freemen" is not based upon race or purity of race is shown by several institutions. First there is the immemorial Berber institution of adoption by suckling. The great Berber Prophetess-queen Lalla Daia or Lalla Damia, known in Arabic as El-Kahéna, who in the 7th century all but drove the Arabs out of North Africa, said to a brave enemy, "I have never seen a man more beautiful and brave than thou. I would give thee suck, that thou mightest become the brother of my sons". (Slouschz, 314) - Parallel is Barth's story (in 3:462) that the little Imóshagh clan of Tin-rassen, led by Sadaktu, were attacked by more powerful kinsmen led by Akhbi. The women of Sadaktu's camp rushed forth with bared breasts which had suckled their kindred, and adjured them as near relations not to shed the blood of their own kinsmen. Akhbi's crew were insensible to this solemn adjuration; and Sadaktu's men, fired with new courage to defend their wives and children, beat off their more powerful assailants with the loss of 9 men. Rodd, commenting on the personal poverty of Tuareg women, observes that no maid or matron thinks it immodest to be naked above the waist. But sexual morality is higher than among Europeans.

A famous historical case of this adoption-ceremony is that of Alexander the Great, who crossed the Libyan Desert to visit the great shrine of the Berber Sun-god. (Popularly known to the modern reader as "Jupiter Ammon": considered in 58-z and "Minos" - chapter, Section S). Who made the overtures we do not know. But he went through the ceremony of adoption, became a fully accredited "son" and member of the Imóshagh nobility. The tale that he was "begotten" by the god is the Greek perversion of an institu-

tion that most Greeks did not see or understand. That Alexander received an oracle promising him the rulership of the world is probably an exaggeration. What he did receive was the pledged brotherhood of the Sun-Cult nobility. For being worthy and well qualified, duly and truly prepared, he had been accepted as a "Son of the Sun," and was therefore an Amattad or "foster-brother" of those "to the manner born." (plural, imattaden; Barth). This diplomacy made the city of Alexandria, at the point where the Red Berbers had battled for 3000 years to maintain a commercial exchange. Incidentally, Alexander's donning the Sun-Priest's headdress with its Libyan-Sheep horns has spread the fame of the "Two-horned Alexander - Arabic Dhu-l-Kar-nain - through all the mediaeval and modern Arabic world. (In passing, Suckling - adoption is known among some modern Caucasus tribes. A woman may give her breast to a fugitive: then dare his pursuers to touch him.)

So the "Freemen" or "Nobles" have not maintained their "caste" through the centuries by "purity of blood". In direct opposition to the Arab, their noblest women may adopt aliens as "sons" of their own clan or family. We see the bared breast of the beautiful Minoan ancestor-priestess, and understand. Her "mother-goddess" is not the naked, all-inviting, all-embracing Semitic, nor mother of good and bad alike, but one who will receive all the noble upon her own noble terms, as her sons-not as her paramours. Such conception is antipodal to Semitic "Ashtartism". No wonder Ezekiel said "The daughters of the Philistines are ashamed of thy lewd ways". Ezek.16:27,57). Have we here the basis of a noble proselytism? A thousand years of the Arab have not led the "Freemen" to lower their ideals of womanhood, nor to surrender their conviction that a woman's own nobility is her best protector. Her own blood and culture will ennoble anybody.

Another illustration of contempt for mere "race-purity" is their scorn for a few poor groups that claim to be aboriginal to the little secluded spot where they dwell. These in turn fear the terrible Imoshagh, and avoid them. But the Imoshagh are not hunting "noble ancestors" and claim no "aboriginal ancestors".

Again there are nomad Arab tribes that have attached themselves to some Imoshagh Berbers and are now accounted "noble". Such are the Imanghassaten, from an Arabian stock in the Fezzan. They are now the fighting-troops of the Imanen, (Azghar tribes of Air) and have not been conquered. So they are now Imoshagh! That is illuminating. A military career leads to "Nobility".

Then there are certain tribes considered "Holy": theoretically they have a little priestly or scholarly knowledge. Their "holiness" is of great antiquity: it is of pre-Moslem date. (Rodd, 335,290) But what ancient cults they survive, no scholar has yet learned. But they have "nobility". The ancient priesthood then was one noble class.

Again, the Tuareg of Air apply their term Imajegh to persons of any race. Thus they say of the Arabs that some are Imajegh and some are not. Being very favorably impressed with the few English they have met, they say that "all the English are Imajegh" (Rodd 459).

We have clearly remnants of an ancient aristocracy composed of the knighthood, merchant princes, and landed gentry. The Imoshagh are recognized as the Meshwesh of the Egyptian inscriptions. That term also is not racial. The Meshwesh will be considered in 58-bb.

58-w. The Imghad, Imrhad, Or Industrial Tribes.

In social-political contrast with the Imoshagh are the Imghan, or Imrhán; the irregular plural Imrhád is more common. The Arabs turn this into Meratha, or Metathra. The singular is Amghi, or Amrhi. ("Amorite?") All such are not independent politically. Neither are they slaves, nor "serfs": they are in no sense bound to the soil. They may be agricultural, they may be herdsmen: they may be artisans or traders, they may be wealthier than their Imoshagh superiors. They may not wear the peculiar sword or other "honorary" armor of the Imoshagh. (Barth 1:201). Rodd observes that their relation to the lordly Imoshagh is more like that of the English yeomen to the knights. The two-sworded Samurai of Japan may be recalled. But the social-political relations of Imoshagh-Imrhád tribes may be reversed in the process of years. Barth 80 years ago observed that the Imanang of the Ghât region, once supreme in power, and very numerous, were then reduced to extreme poverty, and scarcely numbered ten families. Yet they were still ac-

corded their ancient preëminence, called the Amanókalen, or tribe from which the Améno, or "chairman" of the inter-tribal council must be chosen. They were still looked up to by a large number of Imghád, not for their prestige of long ago, or for fear of their violence, but because of a real wisdom and intelligence in their personal direction. Per contra, the Aurághen or Urághen, who have some place in ancient legends of the coast lands, and were once powerful enough to destroy the Roman city of Leptis (Labda) are now scattered and broken, generally Imrhád or servile tribes in the South Sahara (Barth 1:199f). Their name "The Golden, The Yellows" has no reference to any somatic features--probably refers to some ancient ornamentation. The terms "White Aurághen" and "Black Aurághen" (Barth 3:722) refer to the color of the veils now worn: servile tribes wear white, "nobles" wear black (dark indigo). So the name "The Yellows" probably refers to a similar ancient distinction. This sufficiently illustrates the fact that Imóshagh and Imghád relations are by no means permanent.

Now the fundamental feature of the whole situation is that the Imóshagh expect to live upon the labor of their Imrhád dependents, whether agriculturist, sheep and goat herders, camel-drivers or artisans (Barth 1:203.) This relation suggests an army-post supported by the peasantry, or landed gentry supported by tenants. Traditions show that such relations once existed in regions from both have been expelled. We have some ancient "Cavaliers", clinging to the memory that they were once "gentlemen" when they have forgotten how to sing "Wae's me for Prince Charlie".

The reason for the Imrhád relation varies. Some Imrhád are herdsmen in a good grazing country. Military gentry have moved in, and it is better to pay them some tribute than risk everything in a long wandering to find unoccupied pastures. Others moved near a military tribe for protection against more dangerous marauders. Others are themselves petty troopers, selling their service to wealthy farmer or herder folk. Some seem the retainers of noble folk of the long ago. Some seem scorned as peasantry and traders are scorned in many lands by the gentry, nobility, knights and priests. This is probably the most permanent element in the situation: reflected in the ancient Delta and in Crete. The insistence that the Imrhád shall not start any wars or inter-tribal conflicts without the consent of the Imóshagh protectors is natural, since the Imóshagh are expected to fight it out. The Imrhád are not heard of in the Egyptian inscriptions, because they are naturally mustered and led by their own Imóshagh and counted as Imóshagh: actual tribal names not appearing. Egyptian chroniclers seem to have little information on such matters.

Concluding: the term Imghád is regional: belonging to the Eastern Berbers, whom we call "Tuareg". In the Western region from Morocco southward, the terms "Khóddemán and Lahme are used for the same Imghád relation, while the "free" or noble tribes are Harár: usually conquerors: showing again "Nobility" based on military achievement. Egypt never heard of this western terminology. The Kabyle use "Oufella" for the "noble" tribes: "Bouadda" for the inferior.

No-where in all this do we get the impression of a social order that has developed logically out of Sahara conditions, or out of its negroid southern frontier. Everywhere we are impressed with the wreckage of a culture of immense antiquity and undying pride, and gifted with a deathless patience.

We shall have occasion to notice this Imóshagh-Imrhád social scheme in Cyréné in the Greek period, and in Alexandria Greek colonists had to adapt themselves to it. And the Greek writers tell us that it persisted in Crete down to Roman times. The population consisted of Perioikoi or "Citizens;" Hypékooi, or "subject peoples"--"under peoples," who included the farmers and traders of the older population, and the petty artisans. These were also "Mnoían," showing them to be a persistent element of the ancient Minoan regime. Third, there were "freemen:" fourth, associated or adopted or naturalized foreigners. (Pauly-Wissowa, "Krete:" col. 1818).

With regard to the Mnoíá population, another term is in use in official Cretan Greek: Klarôtai. This has been translated "serfs:" but this will not do. Farnell(1:56) points out that a Klaros (Doric for Klêros) was a clan's "share" or "lot" in the land: that a "Zeus Klarios" was worshipped in Greek times as assigning each clan's share of land. The Klarôtai then were "fellow-clansmen." There might be many of inferior trades, or occupations; they might be ruder and rougher, in a measure socially ostracised, or politically unprivileged: but they were "fellow-clansmen." With this whole social scheme we may compare the fact that the enfranchisement of English farm-laborers

has come within the last 100 years.

58-x. The Gaetuli are "Goat Peoples".

The term Gaetuli comes to us through the Latin authors; it occurs scores of times, and includes all the restless Sahara peoples from Fezzan west to the Atlantic. It is therefore not the name of any one of the scores of tribes in all that area, but a group-expression, inclusive of them all. The Latin authors say they were not negro tribes, but that in the Southern Sahara there was much intermarriage, and some petty tribes were in consequence known as "Black Gaetuli". This probably referred to some indigo feature of their clothing. Such conditions exist today. In general they lived on milk and flesh and wore skin clothes; but they had some commercial products for exchange. (See Pauly-Wissowa and Dr. Smith). The term Gaetuli has not been explained. But Ait-Ulli in all Berber languages save the Temashight would mean "the Goat People". The Tuareg says instead, Kél Ulli. The term "Kél" is not only peculiar to Temashight: it seems to have come into general use since Roman times: it does not appear as part of any tribal name in the Greek and Latin authors. But the name means "Goat People", and has no totemistic taint. It simply means any people whose economic dependence is their herds of goats and the long legged Barbary sheep—for the word Ulli includes sheep. And such "Goat Peoples" can be found from the Fezzan to Timbuktu, and northward to Morocco, or north-westward to the Atlantic. The term is simply vocational. "Goat Peoples" are found in the Imrhád relation to various Imóshagh tribes, and are sometimes strong enough to be valuable protectors and friends, as Barth learned by experience. It should be remembered that the camel and horse were not ancient Berber possessions. Some had donkeys, and some wild cattle. But "goat people" the Romans saw widely distributed. And they seem to have heard a slight guttural initial for Ait Ulli, and wrote Gaetuli. The suggestion is supported by Ibn Khaldun (1381 A.D.), who in his list of the Tuareg twice writes the Gezúla in place of another large group. (Rodd, 243, 349, 129, 437f, 52, 307: Barth 3: 387f, 381). Whether the Delta cult of "the Mendesian goat" of the Greek historians and ANF was due to a colony of these "Goat People" is an interesting question.

58-y. Kabyles, Kabáili, Kabáil, Kabila, Not an Ethnic Term.

The student will see in books of travel the term "Kabyle" used of Berber tribes in the mountain plateaus of Algeria as though "Kabyle" were the name of a tribe or race. But it is neither, nor does it specify any particular culture. The term is a social-political term, meaning the same as the Tuareg term kél plural Kálen, "tribe", "Sept", "people". Thus the Tuareg would call the tribe from which a "confederacy president" was chosen, the Amenó-Kalen tribe. Western Berbers would say Aminé Kabila. Where Arab influence is dominant we now hear "Soltána Kabila" (Barth 3:113. The powers of the Aminé or Amenó are considered in the "Minos-Minotaur" chapter). Kabail, Kabaili is plural of Kabila. Thus in the Lake Chad region an Arab historian of three centuries ago writes of Kabáil el-Beráber, "tribes of Berbers" (Barth 2:28). This plural, when used by the mountain Berbers of Algeria of themselves, assumes that "The Tribes" have certain common interests: they are "confederates, allies." In Egyptian records of the 18th dynasty we read much of "The Nine Bows": which means that nine Berber tribes constituted the neighboring hostile confederacy. But in Ptolemaic times there were 16 tribes in the coastland region of "Marmarica" (See Dr. Smith s.v.).

58-z. Tuáreg, Tawárek, Tuárik: Singular Tarkí, Tarká, Targuí, Tergá.

The term does not occur in the Temashight language. It is Arabic. And in Arabic it does not occur before Ibn Khaldun, 1381 A.D. After him, Leo Africanus 1528 A.D. was the first to use the term. Barth thinks the Arabic explanation of their term correct: that it simply means "changed faith", "convert". There are many traces of Christianity among these modern desert folk. The Arab meant such as had turned from Christianity to Islam.

Popular travel-narratives often leave the impression that the Tuareg are a distinct, unique race. What has been said in 58-v of the immemorial Berber custom of adoption and assimilation of other peoples proves that assumption to be untrue. Even whole tribes have been formally adopted by the Berbers. So Ratzel recognizes five somatic types among the Berbers of today: three have been found in a single Palaeolithic cave in Algeria. So the basal type of the Berber is a ruddy bronze with black hair: sometimes brown hair, with dark eyes. Rodd reports that in Aír he never saw a case of yellow hair or blue eyes. Per contra, their reminiscences of such people make all the modern Tuareg believe that Shaítán or the devil has yellow hair and blue eyes. It is a lasting im-

pression produced by the terrible yellow-haired Libu invaders 4500 years ago (Libyans) and the yellow-haired Vandals who drove tens of thousands of Berbers from their African coastland homes, 1500 years ago. So their own institutions result in some Tuareg in the north being as fair as any European, while in the Soudan region many are almost pure negro. But the immemorial ideal of themselves as "The Red Race", with power to assimilate all, remains. They steadily speak of themselves as "The Red People," whether Imôshagh or Imrhâd (Barth 3:719): and all who may be adopted, white or negro, delight to be called "Red Men". And some critical modern observers, noting that some modern Tuareg belles heighten their complexion with a little red paint, like an American lip-stick addict, understand better the statement of Herodotus that the Berbers about the Gulf of Gabes used on their faces a red paint brought from Sinope (?) on the Black Sea. And such observers see more significance in the Berber painting and tattooing shown in Egyptian paintings, and in the ancient red leather coats, which we now call "Morocco". Did the tabernacle "rams" skins dyed red" of EX.25:13; 35:7,23. 26:14 come from the Cretan-Berber Minoa-stations then existing between Gaza and the Red Sea? The "Red people" of old Greek legends were not "Phoenicians". The Arab charge "Changed Faith" refers in modern times to an apparent fickleness with regard to Islam. Some recent Arab authors say "The Tuareg changed faith 12 times": which means that the nominal acceptance of Islam has been considered by most Tuareg as a piece of political expediency, to be discarded when new expedients seem advisable. But this Arab charge opens a long vista in the twilight of the immemorial Red Berber past. René Basset in ERE recognizes that each people of the Carthaginian -Graeco-Roman-Byzantine periods left some deposit upon the Berber peoples through whom they flowed, yet in the aggregate have left them less changed than any other known peoples of the historic past.

Out of the surviving swarm of superstitions about natural objects the sun as a supreme god remains. It has from the time of palaeolithic petroglyphs been associated with the long-legged "Libyan" sheep: and these with many modern Berbers are believed to be spirits of the dead. In petroglyphs the sun is posed between the horns of a ram: at the "Ammon" oracle of Graeco-Roman times a human figure of the Sun-god wore a head-dress of ram's horns. For our immediate interest, the Sungod as a protector of the dead and their hope for the Hereafter was an idea that the Red Berber could carry every where, and find it pleasing to all people: especially those who were already emphasizing Sun-worship.

The proof of this preëminence of the Berber Sun-cult in Minoan times is furnished by the Greeks, in their cycle of legends about how the Sungod Apollo got to Cyrene! from Thessaly! Pauly-Wissowa, 1924, devotes 19 columns to the collected material. A historic base is acknowledged. A Greek story that Kyrênê is so named by the Greeks from a mount Kyra in the great territory is hardly to be disputed. The priestess-mother (Berber Lalla, Lilla) of that mountain was philoxénios, a "lover of strangers". The Berber custom of the adoption of attractive strangers by such "divine mother" authority seems lost sight of in the Greek legends of the priestess "Cyrene". In one version "Cyrene" was taken to Thessaly, by somebody, there won the love of Apollo, and was brought back by him to Cyrene. There follows the story of the strangling of a lion, and of her giving birth to two sons by Apollo. Another version has it that Cyrene came back to Libya of her own choice: not by Apollo's compulsion. Still others have it that Apollo first brought Cyrene to Crete, thence to Libya. Also Cyrene had a sister Larissa, whose name was given to a town in Thessaly.

But this last fact localizes the Thessalian "Apollo". For Larissa in Thessaly still exists. It is one of several pre-Hellenic towns of the name, in Pelasgian, Cretan, or Carian () territory: "Larissa" being the Pelasgian word for an "acropolis" or "Crag-fortress" (Kiepert, p 271, 304). There were three Larissas in Crete at different times. The Thessalian-Pelasgian Larissa was the political capital from the earliest times: its oldest remains are pre-historic. The sister-city of the Minoan Sun-cult was at Astérion, about thirty miles south-west. (See "Minos and the Minotaur" chapter, section S). It is notable that as late as 214 B.C. these partially Hellenized Minoan Palasgians apply to their sungod the Greek compound Leskhanórios "Supervisor of councils" or debates (Buck, p. 190). Such guardianship by the Sun-God was the Berber boast.

Now Pauly-Wissowa's 19 columns of material about the Cyrene-Apollo legend have resulted from thrusting a Greek name upon a Berber Sun-god. This Greek habit was an intelligent as our charging all the antics of ancient pagan divinities up to our "God" would be. It is rather inferior "Comparative Religion." Now there was no universal cult of a sun-god among the Greeks, and the one "Apollo" of wide prestige was at the

little isle of Delos: an ancient Minoan Sanctuary (Minos chapter, Q-2). There is the elemental fact also that several lines of traditions agree that the ancient Minoan cultus did get into Thessaly, apparently at several points (Minos chapter, P. and S.). Rejecting the name "Apollo" then, with all its Greek connotations, the above story is that a priestess of the "Cyrenian" Sungod, taken to a Minoa-Sanctuary in Thessaly, married, according to Berber custom, a noble stranger; her Sungod approving, and receiving her two sons as "nobles" in Cyrene society. Cretans were associated in that Minoa-colony in Thessaly. But such social institutions were not Greek: and the Greeks further obscured the whole simple story by thrusting some of their own social ideas into it. René Basset, writing in ERE ten years before the above Pauly-Wissowa article, observes that there are various local personal names for the universal Berber sun-god: on the other hand, the Greeks knew half a dozen "Apollons" in the Cyrene region, aside from the "Ammon" sun, whom they identified with Zeus. And Basset recognizes that the Berbers applied their honorific address Amen, "lord, master" either to the sungod, or to the sheep (ancestor?).

All this is vital to our appreciation of the cultus-influence of Minoan colonies: especially in Palestine. The Greeks have "Minos" connected with "Apollo" in some traditions: and the legends of Minoan colonies in Sicily, Asia Minor, and Palestine are associated with the Sun-hero Herakles in several instances: the colony being "Herakleia-Minoa" in Greek times. In Palestine we shall see the Berber Sun-cult and the Great-Ancestor-cult at Beth-Shemesh and Hebron. A cult of the All-seeing Light and of the Heroic Past means ethical and spiritual progress, in the process of time.

To this may be added a prominent attention to the stars; and the Greek assertion that the Libyans were the first to sail the seas and find the way by the stars is backed by the fact that when they decided to recognize their own Castor and Pollux as the "holy lights" that guided the sailor in storms they retained a Berber title Anak for them, called their ritual worship Anakeia their Sanctuary an Anakeion. The stars are as necessary as guides on desert wastes as on the sea.

The historic value of all this is the proof it brings that the Tuareg of to-day are the Red Berbers of Tunis-Tripoli-Cyrene-Marmarica, known to Greek and Roman writers from 2500 to 1200 years ago: a mighty force in Palestine for more than 2000 years before that: the Red Berbers who helped make David king and keep him king: the Red Berbers who guarded and served in the temple, and brought some Judaism to North Africa: The Red Berbers who furnished some great Jewish leaders and some great Christian fathers. Early Arab authors called the Tuareg "Christians of the Desert"--Islam had not yet mastered them. And "Christians of the Desert" they are still, to some modern Arabs (Barth, 1:197f). The Tuareg remain living evidence of the passage of many cults through North Africa: living evidence that they were there, while cult after cult passed by.

Ere taking up their religious terminology, observe that the Berbers did not get iron, or a word for iron, from any European or Egyptian source. Palestine got parzi-ili from the Hittites and in the O T we have barzel. Warzel or varzel are simple variants possible in Berber dialects. Actually, the Kabyle today has wezzal (Barth 3:743), from which Temashight makes a feminine, tazoli. Similarly silver is azeref, Hebrew ha-tsaruf, "what is smelted or refined." Ancient intimacy with Palestine is certain.

Their religious terminology has Hebrew and Christian and Arabic terms adopted in the Temashight language. From the Greek Christians they have angelus; plural angelusen, "angel". From the Latin Merced, they have amerkid, "religious merit". From peccatum, "sin", abekkad. From aurora, "dawn", aghora, arora. From Pascha, "passover", is Tafaski, "feast-day". From Hebrew hanan, "be gracious, favorable" is tehaninet, "compassion"; and tehanint, "merciful". From the Christian-Jewish standing in prayer (Luke 18:11) they have amid, "prayer" (standing). But "prostration-prayer" is the Arabic asijet. From Hebrew, kum "arise": Makom, "uprising place", they have Kiamet, "The resurrection". From the Jewish habit of using Gan Eden (garden of Eden) for "Paradise", they take the Arabic form Aljennet (feminine). From the Jewish sopher, Safar, "writer", they have essafar, "medicine". (Writing charms or spells!) From Hebrew hassam, "The poison" is "essim", "poison". Finally sadaq "be loyal, just", Arabic Sadaka, is temas-sedega, "charity". From Kaffara, "purification rites at death", is tikkéfren, "the charity" dispensed at death. The days of the week are numbered as in Arabic: but Essébbet remains, for "Saturday".

Particularly striking is it to find Moslem Tuareg, and Arabs too, celebrating "New Year" on the tenth day of their first month. (Ex.12:2ff), under the title Ashana. Some

add that it is "the feast of Musa"-Moses! (Bodley, 109). But Ashana is their abridgement of the Hebrew Rosh ha-Shanah, "First of the year!" But the modern Jewish Rosh-ha-shanah, following the Babylonian calendar, is placed in the Jewish seventh month-near autumnal equinox. This Ashana "feast of Moses" is perennial witness to the fact that some Judaism was planted among the Berbers before the time of the exile and present Jewish calendar.

Finally, there is the preëminent word Mesi, which Barth considers a Berber adaptation of "Messiah": a proof of the sometime dominance of Christianity in North Africa. Mesi—"God; The Lord", Mesinak, "our Lord". By the great God! se Mesinak imakoren. "God the ruler", Mesinak yitkal, "Lord of wonders", Mesi-n-talreuen. "Lord of the soul", Mesi-n-imman. "The one God", Mesi-nak iyenghas. "The Living God", Mesi-nak emay. The Arabic "Allah" has not displaced the "Messiah" in such phrases. (Barth 3:750)

Then there is the derived word Msid, for a "place of prayer" or "worship"; equivalent to the Arabic Mesalla (Barth 1:34). This term is strewn over Berber Africa. One may find a Msid on a hilltop, and see the remnant of a Christian church: another near may be a pagan Megalith sanctuary: the next an Arab weli or "saint", another a modern Arab "convent". A mosque in a town may be Msid; Barth (1:357) saw three in Agades: another in Tinbuktu (3:325). Of a little open village square for prayers he writes "Some little Msid or place of prayer" (3:525, 590), or the little square for the daily prayers of a Moslem Tuareg chief may be his Msid (3:508). A nominal Christianity has left its mark on all sorts of worship.

It is important that an Arab cannot say Msid, or Msidí. He must say Emsidí, or drop the M, saying Sidí. It is certain that this Arab term for any supposed shrine of some "holy" man is in many cases the Arab adaptation of Msid.

Equally wide-spread is the trace of Judaism. Dr. Nahum Slouschz compiled from his own personal researches in Tunis and Tripoli a list of 86 petty Berber tribes that profess a superficial Judaism. (Judaeo-Berbers p.265). Only three names seem possibly Jewish: Yunes, Brahami, Abizera. The others are certainly Berber. That is a supreme proof of the superficiality of their Judaism: it never got enough hold upon them to make them use Biblical names for new tribal subdivisions. But a few more are added by M. Cazès, that are of Greek origin.

Now another important fact is that all of these are in the old Roman provinces of Africa and Cyrene: none came from the Sahara. And another fact noted by Slouschz is that in the year 421, just ere the Vandal irruption, the church was announcing that "there were no pagans left in Africa!" Everybody was in a Christian Ekklesia or in a Jewish Kahal. Out of this territory there soon spread the term Kél, plural Kálen, for petty tribal subdivision: a term not known in the other Berber languages. It does not occur to Slouschz that this is a Berber adaptation of the OT Kahal, in the phrase Kehál Yahu, "Congregation of the Lord" (AV). But Kéls by the hundreds are now strewn over the Sahara.

Per contra, Barth met in the Timbuktu region the Kél-Támuláit whose chief was Sául, with associates Shamuel, Daniel, Sama (Shammah?) Arabs called his tribe Ahel e-Saul, "Saul's people". These are pure Hebrew names, not of Arabic form, persisting after 1500 years. Barth also met elsewhere a Kél-Tebankorit, who had a chief Sául. (3:412, 416, 419, 426; 721, 723).

These evidences of historic influences by Judaism, Christianity and Islam prompt the query, What evidences of more ancient cults persist? Slouschz may answer from his long, hopeful, yet disappointed researches, (p.159).

"The nomad Jews are as ignorant of the Torah and as indifferent to the Jewish conception of religion as their (pagan) ancestors were. The cult of the ancestors whose tombs are revered by the Judaeo-Berbers is their only link with Judaism".--And what does the Berber who makes no pretense of Judaism think of the supposed tombs of "Holy Jews?"-- "All the Jewish sanctuaries of Atlas and the desert, and a great number of Jewish marabuts (tomb-shrines) of Jews of both sexes are still venerated by the Berbers," (p.172, note). In Hebrew these are Maqûreb "very near" to God: the Arabic weli, plural owliya, means the same thing. The Red Berber raised no question of "orthodox" dead. The "noble" of any cult got honors. It is in sharp opposition to the Arab hurling curses at the other fellow's ancestors. No groups of Imóshagh and Imrhád tribes of dif-

ferent origins and "creeds" can coöperate under a common Aménô, without wrangling over cultus-differences, or vaunting the preëminences of their own ancestry.

That is utterly alien to the Arab mind. A parade of genealogies: and an explanation of every marked difference in peoples in terms of genealogies is fundamental in Arab-thinking. It has gotten into Judaism: there are still those who pride themselves as being "purebloods" in opposition to the "adopted" and the "proselyte". In Berber "nobility" this is impossible. Islam has Sherifs, genealogically descended from Mohammed. Such a line is impossible in an unmodified Berber social system. An outstanding illustration of this clash between Berber and Arab ideals is the story of the Muwallads of Spain, after the Moorish conquest.

The Arab leaders had succeeded in enlisting 12,000 Berbers for the venture. The fact shows them to be under their own organization - not simply individual privates in various Arab troops. They have infused their chief Berber official terms into the Spanish language: Ama, Amo, Amina, Aminê, Amenôcal, Caid. In time, proud Spanish families used some Berber titles as family names: see "Minôs" chapter, (F?). At Seville was established a government of the Aminê and the Muwalladin, which seems an Arabic play on the Berber name for "adopted" peoples (see "Minos"---) a garbling of the Berber Am-aliad, plural Amliaiden, "children-people". Under this Muwallad administration, both Muwallad and Aminê-heads dwelt in Al-Cazar at Seville in peace and amity. (Ben-al-Cazar, "Son of the citadel", became a Spanish family name). The Arab historians record that under the Muwallad administration dwelt the south Goth Christians who were Muſtarab ("Mozarabian") or "adopted Arabs": Muwallads of mixed blood: Aminê (misread "Yemenite?") peoples: Dhimma, or tribute-paying Christians; Ajem or "foreign" Christians, and Muradim, or Moslems who had deserted their faith: and Mosalimah, or Moslemized Christians. (Whishaw, Arabic Spain, 4,110ff-1912) Under Berber-Aminê-headship, nothing else was possible. The Aminê has no authority to interfere in the internal affairs of any of the federated tribes. But all these met the scorn and oppression of those who called themselves "pure-blood" Arabs. At length, goaded to madness, the Muwallad flew to arms. This was in 895 A.D. The story has been treated at some length by Dozy and by other historians, but is clouded by all who assume the identity of Arab and Berber social institutions. Arab historians have confused Aminê and Yeminite "Yemenite". So modern historians write of "pure-blood Yemenite Arabs", not knowing that Himyar, Asir, and Yemen folk are Hamite who have partially accepted the Arabic language, but are utterly non-Arab in many fundamental features, as pointed out long ago by Renan and others, (See sections 11-13: Sir Henry Howorth, Eng.Hist. Review, 13: 213-215; 16:4-8: Rihani, Around The Coasts of Arabia, 203-212). Rihani observes that the Muwalladin of Yemen and Tihamah today a negro-Arab mixture (or a negro-Hamite) and are all either slaves or traders; which helps understand the scorn of Muwalladin in Spain. The Arabic term for legal adoption is tabannâ. There is no suggestion of adoption about muwalladin, though derived from walada, "to beget". The Arab idea in this intensive derivative is simply "Bastards". Such is the contemptuous Arab epithet for all whom the Berber sacred institutions would count formally and religiously adopted. Compare the outbreak of "Pure-bloods" in Cyrene, in "Minos-K" and the like outbreak from the same regions, Acts 6:8ff.

But in irreconcilable opposition to all this, the Berber adoption-ceremony, their noblest women adopting a splendid stranger as a son even though an enemy, announced to the world,




"For there is neither east nor west, nor border nor breed nor birth,
When two strong men stand face to face, though they come from the ends of
the earth."

(Early Christian "Bidding Prayers" said the same!) Is that the key to the Minoan mystery? For there was something powerful, enduring, sustaining about the ancient Tuareg or Red Berber paganism which other cults have not been able to furnish. Rodd and Barth tells of the founding of the kingdom of Bormu by Tuareg pagans, Rodd, (p.373) recognizes that the change to Mohammedanism after some centuries brought the passing of Tuareg power. But he does not know why. (The founding of this "Minoan" kingdom will be noticed more fully in the next chapter.)

This survival of the cult of ancestor-heroes links the Tuareg from Roman Africa and Cyrene directly with the historic statements that the line of "Kings" of the Graeco-Cretan-Libyan Cyrene bore the title "Battus": collectively they are "Battiades". Their tomb-groves were the supreme Sanctuaries and place of oracle. These ancient heads

of Graeco-Berber tribes combined the functions of oracle with those of political supervision. Clement of Alexandria, telling that Mopsus of Pamphylia was famous as a diviner, says also that a Battus of Cyrene wrote the Divination of Mopsus: the date of which some placed in the Trojan war: but Clement holds that it was in the time of the Argonauts. (ANF 2:330f). The immediate point is that the Red Berbers of North Africa were still mentioned as early oracular authorities in the Mediterranean: a fact not separable from the functions of the Minoan priest-captain discovered by Evans at Knossos. Clement's dates would make these oracular authoritives compiled from 1600 to 2000 years before his own time: preceding, in his chronology, the adventure of Theseus with the Minotaur. And for Western North Africa, the Roman writers tell that the deified kings were the popular divinities of Numidia and Mauritania, with like oracular functions.

An outstanding feature of the Tuareg social structure is the persistence of "Priestly" tribes, and "Student" tribes, and "Scholar" tribes, and "Defender" tribes. Rodd sums them as "Holy tribes" and "Holy people", including women, who may have the only "scholarship" in Tiffnagh matters that remains in any tribe. All these do not war: their weapons are supposed to be prayer and pens: exorcism: the manufacture of charms: and divination. But Rodd views them, as a class, as great scoundrels (PV. 290f, 280, 282, 293, 306). But they are very influential: they may prevent a war or raid (PV. 190) dictate or upset an Ameno-Kal. The Moslemized tribes in particular are always potential leaders. (Barth 1:414). Their prominence is such that the assemblies of these "Holymen" and of merchants once made Tin-Taghada in northern Air the actual capital of the country (PV. 316). Was such the basis of the greatness of Knossos, in Crete?

Here should be emphasized what Barth did not know: the ecstatic "holy woman" appears among the oldest petroglyphs found in recent years: whirling, skirts flying, arms extended and hands aloft.  It continues in Phoenician steles and through the Greek portrayals. A beautiful temple lady has   in an upper corner of the stele, to show her function of "seer", prophetess, or marvel-worker." Hence the statement by some writers that among the ancient Berbers the only seers, prophets, oracles, healers, marvel-workers or literati were women. Such are still numerous, and bear the title Lalla, Lilla. The Arab would call them marabutîn. Sometimes they are now wives of marabuts. Also the daughters of holy men who have no sons are accorded the title Lalla, under the Arab theory of genealogical heredity.

A French lady, Aurélie Picard, daughter of a policeman, married an exiled marabut at Bordeaux. When he was allowed to return to his native Algeria, near Laghouat in the far South, as "Lalla Aurélie" she became the most noted religious personality in that region: (Bodley 60, 262). This again illustrates the Berber-Minoan principle that race or genealogy do not determine official religious leadership.

It will be recognized that the Lady-Oracle of the Sun-cult in Cyrene, above mentioned, was a Lalla. The beautiful ancestor-snake-bearing "prophetess" of Minoan discoveries at Knossos was a "Lalla", in Berber speech. Her oracular reputation might make her the controlling power in crises of policy. In modern times a Lalla has occupied such position in Tripoli. Tully, on a diplomatic visit to the Berber court of Tripoli, reports introduction into the apartments of the wife of the Pasha, a blue-eyed, flax-haired beauty, extremely affable, and of a most insinuating manner. Her three daughters were with her. She bore the title of Lilla Kebbîra (Tully's Letters 1:67). The significance does not appear in the narrative. But it means that she was the supreme Lalla or Lilla of the land: reminding us of the Greek title Archê-anassa, for a chief Minoan Lady-oracle.

Rodd and Barth attempt no correlation of these "holy" tribes with ancient Berber life. But it is plain that such institutional life, spread through all the wandering Berbers of the Sahara and northern Sudan under widely varying economic and political conditions, is not a development from local conditions, but a survival from an immemorial past, persistent in Red Berber society when not overwhelmed by foreign domination. And the internal organization and possible ancient traditions of the "priestly" tribes have not been reported. There is certainly something to be learned about their past.

Take the term Inisîlman; singular Anîslim. Primarily, this singular is "a convert to Islam". But the thing that struck the desert Tuareg about the emissaries of Islam

was, that they could all read and write their lore. So Barth was promptly voted an Anislim, when the Tuaregs found that he had books and could read them. In short, the new Arabic term cloaks a vast body of pre-Arab lore, and a host of megalith tombs of a pagan past are grouped as Inisilman, on the supposition that some little scholarship lies there. Barth observes that real Moslem Inisilman may have no school, no knowledge of the written Koran, yet be attached to a mosque, (Tamizgida) or "praying place" (mesallajé), and be proud if one of their number is attached to it as a meallem, "learned man". The dream of "great scholarship" as the supreme authority has not disappeared from Red Berber society.

Then take the "Tolba" tribes of Barth. The Arabic term talib has been introduced: whence the Temashight has ettali, "pupil, student": plural, ettalaba; popularly "tolba". Barth sometimes seems to use the term as an equivalent of Imghad. It is clear that "Tolba" tribes are not of full Imoshagh rank. But in Morocco the Tolba are the students of the University of Fez. They have an annual outing, camping in tents along the Wad Faz. "One of their number is chosen as Sultan Et-Tolba, and bears the title for a week, being honored as Sultan, with a red umbrella held over him as he rides on horseback, on a steed sent him by the real Sultan. It is a time honoured custom, and the student who gets the most money gets the dignity. This year it cost \$170.00; last year \$70.00. The Sultan et-Tolba may release a prisoner. The present Sultan Et-Tolba paid this large sum to release his father from prison: a Kaid from the south of Morocco. The real Sultan lends (?) soldiers and tents to the whole party. When the week is complete, early in the morning the students return to their studies. The idea is that the students pretend to have usurped the throne. On the first day, riding in procession through the streets, his "officers" order the people about as if they were real ministers. On the last day the mimic Sultan has to pretend to fly, and the rightful one resumes the rôle. Each day the real Sultan sends 20 sheep, a large supply of figs, raisins and flour to the camp". (Miss Herman, in Kerr, p. 161).

It lies upon the surface that is not a procedure devised and used by Islam everywhere in its schools. It is a Berber institution which Islam has found it prudent to adopt. The successful student above is the son of a Berber chieftain and utilizes the week of testing the Aminé novitiates to purchase the release of his imprisoned father.

A Tolba tribe then among modern Sahara Tuaregs would seem to be in a period of testing for admission to Imoshagh standing. Some are Inisilman, who must not fight: others are not. We are reminded of what Strabo tells of Cretan training of adolescents in his own day, in organized bands (Agelai) apparently continuing to use the old technical Berber term. Amagelai in Temashight is a member or director of the band: the feminine abstract temagelait means "assembly, multitude". Such an Agélé is formed upon the initiative of some aspiring youth who enlists all he can in his own little "temporary tribe". The father of such a "convener" is actual leader and director of such a training band, which is fed at public expense, as in above "Tolba week". The troop takes part in battles, contests, hunts. They become accustomed to hardships: to heat, cold, blows, hunger and learn the highpitched Cretan songs, and wear military dress and shoes. But with the Minoan headship gone in Roman times, this ancient training (adopted from Crete by the Spartans) left only piracy or employment as mercenary soldiers open to the "graduates" (Strabo 10-4;16,20). But the system in Crete or in Africa would be continually producing new little tribes, named for "father-trainers". A Semite would misconstrue such titles as genealogical.

Now an outstanding fact about all these tribes or fraternities is that no "rank" is immutably hereditary. Rodd observes that three "holy tribes", Tin-Alkum, Tin-Ylkum and Ilemtin, are also accorded "nobility" but that their "holiness" is of great antiquity-dating from pre-Moslem times. But what cult they once represented he did not try to learn. So with two others (PV. 355,290). In contrast, Iberkoran or Abalkoran is now a name of the Awellimiden marauders. But the Agades Chronicle of a few centuries ago show it a powerful priestly caste (PV. 479). That recalls Hosea's troops of robber-priests on the Shechem road (Hos. 6:9. Champions of "Orthodoxy" Cf. Deut.13). On all the technical terms of Tuareg social organization there is written the record that none of them are permanently hereditary honors or "castes". Some sort of merit is necessary to their retention. And Berber adoption can modify any of them.

Then there is the modern Arabic merabutin. A rabat was a fort, garrisoned for a frontier defense: the soldier being a merabut. From that was founded a religious order, analogous to "Crusaders": the members devoted to a forensic defense of Islam against op-

ponents. They are "Defenders of the Faith". But as used by Tuareg, it may be applied to tombs of supposed Christian or Jewish martyrs, priests or rabbis, or to older pagan sanctuaries that have no legend now extant. The entrance of modern Arabic is here simply obscuring. Barth identifies merábetin with Zuwaye or peaceable tribes - who will not, must not fight (3:711). There seems no present assurance of the existence of a propagandist warrior-class among the ancient pagan Red Berbers. So there are now Mera-butin tribes that are Moslem fanatics: but other merábetin whose cultus-connection are obscured by that title.

All this makes clear why some Arabic authors say "the Tuareg has changed his religion twelve times". Cult after cult has flowed past him, leaving a few technical terms confusedly used. But the fervid Moslem who inquires carefully into "orthodoxy", the Jewish rabbi or Christian missionary who does likewise, finds that little of his own "orthodoxy" is to be found among the Tuareg. The disappointed propagandist-inquisitor who complains that the Tuareg has "changed his faith" has really just discovered that the Tuareg has really never learned much of the new faith.

The "holy tribes" bring another important cultus-survival before us. Barth observes that long curls or sidelocks hanging from the temples are the badge of all Inisilman or merábetin. The secular tribes do not wear them (1:408). We face at once the significance of the side-locks shown on Berber princely captives in Egyptian portrayals. They are not shown on all Berbers. These are certainly priestly figures: "priest-captains" perchance: for a like distinction appears in Evans' discoveries at Knossos on persons of distinction.

The mode of hairdressing distinguishes tribes as well as professions. Among the same Tuaregs of Air, the adults of both sexes wore short hair dressed in small plaits all over the head. Little boys had hair cropped short, with an uncut "crest-lock" running front to back along the crown. Little girls wear long hair till they reach the age of puberty and the waist robe. In West Air some tribes do not crop all the boys hair at maturity, but leave the crest-lock and two side-locks. Rodd (p.177) fails to state whether these last were "holy" tribes, or not. The long curls Barth saw on all Inisilman during his six years Rodd does not mention.

In contrast Barth (3:711) states that the distinguishing feature of all Moorish tribes is the guffa or gubba: a full tuft of long hair left on the crown of the head, while the Senhaja or Zenagha wear the gataya, cutting the hair from both sides of the head: the unshorn crown-crest hangs in a single tress, even to the feet - or the ends may be tied around the waist - All this parallels the distinguishing scalp-locks of American Indian tribes and need not be extended.

It is pointed out in LTM that all this is Non-Arab: having the temple locks cut off is a distinctive Arabian feature in Jer.25:23f, 9:26; 49:32. (All Kedarenes). What Jeremiah saw is probably still in the Yemen lowlands: the swarthy thick-lipped big-handed folk wear their hair tied in a knot on the top of the head: essentially the gubb fashion of the Moorish Berbers. It is depicted on Egyptian monuments. (Rihani, Around The Coasts of Arabia, p.204). So the opposing requirement to leave all temple-locks, or sidelocks uncut (Lev. 19:27; 21:5) seems distinctly Minoan-Berber priestly custom.

Turning to the Minoan hair-badges shown by Evans, the "priest-captain" in the Fig 516 wears temple-locks, 4 long braids behind the ear, 4 hang from the crown. The single plumed officer before him has none. The "Captain" has the wristband and armlet still donned by a Tuareg "Noble" at final enrollment in the tribe: the officer has none. The "Captain" has 6 bands on each leg, the officer none. So the long locks of the "Captain" are part of the insignia of his rank. Parallel to the officer, no long locks are worn by the "Captain of the Blacks". In Fig. 502, short curly hair, no long locks. The coloured plate showing the "Minos himself (?)" seems to show 5 slender temple locks, 3 front crown plaits, and 9 occipital "pig tails". The Egyptian portrayal of the "Coming of the Great ones of Keftyu" (tomb of Rekh-mara) shows no honorary locks at all! each gift-bearer has two long occipital plaits. There was sarcasm in that embassy, and answering sarcasm in the Egyptian title!

Similarly the ladies show distinctions of rank: all in the pictures examined wear little temple locks: but rear-plaits are not general. But fig. 438 shows a lady with temple-locks and 12 other long plaits. Passing to the bull-acrobats, male and female show the same coiffure: a temple-lock and 6 occipital locks arranged in two triads. This is surely professional distinction. We face directly the question of Samson's ath

letic distinction of 7 unshorn locks, Judg. 16:13ff. Was he brought up as a Philistine athlete? There is something wrong with the story as it stands. A rejoicing over his capture after his locks had grown long again would mean years later. And Philistines who believed that his strength lay in his long locks would not let them grow. But if the loss of his locks meant degradation to slavery - that is intelligible. And he used his undiminished strength to get revenge at the first opportunity. The story has been blurred by some one who did not understand Minoan institutions. Samson did not lose his strength, but his visible proofs of high rank. Compare our close-cropping of the heads of convicts.

Finally, the famous narrow gauzy shawls or veils Tuareg men wear wrapped around the head must be some sort of culture-badge or fraternity-honor. Tuareg women are not veiled: neither are Berber peoples like the Zenāgha, Kabyle, Shilluh, Shawia, etc. There can be no hygienic reason: the same would veil the women. And the veils do not disguise or prevent recognition. The Tuareg-boy dons trousers at puberty, 16-17 years of age. The arm-ring and sword are assumed two or three years later: compare with the Cretan enlistment in military training bands. But the youth are enrolled as "men" by the "Holy Men" of village or camp (As members of community: not a record of male ancestry) as soon as they don trousers. But the veil is not assumed till about 25 years of age: in no case till several years after the sword and arm-ring are assumed (Rodd 289). It must mark the termination of an ancient term in military bands. Tolbas or "pupils" are not entitled to the Imóshagh insignia. This institution is not mentioned by ancient writers nor shown in Egyptian portrayals. It is first mentioned by modern Arabic writers. It is often said that the black or indigo veils are the badge of nobility: white, of servile or Tolba tribes. This is not accurate. The prized Indigo veils are made in the Soudan. So being expensive in the North, only "nobles" wear them there: in Air, they are cheap enough for every one, and in consequence are no distinction of nobility. They merely announce "wealth" or poverty. (Rodd, 139-140).

The Arab uses the term litham for these narrow gauzy shawls: the best being six inches wide, made of one-inch indigo strips sewn together. Barth's lexicon give tesilgamist as the Temashight term. Rodd gives Tagilmus as the modified name current in Air. Barth also gives rawani as another name, and anagud; while a similar shawl for the shoulders is tesiggebist: names which he does not analyze or explain. (Barth. 1:441; 3:759a).

58-aa. No Arabs In Ancient North Africa.

"It has long been well-established that such place-names of Africa Minor as are not of Punic, Greek, or Roman origin were Berber". (Orric Bates, PSBA. 1912, 134f) - "Africa Minor" means the Roman province, from Tunis to Cyrenaica. The Arab was not there in the days of Roman occupation, down to the Saracen times. And the Moslem push across North Africa 655-709 A.D., seized only towns and strategic points. It did not infuse masses of Arabs into the rural population. That movement began in the middle of the eleventh century, at the instigation of Ahmed Ali el-Jerjerani (died 1045 A.D.). The two great Arab clans of Uled Hilal and Uled Soleim were induced to migrate into the Central-Barbary states. They pushed large numbers of the Berber tribes southward into the Sahara: some as far as the Soudan. With few exceptions these fugitive Berber tribes are now extinct. Leo Africanus reports the number of the Arab immigrants at 50,000. Other Arab writers report 150,000; 200,000; 500,000; 1,000,000 or even 2,000,000; all equally arbitrary. (Barth 1:196: Gsell, 1:279). With these Arab colonists began the large infusion of Arabians into country life, and the dropping of a nominal Christianity for Islam. So "Tawarek" was not then a term of reproach. The Arab meant "convert", "proselyte".

58-bb. The Red Berber Tahennu, of the Egyptian Records.

The makers of the oldest civilization of the Delta of the Nile have been before us in 58-t. Now it is to be emphasized that they were the coast-division of the Berber: the "Red Men" of 58-u. And as the Tuareg are traceable by the records to the Tripoli-Cyrene Fezzan area, we know now that the Tuareg are a surviving remnant of the ancient Tahennu power. We have seen that the Tahennu appear in Egyptian records from predynastic times to the Persian. In 58-f it was shown that Karkhedna or Kerkheden was a western dialectic form of their name, in use about the Gulf of Gabes or Kerkhenna region. Now we must remember that in the incessant subdivision of Berber tribes, the division that retains the aboriginal name may come to be an obscure fragment. So among the Awellimiden

Imóshagh of the southwest Sahara there still exists the tribe of Ikhérkheén. (Barth 3:720). It is to be remembered that all "I" tribes are of immemorial antiquity: "Kel" tribes are relatively modern subdivisions (Rodd, passim). The original significance of "Kherkheden, Kherkhe-en" is unknown.

The Tahennu-Kerkhedn are pictured by the Egyptian artists as a small ruddy-brown people, with black hair. As Rodd and Barth have observed among the modern Tuareg, cases of blue eyes and yellow or reddish hair were not known to the Egyptian artists. The Tahennu gained reasons to remember such people with terror and fear, as will be seen in the next section.

Their cultural priority in North Africa is shown at some length in section 58-t. Evans credits them with the invention of glass, glazes, enamels, and with the discovery of the various uses of natron, so prominent in dynastic Egypt. Since the natron lakes lay within the immemorial territory of the Tahennu, their priority in its use is not surprising. Hence Evans (2:54) thinks these arts in Minoan Crete were introduced by the Tahennu. But one further fact is to be emphasized: Minoan art pictures the Minoan peoples as a slender, dark-haired, ruddy-brown race like the Tahennu. Nowhere are the Minoans pictured with blond or ruddy hair and blue eyes, like the "Libyan" or "Dhurmakhs" stocks, that we are to consider next. There is at present no evidence that the immigrant white-skinned rovers ever played any political part in the shaping of Crete.

Also Evans points out that the ruddy-brown Minoans wore the phallus-pouch and long side-locks, hanging from their temples, and aprons, as the Tahennu do in Egyptian art. If not the same people, they would seem to have staid long enough among the Tahennu to have adopted and retained the main features of their costume and institutions.

58-cc. The Invading Temeh, Tuimakh, Ribû, and "Libyans".

Nothing is more confusing to the student than the varying misuses of the term "Libyan" by modern writers. There are no "Libyans" mixed with Tahennu in the first 2000 years of recorded Egyptian conflicts with Tahennu. There are no "Libyans" in the mass of Minoan legends or tradition transmitted by the Greeks. The "Ribû"-Libû were not known to the Red Berbers who made the greatness of Knóssos. And no such fair blondes are shown in their art.

We got the name "Libyan" from the Greeks, as the name of a people with whom Graeco-Cretan colonists in Cyrene 631 B.C. inter-married. These colonists do not seem to have learned that the assimilated "Libyans" were not of the original Red Berber culture. So Herodotus, 200 years after the founding of the Cyrene colony, did not travel the coasts of north Africa, but applied the local ethnic term to all North Africa, and to a host of peoples who were not "Libyans". We must throw no stones, for we have taken "Africa", the Roman title of a strip of Berber coastland, and applied it to a whole continent, of many peoples - sadly beating Herodotus at his own game.

The Romans more accurately considered the "Libyan" territory to lie between Cyrene and the Egyptian frontier. Cf. Acts 2:10. And when we speak to-day of "the Libyan desert", we are controlled by the Roman official geography. From Cyrenáica to the middle of Tunis was Roman "Africa"--thence to the middle of Algiers, "Numidia"; thence to the Atlantic, "Mauritania".

The term Ribû, Libû, does not occur in any recovered Egyptian records, till the days of Merneptah and Rameses III: 1220-1185 B.C. And then it occurs in connection with mysterious Tuimah, (Breasted, "Temeh") and with Imóshagh-Máshwesh, and with the ancient Tahennu. The peoples are different, and their lands are different. Briefly, Merneptah in the 5th year of his reign, overthrowing the invading allies, counts 9,111 copper swords of the Imóshagh or Ma'shawasha among the spoil (ARE III, 589). Their land also is different from the land of the Tmh: and both lands are within striking distance of Egypt: retaliatory invasion is possible (ARE III, 580, 598, 608)-- Again, Rameses III makes the contrast between the lands of the Imóshagh-Máshawasha and those of the Tmh, in ARE IV. 40, 43, 52, 58, 84, 91, 92, 103, 104: both lands within quick striking distance of the Canopic or western branch of the Nile Delta: both were punished by retaliatory invasions.-- Distinction between the Ribû and the Tahennu is again emphasized by Wes-thehet, servant of a great caravan-captain of the Ribû in the reign of Shashanq IV: but the founder of the Shashanq royal line was "Buyuwawa The Tahennu" (ARE IV, 783, 784, 792).

Now taking up the Temeh or Tuimah: these first occur in the Egyptian inscription of Uni, in the time of Pepi I, 2590-2570 B.C. (ARE I: 311). Then in the next reign, of Merneptah, Harkhuf, a great caravan-conductor at the First Cataract mentions them as a menace to caravans bound up the Nile to the Soudan. Hence a punitive attack upon their land. (ARE I: 335). At the period mentioned they are at the frontier of Upper Nubia; and as Temeh or Tuimah they are still there, 1900 years later, providing a queen of the new Nubian dynasty of Egypt. (Sections 58-t, 205). Budge observes that blonde and blue-eyed people are still found scattered among Upper Nilotic peoples. Whether these are remnants of the ancient Temeh, or from days of Greek-Christian activity on the Upper Nile and in Abyssinia Ethnologists may determine.

As to provenance, we have no clue to their ancient language. The fact that they have taken on different languages and cultures as a result of different contacts in the 1700 years since the first mention of them in Egyptian records prompts the question, had they not already taken on a new language, when first mentioned? For ethnologists incline to view them as a new people who had come to Africa by the Strait of Gibraltar: perhaps related to the Guanches of the Canary Islands. But what might compel such a migration? We now recognize that an Arctic or glacial period in Southwestern Europe would certainly impel many to flee before it across the Straits of Gibraltar. Blonde refugees would have to adjust themselves to Berber modes of life. The geological fact should have resulted in such a blonde group of Berber culture, growing for a long time ere compelled to move.

In striking contrast with the ruddy-brown, black-haired, black-eyed Tahennu, and Tuareg-Garamantes and Minoans, the monuments picture the migrating Tuimah as white-skinned, fair-haired and blue-eyed. The lasting impression that they made on the brown-skinned aborigines has already been mentioned: the modern Tuareg still think of the devil as having yellow hair and blue eyes! The Egyptian records report the Temeh or Tuimah in some oases, as agriculturists. Many settle in the Fayyum by 2000 B.C. It was the "Lake of the Tuimah" even in Ptolemaic times. These assimilated Tuimah of the Fayyum are "White Tahennu" in some Egyptian inscriptions.

An Egyptian lisp or brogue gives us the various scribal phonetic forms transliterated as Temeh or Tuimah. For all the way from the Fayyum north to Alexandria and west to the Ammon oasis the same fair tattooing people are Adurmachitai (or-idai) through more than 500 years for Herodotus IV: 168; Pliny 5:6; Ptolemy and Silius Italicus. They are well Egyptianized in culture, but cling to the "Libu" costume, including the phallus-pouch and tattooing. Now "Adurmakh-itai (dai)" uses the Temashight prefix A for an individual (plural usually I): the ending might be Greek, or the Temashight-iden, -iten; Kabylen, -ithen; Durmakh remains as the stock-name through the centuries in question. And at the present time Frobenius finds the fair Kabyles of the Atlas preserving the tradition of the ancient "Athermak" hunters; surely the same immigrants, (Möller, 48).

58-dd. Contrasts between "Ribû"-Libyans, and "Meshwesh"-Imóshagh.

The Rebû, Greek Libues, do not appear in any Egyptian records so far until the time of Merneptah and Rameses III, when they are associated with the Meshwesh of above section and 58-t. Now Möller, studying the Tuimah and Rebû as painted by Egyptian artists, finds them identical in blond physique, dress, armour, tattooing, sidelocks of the temples, mantles, aprons, X-bands on the breast, phallus-pouch, etc. The Ribû appearing in the Delta near 1000 years after Tuimah are in the Fayyum, it seems that they are but one northern migration, subtribe, or subdivision of the Tuimah immigrants.

Then when we turn to the "Libyans" reported by the Graeco-Cretan colonists of Cyrene (631 B.C. ff) as the native population, they tell us that these red-blonde Libyans were fairer than Germans. The Cyrenian Greek Kallimachos tells of their yellow locks. And Lukan says that the Libyan slave-girls of Cleopatra had blonde hair, the like of which Caesar never saw along the banks of the Rhine. (Möller, 46f).

In contrast the Meshwesh-Imoshagh are not fair in the Egyptian art, but bronzed like the Tahennu. They seem to have less of the elegancies of civilization. They are not portrayed with the long-temple locks of the Ribû. That would ally them with the Tuaregs of Air already discussed, who do not wear such temple-locks unless of a "priestly" order. They do not wear the flowing mantle nor the decorated aprons of the Libyan and Tuimah. But that may mean only the poverty of poor soldiers of fortune who "fought to fill their bellies" as one Egyptian scribe wrote. Rodd reports that there are poor

Tuareg today, men and women, who cannot afford a mantle: but they keep the lower limbs veiled: a kilt is belted around the waist. The Meshwesh wear the phallus-pouch and animal-tail hung from the girdle like the earlier Tahennu. The tail is probably a hunter's trophy; such trophies are still paraded by various African hunter-folk. (It is reported that some American ladies like a fox-tail trophy!)

These Imóshagh show an early stage of the agricultural Tahennu-culture. Möller thinks of them as a more inland people, less stimulated by the commercial contacts of the coasts. Recent discoveries have proved that he was right. As to economic conditions these Imóshagh were provided with herds of asses, goats and sheep, like Tahennu of the monuments 2,000 years earlier.

But they wear X-bands of skin or leather on the breast, like the Ribû and Tahennu. It has been discovered that these were not primarily ornamental: they were and still are a physical necessity. It means that the wearers are hard riders needing abdominal support. The American scholar Orric Bates first called attention to this (The Eastern Libyans, 1914). Rodd treats it at some length (180, 194). The Tuareg takes a long narrow strip of cloth, winds it several times around the abdomen and groin, finally drawing the two ends up over the shoulders, "suspenders-fashion", and down across the breast fastened in the abdominal folds. In spite of this precaution, hernia is very common among the Tuareg. Rodd observes that such abdominal support is much more necessary in camel-riding. But the camel was not native to North Africa and did not become an economic factor till Berber times. And the Egyptian records tell of no horses. The Imóshagh "knights" rode donkeys. Their migrating women may have ridden oxen, as is still done in parts of Africa. But these X-bands throw a vivid light on campaigns told of by Egypt. These hard-riding fellows could come along distance on a raid, and Egypt could not retaliate unless equally well equipped with "light-horsemen". We gain light also on Merneptah's victory in the Upper Delta, after five years of semi-despair. The Imóshagh "cavalry" seem to have been drawn into a net-work of irrigation-canals and marsh-lands, where they were helpless against Egyptian bowmen. And these Riding Nobles remind us that in Crete a thousand years later Hippeis, "Horsemen" was still the technical term for "Nobles" of that Graeco-Berber time.

58-ee. Garamantes of Herodotus and the Younger Pliny Are The Imoshagh-Tuareg.

It is now recognized that the "Garamantes" of Greek and Roman writers for a thousand years are so named from the town or region Gárama, three days ride northwest of Murzuk, the present capital of Fezzan (Phazania of Herodotus and late writers). Gárama was the Roman commercial capital. In the district are now "Old Jerma", "Little Jerma" and "New Germa": showing the prestige and persistence of the ancient name (Barth 1:144, 146, 195). Rodd, in his studies of the Tuaregs of Air, comments upon the same fact. These Tuaregs have removed from the Fezzan district within the last five centuries; and their present capital of Agades is 850 miles S.S.E. of the Gárama district. But they have brought the name Germa with them, and attached it to various spots in Air. And one of the present tribe-names is "I-Germaden". It will be recognized as the name the Greek transposed into "Garamant". (cf. Rodd, 112, 306). But as their nobility are "Imóshagh", extensively considered in 58-z, it may be fairly questioned of the Egyptians knew any other Imóshagh-Meshwesh than these Garamantes. The fact that Herodotus calls them "Ethiopians" means that he heard the Egyptians call them Cûsh. But that supports what was pointed out in 58-u: that the Berbers became so dominant in Nubia that the region became known as Berábera, Barábra. The Egyptian mind, working the other way, was in Herodotus' time applying the ancient regional name "Cûsh" to the Berbers who had been there for centuries: hence the name "Cush" to like Berbers farther west. But the fact that Herodotus called the Garamantes "Ethiopians" made some modern ethnologists assume some negroid intermixture, with an ancient motley population like the modern Fezzan. But that theory has been recently and decisively disproven. We now know that the modern motley population is one result of the Tuareg migration a few centuries ago. Keane's guess that the Tebu are descendants of the Garamantes is eliminated.

Herodotus tells us that they were invincible in war; that they had two-horse and four-horse chariots, great cities, caravan trade, and high culture. But Pliny 500 years later says the Romans conquered them 20 B.C. and again 69 A.D., when they forsook their great trading-cities and fled south on the caravan routes. And that is now beyond question. The study of the Tuareg social structure in 58-z makes it clear that it is a survival of a metropolitan culture with garrisons, professional soldiers, learned classes, landed gentry, merchants, with surrounding peasantry viewed with such superciliousness as

urban populations generally show. But the Tuaregs of Aïr only recently left Fezzan.

Supplementing Pliny's evidence we have lines of exploration. One, the recent excavations at Garama which show that a great Roman-Garamantian trade-city continued there till the Vandal desolation of North Africa after 414 A.D. The other is the evidence from prehistoric archaeology that the local culture which blossomed into the local emporium was indigenous, its records reaching back many thousands of years into the Palaeolithic past.

The petroglyph discoveries of Frobenius and others in the Fezzan-Hoggâr area are mentioned in section 15. These are of the same type as those found elsewhere from the Atlantic to Egypt: and nowhere from Palaeolithic to copper times are there any negroid figures. Then Gautier and Reygasse, of the University of Algiers, excavating the great fortress-tomb of Queen Tin-Hinan in the Hoggâr, with its 14 "Imrhâd" tombs of her official household grouped around her, found the same type of burial in outside areas, and in the more than 40,000 stone-heap burials in the sacred valleys of Fezzan: a high degree of culture, with abundance of copper 2000 B.C.

Then the Italian Royal Geographical Society spent two years, 1932-1933, in minute anthropometrical research in all this area, finding nothing negroid from Palaeolithic to modern times; and that certain of the petroglyph signs are still in use among the veiled Tuaregs, from the Atlantic to Egypt. And the many thousands of anthropometrics proved that the ancient culture-people had no connection with the modern motley peoples of Fezzan, but was distinctly the old Mediterranean culture, of which the brown Tahennu are the coast-people: the same prehistoric Berber as everywhere else in North Africa. The tomb-furniture was the same as in areas outside Fezzan. And the same cranio-metric-somatic type is still found among the ruddy-brown Tuareg of the Sâhra, "who now have no abiding city" but traditions of devils with yellow hair and blue eyes. (Francesco Coro, in Corriere Padano, Ferrara: 1-26-1934: feature page from Paris "Museum of Ethnography," N.Y. American, 10-14-1934).

But Pliny's story of certain Garamantes forsaking the region before the Roman arms does not end the culture-story. The Italian explorers found that the climax of the long climb from palaeolithic days came in the third century A.D. Roman trade was immense. Great amphorae were found, with Roman, Neopunic, and local seals: their lettering was the foundation of the Tifinagh characters so widely spread through North Africa. With Roman decline in North Africa the Garamant commerce no longer had a safe coast-terminus, and soon passed away. Reversion to rover-life was the fate of the starved-out traders.

Prof. Cipriani secured a considerable number of masks, of the somatic types of the Italian Sahara. No anthropologist has done this before. He finds three distinct ancient stocks: The Tebbu, the Tuareg, who still call themselves "the Red people," and the blonde Libyan. Not weighing the evidence of Egyptian records, he thinks the blonde Libyans are autochthonous, instead of immigrant: but that they are somatically a very different race from the ruddy-brown Mediterraneans, (Corrado Zoli: "Il Sahara Italiano", in L'Illustrazione Italiana, 9-23-1934-4pp: photos). But the complete change in the local population is relatively recent. The Arab historian Makrizi assures us that the population of Fezzan was still "Berber" in his time (Barth, 1:194).

58-ff. Pelishti, Palaisti: "Philistines", Pelasgi.

In section 58-b - was presented the fact that people who call themselves Pelishti are still numerous in North Africa: and that Count Graberg Von Hemsö, 1833, first called the attention of European scholars to the fact. The name is usually provided by travelers with a Hebrew or Arabic plural ending: Pelishtim, Filistin. As to physical type they have not been distinguished by modern ethnologists from the Berbers around them. They might be a division of "The Red People", but their traditions are against this. Everywhere they have the tradition of being fugitives from a former home, and also of being the pioneer-traders at some caravan centers like Ghât (Rrhât). But no systematic collection and comparison of the traditions of the various widely separated Pelishti communities has been made. Such a work is an imperative necessity for any accurate scholarship. The tradition that they came from "Palestine" is an invention of modern "blunderer" tourists, who are "hourly expecting their learning". Neither the "Philistines" nor anyone else in OT times ever heard of a land called "Palestine". That name was coined later.

Attempt has been made to identify the Pelisti with the Pelasgi, one of the pre-Hellenic peoples of Greece, who have left a massive architecture, little ornamented. Greek poets have transmitted the tradition that the Pelasgian age was a peaceful, Golden Age: which is probably the complaint of surviving Pelasgi that it was a "Golden age" for them, till the Greeks broke in. Their national sanctuary in the groves of Dodona in Epirus maintained its prestige in Greek times. Greek legend also makes the earliest people of Argos to have been Pelasgi. The Odyssey makes the Pelasgi one of the mingled peoples of Crete (See 58-e) in Trojan war days. From persisting features of tomb and architecture and customs in Illyria and Albania, in recent years, the suggestion has been made that the Albanians are surviving Pelasgi. - But Forrer, studying Luvi texts from Boghaz Keui, the site of the ancient Hittite capital, thinks certain grammatical terminations identify Luvian with Pelasgian, and sees connection with the Carians, (Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society Journal). But that brings Pelasgi and Pelishti near together, for Carian and "Philistine" military equipment is very similar in the reliefs. Thucydides knew Pelasgi in the island of Lemnos as a non-Greek people: he thinks them "Tyrrhenian" (from the Lydia-Caria Sea) Herodotus I: 56, 58, says that the Pelasgi he knew in the town of Caria, on the Hellespont, were different from the Hellenes in race and in their unintelligible language. Again he says Lemnos was inhabited by Pelasgians when Miltiades seized it for the Athenians. Now Dr. Doro Levi, excavating at Myrina and Hephaestea, the two principal cities of the island, found an important Pelasgian settlement of 600 to 900 B.C. Then a large necropolis on the west coast revealed a large necropolis of the "Geometric" period, with cremation-burials, iron axes and knives for armor: never the Greek sword and spear. Then follows the Athenian period with characteristic equipment. The Pelasgian had sub-Mycenaean decorations, some Mycenaean architecture and sherds: and an unknown script and language down to Persian times. (ILN 2-28-1931): 5pp: 40 pictured objects). Dr. Smith's Dictionary has 9½ columns on Pelasgi, but nothing of all this. Neither is it in Pauly-Wissowa: the discoveries are recent. It should be clear that no scholar can ignore the long-suspected identity of Pelishti and Pelasgi: and no one can yet be dogmatic about it. As to phonetics, it was pointed out in 58-k that in the Temashight Berber t is preferred where the Kabyle has ch or gh. Pelishti, Palaisti, and Pelasgi, could be dialectic forms of the same name.

Reverting to the North African Pelishti traditions, they were noticed by mediaeval Arabic writers. Ibn Novairi, one of the earliest, records that many of the Berber tribes that he knew claimed to be Pelishti (Slouschz 109).

As portrayed in Egyptian and Assyrian reliefs they were not of any so-called "Semitic" stock; nor were they of the Berbers of north Africa. They are pictured with yellow skins: Berbers and Keftiaw Minoans with red skins. While associated with Crete or Caphtor in a few OT passages, they seem to have been an alien people there. Tacitus reports a tradition of his own time that some of the North African Pelishti were expelled from Crete by the violence of Zeus-worshippers (early Greek invaders). In nearly 300 occurrences in the OT the Jewish translators of the LXX have discarded the name Pelishtim in most cases as meaningless, and have written simply allopoulos, "alien tribes": not "Semitic", not Egyptian, not "Hittite", etc: a "strange people!" (It is possible that these LXX translators construed Plš as a Semitic root, and understood the term pelishtim as the "Falashas" of Abyssinia do their own designation: "wanderers, Exiles.")

Modern archaeologists notice the strong resemblances of Philistine and Carian equipment and costume. Then the famous pictographic inscription of the Phaistos Disk is not Minoan, and has some suggestions of Caria again, in its plume-crested helmets, etc. And the Philistine and Carian military equipment in the ancient reliefs, and the OT (1 Sam. 17:4-7; 45, 47; 21:8f; 31:3; 13:19) is not Minoan nor Mycenaean. The Double-Axe does not appear in equipment or cultus. The extensive excavations at Tell el-Ajjul, the ancient Beth-Elgaim, (Minoan Sections 39, 40, 42, 50, 51) have not found a Double-Axe Cult. Hence the belief of some modern archaeologists that an Anatolian origin must be found for the Philistines. G.A. Wainwright (JEA) is a prominent advocate of this view. Then in the OT, Philistine, Cretan, "Pelethite" and Carian are prominent as mainstays of the Davidic dynasty, and prominent in the service of the temple. (Minoan Sections 72, 100, 101, 109). They are conceded minor official positions even by Ezek. 44:6-17.

It seems probable that the Philistines and Carians are two divisions of the same ancestral stock.

58-gg. Why the Pelasgi Have Remained a Mystery to Students

The casual reader complains that no definite picture is given him of either Pelasgi or Philistine: that the Mycenaean appears suddenly out of the shadows and disappears the same way: like Melchizedek "without father, without mother, without beginning of time or end of days." (Heb. 7:3). This difficulty has been due in part to the fact of missing links in scholarly knowledge: in part to the fact that different groups of scholars have sometimes used different terms for the same culture: in part to the fact that "Pelasgian" is a racial or cultural term; of its tribal or political subdivisions there are several well-known: and historians have used the terms "Ionian, Maeonian, Paeonian", etc., without keeping the reader reminded that these terms are names of old Pelasgian Septs or Tribes. With the recent rapid increase in our knowledge the main features in 2500 years of migration and development can be readily grasped by the ordinary reader.

The new compact French Encyclopaedia of 1932, La Rousse du XXème Siècle, thus defines "Pelasgian": a group of peoples who began pushing into the Aegean region before 3000 B.C., spreading over the Cyclades, Central Hellas, and the Peloponnesos. A second "fleet" pushed into northern Greece about 2900 B.C. They were not Aryan peoples. They mingled with the prehistoric aborigines to form a "Pelasgic Hellas". They brought copper and silver: later they acquired bronze. Their earlier pottery was handmade, hand polished; next came a ceramic with a black varnish or grey slip: at first monochrome, then decorated with white lines. They built numerous little hamlets of which several became important communities: even fortresses or acropolises, like Argos, Tiryns, Mycenae, Larisa. These are the characteristic traits of the earlier Pelasgian stage in Greece, which under the name Old Helladic is recognized as covering nearly all the period 3000-2000 B.C. Certain Pelasgian characters disappeared slowly with the southward advance of the Hellenes, beginning about 2000 B.C.

To this the compiler would now add a third wave, the Ionian, which did not reach the coasts of Asia Minor till after the fall of Troy. This is emphasized by Greek historians quoted by Clement of Alexandria (ANF II:327-a). But Clement has generally escaped the notice of modern historians. As for the region from which the Pelasgi came, modern scholars consider that Pelasgi is certainly a Greek adaptation of "Pelag-skoï"; and that the Pelag-skoï cannot be separated from the Pelag-ones surviving in an old Pelasgian area of Macedonia in the time of Strabo and Livy. (Atkinson, Encyc. Brit. 14th Ed.:1919. JAR Munro, JHS 1934. p 113). This Pelag- then represents the modern Velak or Vlach of the Roumanian Province of "Wallachia". The Pelag-skoï-Pelasgi were once dominant south of the Danube: a former Pelasgian Larisa was in the east end of Bulgaria, near the coast; but in classic Greek times they seem pushed out of this region by the Thracians. Their earliest home was probably further north than Wallachia.

Returning to the French Encyclopaedia: under "Pelasgic Monuments" read "all walls and various buildings of Greece and Italy, of great antiquity, are considered Pelasgian. They are characterized by the enormous dimensions of roughly shaped stones laid together without mortar. But they are not all of one civilization--See Cyclopean".--Under which head we read, "Today, all old massive constructions of Greece, the islands, Asia Minor, Central and South Italy: All of enormous stones, but there are differences. In the true sense; walls of a very primitive period, of irregular blocks, usually without mortar, with smaller stones in the interstices. The fortifications of Tiryns are the most complete and the best preserved specimens. We also say, Pelasgic". This puts before the student a very common cause of perplexity. He does not know that when Dr. A. says Pelasgian, and Dr. B. says Cyclopean, that both mean the same pre-Hellenic architecture.

58-hh. Greek Evidence Concerning Pre-Hellenic Pelasgian Culture.

A chief element is the Greek acknowledgment that many shrines and ancient cultus-features among themselves were not of Greek origin. Greek vanity would have suggested a different course. But Greeks, like certain folks in 2 Kings 17:26, thought it well to "know the manner of the god of the land". They did not come into Greece with a strongly organized intolerant cultus of their own. So they gave the qualifying epithet Pelasgidê to both Hêra and Dêmêtêr, saying that these cults had been founded by the Pelasgi. Pausanias saw at a sanctuary of the Isthmian Games an altar dedicated to the Cyclopes, who had built all old walls: in particular, the walls of Mycenae and Tiryns. Greek legend explained that a mighty people who came out of Thrace built these walls and they were called Kyklôpes, from the name of their king or chief Kyklôps. Inn

cultus they had come to be considered the patrons of all architecture and art! Yet the same walls were also said to have been built by the Pelasgi! So the Kyklôpes were probably a Pelasgian tribe, driven out by the Thracian (?). In Thessaly, Pelasma was a surname of Hêra; and the same ethnic appellative was given to Dêmêtêr in Argos. In Boeotia, Pelagê was a woman who introduced the cult of the Cabiri into Thebes; and to her the Boeotians offered annual sacrifices: which looks like she is the unnamed goddess of the Cabiri cult. Pelagôn was a son of Zeus and Niobe, and was worshipped as the one who introduced agriculture into the plains of Hellas, and introduced also the cults of Zeus, Hephaistos, Dêmêtêr, Hermês and Artemis. This is a personification of the Pelasgian race, crediting it with leading Greek cults. Another version makes Pelagos the son of Phoroneus, and brother of Agênor, (who settled on the Phoenician coast) the founder of Argos and teacher of agriculture. As recognizing the earliest southward push of the Pelasgi reached both the Peloponnesus and the eastern Mediterranean, the legend is worth something. Another Pelagos is the personification of the Pelasgian settlement in Thessaly. He is made a son of Poseidon or Hêmôn, and Larisa of Thessaly, and founds the city Argos there. This legend combines the Pelasgian name for a fortress, Larisa, with a settlement of some Poseidon worshipping or seafaring folk. Now the port of entry for Thessaly is the great gulf of Volo: but in classic Greek days this was still "the Pelasgian Gulf". Hecataeus simply says that "Pelagus was a king of Thessaly." Strabo understands "Pelagic Argos" to mean all Thessaly. Aeschylus (Suppl. 254-259) assigns the whole region from the river Strymôn (north of Olynthus) westward to Dodona and the Adriatic, to "Pelagus, king of Apia and Argos"; giving us a solid Pelasgian block 200 miles long from northeast to southwest, across the Thessalian frontier.

As for Dodona, the great oak-grove sanctuary in the northwest, Iliad 16:233 calls the "Zeus of Dodona" Pelagikos; which is the Greek way of saying that the "chief divinity" of Dodona was Pelasgian. Hesiod calls Dodona a "seat of Pelasgians". Herodotus (2:52) centuries later visited Dodona and the priestesses told him that the Pelasgians still consulted their oracle there. The Iliad (2:681) calls the Argos of Thessaly a "Pelasgian" city. Aeschylus and Sophocles consider the Argos in the Peloponnesos a "Pelasgian land". Acesilaus tells that Pelagus was eventually inserted in the list of earliest kings of the Argolid: another illustration of Greek legend personalizing a people.

On the south shore of the Hellespont, Herodotus knows the two cities of Plakia and Skylakê, which were still Pelasgian in people and language. The name Plakia certainly suggests Pelag, modern Vlak, Vlach, as its root. He also knew that Samothrace was Pelasgian, also the islands of Lemnos and Imbros (6:137-140, 5:26). In this connection should be considered the tradition that "Pelagic" writing was the oldest known in Greece. For in the recent excavations in Lemnos mentioned on page 87, the unknown script unearthed there must be this long-lost Pelasgian writing. These Pelasgians of Lemnos were still retaining their own language and institutions, despite their subjugation by Miltiades. Herodotus (1:57) also knows a Pelasgian colony at the town of Creston on the river Strymôn. They were there in his own day and he accounts them emigrants from Thessaly. Thucydides (4:109) knows the same Pelasgians. The site would be about 40 miles north of Olynthus, which is now being excavated by the Americans. A close relationship to southeast Thessaly and to Thrace is recognized in the prehistoric culture of about 2000 B.C.: certainly something of the Pelagic. As for the widespread of this ancient people, at the bottom of page 75 Kiepert's explanation that Larisa was the Pelasgian word for "fortress" was noticed, with several Larissas in Greece, Crete and Asia Minor. Strabo (440) actually names 11, to which Fynes Clinton has added 6 more from other writers. These surviving 17 names are strewn from the Adriatic across Greece and the Aegean into western Asia Minor. It is certain that we have not a complete list of their Larisa-Strongholds, just as we have not a complete list of all the ancient Minoan stations (pp. 99-104). It appears that writing a history of Greece without considering the Pelasgian contribution is like writing a history of England, omitting the Anglo-Saxon.

58-kk. Continuity of Pelasgian (Philistine) Cultural Development.

The student will feel that this solid wall of Hellenic tradition of a long Pelasgian priority in Greece leaves no room for the intrusion of some other powerful stranger-people into the Graeco-Aegean area. There is no room for any "Philistines" in this Hellenic world, unless they are the "goodly Pelasgi" which the Odyssey knows in Crete- or a Sept of the Pelasgi. The student should read, in Stanley Casson's Essays in Aegean Archaeology, H.R.H. Hall's Essay, pp. 31-41, with plates: showing that

"Philistines" and the town of Phaistos are "not Cretan" (Minoan-Berber). They must be considered a phase of Pelasgian development. Read also Sayce & Farnell in same volume.

Take now the terms "Mycenaean, Sub-Mycenaean, Geometric, Proto-Geometric", etc.: descriptive of pottery. Excavations have proved that these phases are not the result of different successive peoples occupying a site. There is no break of continuity. Different waves of immigration do not bring with them something highly developed that suddenly displaces the contemporary Pelasgian stage. The Hellene invaders seem to accept any local culture they find, eventually to go forward with it.

Read H.L. Lorimer "Pulvis et Umbra", in JHS 1933:20 pp. It is a study of modes of disposal of the dead, in each stage of culture. There is no interruption or new culture anywhere. Out of the Old Helladic, ending about 2000 B.C. grows the Mycenaean: in full flower about 1500 B.C. It passes into a Sub-Mycenaean phase: this into the Geometric, 1200-800 B.C. In the Mycenaean period we find subterranean chamber-tombs, corbelled roofs, Pelasgian Walls, no cremation, and no iron. The Geometric period is an Early Iron Stage; with cremation general, and decoration with concentric circles as a beginning. Yet transitional sites abound.

58-11. Pelasgian-Mycenaean Continuity at Athens.

An outstanding illustration of such sequence, and a very surprising one has been found by the American and German excavations at Athens in 1934 and 1935: Princeton University excavating in the Agora, and the Germans in the Kerameikos, or "Pottery Ground". Classic Greek authors had told that a Pelasgian wall once stood on the Acropolis. But modern scholars have suspected an effort to coin evidence of Pelasgian antiquity and have not regarded this as a hint to look for more. But excavating the temple of Nike in 1935, during the demolition of its bastion, a "Pelasgian" wall was found just behind it, and just inside the Greek western wall. Behind the Pelasgian wall was the foundation wall of the Hellenic temple, which had displaced the older Pelasgian structure. It is one of the exciting discoveries of the year (AJA 1936, pp. 145-147:two plates). Compare Santa-Olalla on the Cyclopean Walls of Tarragona, Spain in Antiquity Mar. 1936.

Then early in the spring of 1935 a Mycenaean cemetery was found, 30 feet below the surface of the Agora. At first it was thought that it was a temporary intrusion: that the later city had desecrated and built over it. But as the excavation progressed it became clear that the most thickly populated quarter of the ancient city was also its burial place continuously for fifteen centuries, down into classic times. Mycenaean, Sub-Mycenaean, Proto-Geometric, Geometric, and classic were all there. (N.Y. Times, 4-10-1935: AJA, 1936, pp. 148ff; 5 figs.). Similarly at Delphi, Mycenaean and Sub-Mycenaean and Geometric were found.

Similarly the Germans excavating in the Kerameikos by the end of the 1934 season had found an unbroken continuity of the culture at Athens from Mycenaean to late Geometric. A sufficient number of graves of each stage were found to leave no room for doubt. Sub-Mycenaean graves alone had reached 104 by the end of the 1934 season (AJA July-Sept. 1935, p. 383).

58-mm. Pelasgian Ionians and Ionian Philistines.

Modern popular histories of Greece portray the Ionians as spreading from Greece all over the western and northern coasts of Asia Minor. Some make each important coast town a colony from some people in Greece. This is directly contradicted by Greek authors whose statements must be considered.

Herodotus ascribes Pelasgian ancestry to Ionians wherever he finds them. In 7:94, the Ionians in Peloponnesian Achaia are Pelasgians. Herodotus is Athenian in sympathy: but in 1:56-7 and 8:44 he says that the Ionians of Attica were Pelasgian. In the section above it was seen that Athens did have Pelasgian antecedents; but it appears that one political division of the Pelasgians was not popular at Athens. Herodotus 7:95 reports the Ionians of the islands and the Asia Minor coasts as Pelasgians. Ionians in Cynuria (?) on the Laconian Coast are also Pelasgian (8:73). In 2:51, 1:57, and 6:137 he knows of a later infusion of Pelasgians into Attica, where an earlier immigration had long been Hellenized into Athenians. But he has no date for this new wave, nor any certain provenance. An artificial tale invented by Strabo (582) four centuries later shows that he had no information on the point. It has become clear that the Ionic

Pelasgi were the latest arrivals. The most important modern review of the whole problem is by J.A.R. Munro of Oxford. Special students will consider it carefully ("Pelasgians and Ionians": JHS 1934:109-128). It is plain that Athenians hated the name of "Ionian", were ashamed of it, and accepted and employed the name only when they were endeavoring to make Athens the head of an "Ionian Empire" in Asia Minor (Munro p. 116). Per contra, no Ionian city acknowledged Athenian pretensions. Most claim Asia Minor or Cretan ancestry: a few are colonies from eastern or southern Greece. Of especial significance is the fact that the Dorians scorned all Ionians as "not true Greeks: they were only Hellenized Pelasgians".

One phase of this Pelasgian-Ionian migration should be noticed. They were organized into six tribes or phratrys. Four of these existed at Athens. Herodotus 1:43 and 5:69 tell that Cleisthenes set aside these four Ionic tribes when he organized ten Attic tribes. It seems an expression of the popular contempt for "Ionians". The inscriptions show six tribes in Ionian cities: Geleontes, Hopletes, Aigikoreis, Argadeis, Boreis, Cinopes. The name Hopletes claims special attention. On p. 92 is shown the Berber-Minoan peculiarity of dropping an initial vowel of a foreign name, turning Abu into Bu: Abram into Biram, etc. The same people in Crete would turn *Opletes into Plêtes and Peleset. In Palestine the people who turn Akhiram into "Hiram" and Achivi into Hivi ("Hivite") would also turn *Opletes into "Peletes" or "Peleset", the OT form that we call "Philistine". Or, those recognizing that the last syllable of *Opletes is a case-ending would have simply "Pelet", as in "Beth-Pelet", and the Peletî of David's body-guard? Can this be the origin of the "Philistines" and "Pelethites" of the OT? Were they simply one tribe of the Pelasgian-Ionian migration? The Hopletes were at Miletus in Caria. That kings of Judah had both Peletî and "Carians" in their body guard is significant (see p. 123, Section 12).

58-nn. When and Why the Pelasgian-Ionian Migration?

Munro devotes one-third of his space in the above JHS article to this question. The scholar will weigh his data carefully. He concludes that Thracian pressure from the north pushed the Pelasgi before them and eventually brought the Thracians to the Hellespont. There must have been one wave some generations before the Trojan War. [A much earlier one, to make Pelasgian Phaistos in Crete]. Since there are no Pelasgians south of the Hellespont in Homer, the second wave must have been later, but before the Dorian invasion, Clement of Alexandria is overlooked. He urges that "Homer was posterior to the Ionian migration. Aristarchus in his Archilochian Memoirs says during the Ionian migration, which was 120 years after the siege of Troy. Apollodorus alleges that he was 120 years after this Ionian migration". (AN 2:327-a)

Munro's conclusions have found some substantiation at Athens. There is support in Vasil Mikov's study of primitive idols found in Bulgaria (Bull. de l'Institut Archeologique de Bulgare, vii: 183-214). He finds very primitive clay idols of a type spread from Hungary to Mesopotamia, and from Poland to Thessaly, originating outside Bulgaria. A second group, more numerous, is of bone: prismatic or flat, centers in Wallachia or North Bulgaria. A third group is of marble, spread from South Bulgaria to the Cyclades: 2 gold ones in Bulgaria: one of them flat like the bone idols. All apparently of Neolithic time and connected with worship of some deity of reproduction; of Magna Mater? Astarte-Cybele?-- Here is the concrete evidence that a certain definite culture in Neolithic times in Wallachia was reaching as far as Thessaly and the Cyclades. The ancient pressure behind it would have been from North Rumania, Poland, etc.

MINOS AND THE MINOTAUR AND THE ANAKIM

A. The preceding sections throw much light upon the ancient Berber Culture that made the Delta great in predynastic times; that was powerful in Palestine long before the "inwandering" of Semitic degradation began: the "Red Berber", tradition of whose primal dominance of the Mediterranean made Clement of Alexandria say "Atlas the Libyan was the first to sail the seas" - (ANF II:317) We see the pride in an ancient lordship, sedulously nursed by these "dethroned emperors" when the facts of their rulership and their ancient seat of Empire long ago faded from their own memory and tradition. We see this noble haughty people refusing to yield to or blend with the new peoples that have successively dominated the North African Coastlands, retreating to the deserts in defence of their cherished ideals of the exaltation of womanhood: the "knights errant" of the prehistoric world: vividly contrasting with the Islamized Arab, even after more than a thousand years of Arab contact, pressure, and proselyting.

There is no parallel to this elsewhere in the world's history. We cannot point to secluded communities in the Euphrates-Tigris regions, and say "Here are the Sumerians, who were great before Semitic-speaking immigrants began to copy their culture:— here are Sumerians, pure in blood, culture, and language: with ideals unchanged after thousands of years on a thousand battle fields; hidden here rather than surrender them, or be merged with another cultural-political dominance.

B. Minos Legend—Terms of Berber Origin.

But we do not yet see the character of the ancient politico-social organization whose ancient power and glory ended in failure of empire. That comes clearly before us when we consider the legends of Minos and his Anakes (Greek) or Anakim (OT) and the Minotaur, Evans' discoveries in his Palace of Minos put it beyond question that the ancient Berber culture made the splendor and power of Knôssos and Phaistos. AR. Burn's Minoans Philistines and Greeks supports this by proving the negative. The source of this dominant glory cannot be shown, by Greek legends and traditions, to be on any other Mediterranean coasts. In consequence we must recognize that certain technical terms of the Minos-legend are not only non-Greek, but that their original must be found in one of the Berber languages. Would it not be the one nearest to Crete?

C. Eliminate Greek Folk-efforts at Exposition.

In considering the pages of Greek legends about Minôs or Meinôs then, we may drop the Greek case-endings and recognize that the official terms Minô or Meinô are to be explained. We must exclude at once the Greek sky-god Zeus whom Greek folk-efforts at exposition repeatedly thrust into the legends. When these tell us that Zeus was born in a sacred cave in Crete, or lived there, or was buried there, we may recognize that this tomb-cave was the supreme sanctuary of the Minoan culture. Therefore, this chief of divinities must be their own Greek Zeus! All classical scholars know that the Greek incessantly indulged in such "comparative theology". Or when "Minos" is "taught by Zeus", or "bosom-friend of Zeus", it means that the Minô was trained or specially "inspired" at the island's supreme sanctuary.

Similarly we may dismiss the Greek term Basileús or "King". In the first place the Greek basileús was often not a king at all, but a priestly functionary, as at Athens. In the second place the Greek is only trying to describe the legendary supreme power by his own most popular term for a political head. The great Minô or Meinô of Crete may not have been what we would call a "king".

Again, the folk-expositions of the term "Minotaur" make it a hybrid word: a fact overlooked by most modern scholars. The name Minô is recognized to be that of a pre-Hellenic "mighty man", but the taur is explained to be the Greek word for "bull!" It is the sort of etymology that English sailors employ when they turn Bellerophon into "Billy Ruffian": Hirondelle into "Iron Devil", or Boulognemouth into "Bull and Mouth". There was no "Bull" in the Berber Minotaur.

Again, the historic "Phoenician" must be eliminated from every legend of Minos. For Knôssos crashed long before the "Phoenician" reached Crete or Greece; long before Sidon or Tyre ventured any colonies in Africa. (See Egyptian Section 75). Evans (Palace of Minos, introduction) has seen the impossibility of harmonizing all the various references to "Phoinix" with what is actually known of the "Phoenician". Charles

Picard has written upon the same point. But the element of fact about "Phoinix" has not been recognized. The Imoshagh and Imghad tribes collectively call themselves "The Red People" -- Idinet-n-Sheggarnan": or more briefly "Tishoren" (Barth 3:719). Negroes are "blue people": white races and Arabs are "white people". And as "Red People" they portray themselves, in Minoan paintings and Egyptian tombs. And these "Red People" were dominant in the Mediterranean when the Greek arrived. The trouble with Greek traditions about Phoinix has been our own ignorance. Bits of legend that point to the Berber culture of Eastern North Africa we have systematically transferred to the Eastern Mediterranean coast.

In like manner the recurrence of Egypt or "the Egyptian" in Greek legends of the prehistoric period has troubled us. We have not recognized the priority and superiority of the predynastic Red Berber culture of the Delta. The sea-faring Egyptian who planted colonies in prehistoric Greece was the same Red Berber who found in Crete security from raids by savage tribes in the interior of Africa: security from the hordes of dark Hamites who pushed down the Nile Valley to the sea.

Once more, the Arab conquest facilitates our enquiry. For we find certain Arab terms, unusual with eastern Arabs, systematically applied to traditional sanctuaries; others to civil authorities. Along-side of these may appear a like institution with a Berber name or title. It lies upon the surface that the unusual Arab term in such cases may be an effort to translate the Berber one. The persistence of the Tuareg term Msid along-side the Arab Sidi will be remembered.

D. The Wealth of Minoan Legend Material.

Roscher's Lexicon (1897) devotes 19 columns to Minos. As the actualities revealed by Evans' excavations were undreamed of at that day, the article merely collates passages: it gets nowhere historically. Pauly-Wissowa (1932), even more elaborate, also gets nowhere. The author studiously avoids Evans, and suggests no Berber origins. The Minotaur gets 7 columns, with no light. Collateral topics in both encyclopaedias get large space. We hear in the welter of legend that Minos Rhadamanthus and Sarpedon were brothers, adopted by a Cretan king Asterio (s). There are a dozen Greek authors for this. Again, Minos is the son of "Zeus Asterios". (A pre-Hellenic "Zeus" is to be eliminated). Again, Eusebius (too late!) has him son of Europa and a Cretan king Asterios. But Europa is a "Red-skin" princess carried off by the "Minos-bull" - In any case the supremacy of Minos was not hereditary. Again, Minos is a refugee hidden in the sacred cave in Mt. Ida and fed on goat's milk. But this makes a Minos-refugee from at least three countries- In any case, he became king by decree of the gods, and gave portents of his power to all competitors or opponents- which makes him a supreme cultus-functionary.- Then Minos raised a rebellion in Crete and overthrew his tyrant father in "Italy, his father being king of the Golden Age" (Berber, Aurdghen "The Gold People.")- Or the terrible father was a tyrant in Greece, whose wife fled from him to save her son; we hear that Minos opened his reign with nine days sojourn in the sacred tomb-cave: that he began to reign when only nine years old: that he ruled only 9 years. For each of these "9-reminiscences" there are about a score of classical authorities. Minos was "in truth a very divine man": that he was the mouth-piece of Zeus (!) whom he interviewed at 9-year intervals in the sacred (tomb) cave (of his priestly predecessors!) That every word of this is a fragment of the historical truth about a powerful cultus-organization does not seem to have occurred to the encyclopaedists.

E. The Ante-Nicenes Laugh at Minos Becoming Jupiter.

Out of it all we note the references by Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian of Carthage because these Christian fathers lived in intimate contact with masses of Berbers,--both pagan, Judaized, and Christian,--to whom the title Minô or Meinô and the still-existing Minôa Cultus-Stations were living realities. None of these would object to the declaration that their own Minô was the mouthpiece of the king of the gods! They said that themselves, though they did not call their king of the gods "Zeus".

Clement writes, "Minos the Cretan and bosom friend of Zeus" (ANF II, 203 a)--He knows that Zeus is identified with several tomb-localities, one of which is in Crete (ANF II, 179b).--"Minos received the laws of Zeus in 9 years, by frequenting the cave of Zeus" (ANF. II, 339a)--"Minos, the king of 9 years' reign and familiar friend of Zeus" (ANF. 351b)--Tatian the Assyrian also knew that the tomb of Zeus was in Crete (ANF. II:76b).

Tertullian knows of a Jupiter (!) stolen from his Italian (?) home in infancy, living in a cave in Crete, dethroning when grown his father Kronos, king of the Golden Era (ANF III 142b). He probably has the "Gold people" (Auraghen) of the Berbers turned into an "Age" while his "Italy" is probably a misreading of the Berber Ikélan, Itélan, "Slave people", -As to the supremacy of that cave-sanctuary in Crete he writes-"Not even Jupiter could suffer his own Crete to be subdued by the Roman fasces, forgetting that cave of Ida and the brazen cymbals of the Corybantes, and the most pleasant odor (of the goat!) which nursed him on that dear spot! Would he not have made that tomb of his superior to the whole Capitol?"-(He is ridiculing those who strive to revive the dying sanctity of the ancestral Tomb-Cave by announcing that it was the chief of the Roman gods who once dwelt there!)-"When Jupiter reigned in Crete, and Saturn in Italy and Isis in Egypt, it was even as men that they reigned,- with many assigned to assist them", (ANF. III. 146a).

Again Tertullian writes "As for him whom they call Jupiter, and think to be the highest god, when he was born the years from the foundation of the world to him (to his birth!) were some 3,000!"-He evidently knows the approximate date of a human figure now hailed as "Jupiter"-When born, through fear of his father, "he is by the advice of his mother carried down into Crete and reared in a cave of Ida: is concealed (from his father's search) by Cretans: born men! rattling their arms!-sucks a she goat's dugs: flays her: clothes himself in her hide--uses his own nurse's hide after killing her with his own hand!" (ANF. III 149a. Tertullian apparently did not know the ancient Berber custom of mummifying the mighty dead, sewing them up in dressed goat-skins, and placing them in the "cave of Chieftains". For the persistence of this custom among the Guanches of the Canary Islands, see J.W. Gambier; Smithsonian Annual, 1894, pp541 ff).

For a last citation, take the great Berber Arnobius: greatest of all the assailants of the dying paganism. Brought up a Berber pagan, some 70 miles southwest of Carthage, he knew all that was involved in the divine honors paid to any Mínô, of high or low degree. And he knows that the Mínô tomb-cave in Crete is being exploited as the tomb-cave of "Jupiter", goat-suckled and buried there. (ANF. VI, 480,483).

F. The "Minos" An Elected Official: No Hereditary Succession.

Looking over the data noted in D, it should be clear that if the "Minos" was the "choice of the gods", that we are dealing with a powerful cultus-organization: that the chosen "Minos" was one of a number of those possible: that there must have been a "novitiate" of nine years training ere being eligible: that the term of office was 9 years (possibly reëligible). Installation began with a nine days' period in the tomb-cave of his priestly predecessors: a ceremony repeated at each new installation. The chosen party was not necessarily a Cretan by birth: he might have been a foreigner, even a refugee, adopted by some noble family, and brought up in the cultus, as was done at Jerusalem down to the days of Zeph. 1:8f: Ezek. 44:6ff: a custom which persists in the Nethinim of Ezra and Nehemiah! As a functionary his duties were judicial, arbitral, oracular. Hence the far-spread reputation for judgment and justice, with no tales of far conquests and military achievements. He was the mouthpiece of the gods!

As an elective functionary he had no hereditary successors: he did not found a dynasty. But all his sons or brothers were called anax, anakes (pl) anaktes, and were appointed as governors, military commanders (Spanish, "Captain-General") of distant colonies: his wives or sisters were anassa, anassai (pl) and were more likely to hold prominent temple-positions. So late as Aristotle Greek writers have told this. What they missed is the fact that the word Anak itself is a Berber word for "son" and is regularly used as a title of a military adjutant of the Mínô! Reverting to Zeph. 1:8f; "the princes, even the kings' sons, all clothed in foreign regalia," certainly bore the title Anakim, in their own Cretan-Philistine speech. Zephaniah translates their official title into the Hebrew vernacular. The whole social system was utterly irreconcilable with the familiar late Semitic genealogy-building. Add the fact of adoption of aliens into a tribe or community or religious order by the noble women of the community, or by the "Lalla-anassa" of the order stated in 58-v. To the "original" Berber mind, a continuous "father and son" succession was unthinkable. Hence no fictitious "genealogies" of the familiar late Semitic type, Arab or Jewish, appear in Berber lore, or in the Minoan traditions transmitted by the Greeks. Even to-day a petty Tuareg chieftan is not succeeded by his son, but by his sister's son. A "noble" tribe is perpetuated by the choice of its noble women: not by the "generative" activity of

its "noble" males. Tully (Letters 1:67) more than a century ago found that the Lalla Kebbira, "greatest-prophetess"-wife of the Pasha of Tripoli had no register of the births of her own children, for "that is contrary to the Moorish religion".

As a political organization, one weakness of the system lies upon the surface. The colonial captains being relatives of the priestly "Minos" a new "Minos" with a large kinship might displace able administrators, with feeble kinsmen of his own. In fact, he might be elected for that very purpose. Conversely, an able "Anak" might so entrench himself in the favor of some foreign people, that he could not be ousted: a local "Anak" dynasty might result. We shall see that did happen. As for the story that one "Minos" did perish in a punitive expedition against Sicily, we are reminded that Simon the Maccabee, John Hyrcanus, and Alexander Jannaeus could also take to the battle-field. How many leaves did they take out of Cretan books?—And there is Pope John XXII!

G. Amán, Amanai, Amíné, Amínó, Amenó, Míno, Amén, Ammôn.

The term amán, amén, in various dialectic forms is found in all the Berber languages, in the sense of "lord, master, superior, referee"; it is used for both gods and men. As applied to men then it suggests that the person may speak for a god, or be inspired by him. As applied to a god then it ordinarily requires a distinguishing adjective: Temashight amán-enéhi, "master of seeing" becomes Aménéhai, "All-seeing, one". Amanai imakóren, "a great god": amano-kal "chief of confederate tribes": amano-kal (or ameno-kal) imakóren, "a great confederacy-chief" (Barth 3:750,756): "Chairman of the council of the tribes" expresses this elective position.

Again, in the Guanche, Spanish narrators have given us ménché as "a chieftain, plainly amén-théi, amen-tí, "master-father, elder." Then Gambier gives achimencéi as "the nobles". Etymologically it seems to be "the great fathers or elders"—Or is it a feminine abstract: "the nobility?" Romans would say "patricians". Then Mencaýto for a "great chieftain:" a "king", as some explain it. But this is certainly amen-caído — "Caíd-master, lord-Caíd." The "Caíd" is still a familiar Berber functionary. Then Markham gives Achaman, Acaman as "the sungod". But this is probably a Guanche feminine: "goddess?" For the Sun is feminine in Tuareg: tafok, Amén-acóran is the name of "the sun". But it is simply "great lord" again, unabbreviated. Gambier (Smithsonian Annual 1894,441ff) gives the same titles as applied to the "sky god". But the sky is ijenné; Temashight ashinna, aochina. So the Amén-titles do not give the actual names for sun or sky. We merely learn that among the host of revered Amén-powers, sun and sky were préeminent. But the immediate point is that the term amán, amén was applied to both gods and men.

Turning to Egypt for a moment: Berbers succeeded in planting their ram sun-god at Thebes, fusing with Hawk-sun-god Rá. And in the 18th Dynasty this Amen-priesthood is in control: Pharaohs are called "Amén-hotep, Tutankh-Amén," etc. (Egyptian Section 114). The Germans transliterate "Amún". Is either correct? In the oasis of Siwa in Graeco-Roman times this same ramhorned Sungod is called "Ammôn, Hammôn (Phoenician "Hamman?")—In no case is the term a proper name: we are simply told that the sun is "Lord" par-excellence.

In human relations again amán-wa-n-égehen = amáway-n-égehen is "commander-in-chief of a raid," or expedition of associated tribes. From the pledge of an Amenó of the tribes results imana, "security of intercourse." (Barth 3:421)—Turn to the Kabyles of the Atlas, and every village assembly or local council is controlled by the heads of "families", elders, and a few young men of note. These elect an Amíné, who presides. He has no executive authority, and very little of any kind. He may be deposed from his advisory position at any time by a ballot of the electing body. The principle of "recall" is immemorial among the Berbers (Bodley, AFW 240). But this shows us an amán or amén in probably the most primitive human relation.

H. Diametrically Opposed to Baalism.

It lies upon the surface that the term amán, is as far as possible from the Semitic term baal, "owner, possessor". In Semitic thinking a baal can do what he likes with his own: there are no immutable ethical ideals or principles by which he is bound. There is no law but the whim or will of a particular baal. Those owned by or devoted to him may be bound to the most degrading service. "Herein is Moslem blessedness, that

all sins committed in a saint's house, in the name of the prophet, are as righteous acts in the sight of Allah". So spoke a respectable Moslem of Shellah (Kerr, p. 50). But Islam did not invent that: it is an admission that Allah himself cannot thwart the will of a local baal, ancient or modern.

Baalism also has the logical implication of transmission of the accredited authority through the baal's lineal descendants through an indefinite future. So the custodians of a baal-shrine are commonly a hereditary fraternity. But such condition was not possible at the Minoan tomb-cave in Crete; for no "Minos" was succeeded by his own sons. In like manner the elective character of the "Minó-ship" made a hereditary political dynasty, in the European, Assyrian, or Japanese style, utterly impossible. Applying our European or Semitic terms of rulership to Berber Minó-organization misleads the popular reader.

It is to be emphasized then that the Berber-Cretan-Minoan Culture in Palestine faced an irreconcilable opponent when Semitic baalism entered. Why it failed to maintain itself there politically and culturally belongs at present to the field of debate.

I. Phonological Connection Between Amán and Minó.

The data in G put before us the form Amenó as one of the dialectic forms in current use to-day, among the Tuareg of Aír. As these came originally from the Tripoli-Cyrenaica region, the reader may suspect it to be the original of the form Meinós given by some Greek authors. For Derna on the Coast of Cyrenaica is the Berber port nearest to South Crete.

Barth, the greatest scholar-traveller who was ever in Africa, (1849-1855) furnishes nearly all the linguistic data used. Temashight masculine nouns begin with a vowel! Feminine nouns begin, and usually end, with a "t". Of the name "Ahitsa" he writes, "The commencing vowel-sound "a" is generally inaudible, at least by a stranger, if the word be not very distinctly spoken: but nevertheless it is characteristic of these Tawarek names." (i:168 note). Rodd, in longer contact with other groups found an initial a, e, i, o, emphasized, but the short indefinite grunt made it impossible for a stranger to say which vowel it was. (PV. 128).

Now with every masculine noun beginning with a vowel, some initial feeble vowel has been lost from the title "Minós!"- We have a modern parallel in the very official title in question. In G above has been pointed out the title Amenó-kal, the highest functionary in modern Tuareg political-social organization. He is the lord chosen by the representatives of a group of tribes to preside over their councils upon inter-tribal or international matters. "President of the federation" may nearly express it. Now the Moorish invasion of Spain with hordes of Moslemized Berbers carried such federal groups, each with its Amenó-kal. And the title persisted in Spain--in time it became the family name of some Spanish families. So in Cuba, 1913-1921, there was a President Menócal!- At the opposite social extreme, take the Tuareg word for an old male ass- adahki, current now in Egypt. And the adanki-boys competing for tourist patronage, have sent the travellers home to write about the "donkey-boys"--and the English dictionaries have not yet found out how the word "donkey" got into our language!-- So the initial vowel of Aminó ("Minós") may have been lost by the transmitting Greeks: more probably lost by the mixed peoples of Crete, before Hellenic times. Second; Barth himself, with all his scholarly care occasionally missed the faint initial vowel, and has been corrected in a few cases by Rodd. Perhaps it is more accurate to say that the mingled modern populations,--Tuareg, Arab, and Negroid mixing, actually drop these initial vowels: so that Barth's abridgement of some names may be what was actually said to him by slurring speakers.

Foreign names are ruthlessly abbreviated. Thus the Arabic Abu, "father" is ruthlessly Berberized into Bu, all over North Africa. The Greeks lost it, when their historians transmitted "Busiris" as the name of 4 Egyptian towns. That suggests their losing the initial A from "Minós", Again the Arab term Ahl, "tent, family" has been adopted by the Berbers south of Morocco as a convenient term for a subdivision of a great clan. Each one is an Ahel. But this is also shortened to Hel, so that of the same newly divided people some call themselves a "Hél"; others call themselves an "Ahel" (Barth 3: 710, 713). And Abraham, Arabic Ibrahim, gets shortened to Biram, and Biram to Biri (2:18).

In Air, Barth found the chief eunuch Amagay popularly known as "Maggi": On the Middle Niger a remnant of the once powerful Tuarek clan of Eratafan clung to their institutions and language. Their chieftain was surnamed El-Amin- popularly slurred to "Laminô". Similarly an El-Amin chief of police in Bornu was popularly "Lamino". Similarly Rodd 70 years later records that one Amenô-kal of the Tuaregs of Air was also "El-Amin", but was currently known as "Lamini". (P.V. 413). Parallel treatment of other terms might be cited. These are sufficient to show how Amin, Amenô as an official title is dialectically treated. And with the almost inaudible initial vowel Minô becomes a matter of course among strangers.

J. Installation of a Minyô or Minô.

In northwestern Bornu, east of Zinder, 17 days west-northwest from Kukawa on Lake Tsad (Chad), Barth reached a mountainous region never before known to European explorers. It appears the nucleus of the ancient kingdom of Bornu, passing in time into the later Songhay kingdom. He recognizes that it was of Berber origin. The Arab historians so wrote of it. It is now mainly Negroid, and the Berber language is gone. Yet the negroid Haussas continue to call every Bornu man "ba- Bérberché"-a "Berber" and the present Bornu nation, "Bérberé". The Arab chroniclers also record that they were "red people" and called themselves such: and a modern negro successor delights to be hailed as a "Red Man". They had the custom of covering the face with a veil, and never showing the mouth. The region from which they came seems to have been southern Fezzan or northern Tibesti: the ancient Garamantes country, from which the Tuareg of Air came. They were inevitably part of the same great people, with the same institutions and official organization. Barth, influenced by the introduction of modern Arab terms like "Sultan", thinks of the Berber past in such Arab terminology. Yet what he records is utterly non-Arab.

The political organization was "aristocratic". There was a council of 12 chiefs without whose consent nothing of importance could be undertaken by the "king" (the Aminô). We may recognize the chiefs as the heads of the component tribes of the confederacy. This "king" (Aminô) was elected from a group of sons or relatives? of the deceased (from the Imôshagh or "Noble" tribe which furnished such heads?) The earliest settlement was the ancient town of Gammasak, long ago abandoned. Barth gives the names of 110 towns in the province when he passed through it.

Now this ancient custom of electing the successor from the sons of a deceased king remained in modern Bornu, 100 years ago. When chosen, the successor proceeded with the electors to the gloomy place where the unburied corpse of his father lay: for the deceased could not be interred till the succession was settled. And over the corpse of his father the successor bound himself by some oath-formula to respect the ancient institutions, and to advance the glory of his country.

But in the ancient nucleus-district of Múniyô or Mínyô the approximation to ancient customs is still more striking. "Every newly-elected Múniyôma is bound to remain for seven days in a cave hollowed by nature or by the hand of man in the rock behind the place of Sepulture of the former Múniyôma in the ancient town of Gammasak, although it is quite deserted, and does not contain a living soul." (Barth 2:26f). Compare this with Minoan procedure in D and F.

As the Múniyôma or Mínyôma line was established 800-850 AD., and the political administration has been negro and Moslem during the past few hundred years, this persistence of immemorial customs is all the more striking. The history claims forty Berber Múniyôma, before they officially become Moslem, 1086-1097 AD.

Barth is also astonished at the record that the younger brothers of any "ruler" of this "Libyan" Mínyôma line were not blinded or put to death, but were installed as the governors of distant provinces: and the custom was continued by the succeeding, Negroid line of the Songhay (3:291). Compare with F again. The name Múniyôma or Mínyôma perplexes Barth a little. Sometimes he writes the name of the province "Mínyô". As he has no notion of the historical importance of the title Amenô, which the Tuareg immigrants inevitably brought to Bornu, he does not suspect that Mínyô is connected with it. But he remarks that -ma is a Kanuri postpositive signifying "possessor of" and that almost all names of offices in the Kanuri language are made by adding -ma: as Kasel-ma, chiroma, Yeri-ma, Mínyôma (1:555 note). It would appear that Mínyô-ma is the "possessor of the Mínyô-title"- And Mínyô has a Bantu n̄ or ny for simple n in Minô.

This Soudanese "Minoan" state came into being 2,000 years after the fall of Knóssos.

Again Barth was perplexed by an Arab historian's assertion that the founder of the Minyô state was a "Yemenite", a man from Yemen, while at the same time asserting that the people and "dynasty" were Libyan, as Leo Africanus also asserts that it was Libyan. Barth considers Libyan-Berber origin assured, but wonders if Libyans originated in Yemen! (3:283-286-675). It does not occur to him that the Arab historian met a Temashight official term that he did not understand, and vowelled it to resemble "Yemen". Lyman became "Alayamin". But Zlyman probably stood for d-ile-Aminê, "holding the Aminê office", or, "of the Aminê-tribe." (cf. Barth 3:723). Rodd also recognizes the "Libyan" origin of a dynasty founded by an "Alayamin", AD. 679, and that Islam was not even nominally accepted till the 15th ruler of the line, AD. 1009. (PV. 347,371, 404). It follows that the founder was neither Moslem nor from Yemen.

K. Installation of a Modern Aminô-kal.

Barth, using the obscuring title "Sultan" records the installation of the Amenô-kal Abd El-Kâder at Agades, in Oct. 1850. He had been Amenô-kal before: had been deposed or "recalled" in favor of Hamed Rafai, whom he now succeeds. In 1853, he was again succeeded by Hamed; later, succeeded him again. The total time of his presidency of the tribal councils was 32 years: Hamed's time, 12 years. (Barth 1:326; Rodd, 99).

The Astâfidet (Ângas-Tâfidet) presided at each installation. (Barth 1:335; Rodd 96). The whole ceremonial procession, etc. began at sunrise, lasted till 10:00 AM: was followed at sunset by his first presidency over a council of the tribes-men. (Survivals of an ancient Sun-cult?). The morning procession closed with prayers by the new Amenô-kal at the Merâbet Sidi Hammada, outside the town: "an ancient custom", says Barth (1:337); "The oldest Moslem place of worship in the neighborhood", says Rodd (94f). "Sidi Hammada" is not a personal name: it is simply "my lord of the desert plain". What was the ancient Berber official title that modern Islam has translated? We have the remnant of the ancestor-cave installation of the Minyô state. Barth saw the same installation ceremony at Kukawa, Maséng-a, Sokoto, and Timbúktu, (1:337) Rodd witnessed it in recent years at Agades. The Tuareg has left the hall-mark of his ancient supremacy upon states that survive when he has passed on.

L. Limitations of the Authority of the Amenô-kal.

Relative to the sunset tribal council, Barth (1:339f) records that the matter considered was an immediate punitive expedition against troublesome Awellimiden robbers. It made those in the council forget for a time some personal and inter-tribal feuds in hope of vengeance against a common enemy. That is good European politics! But in case of such war-expeditions, the Amenô- is not the commander-in-chief of the forces, unless specially elected to that position. As for inter-tribal friction in his own confederacy, no Imghâd or "plebeian" tribe can appeal to the Amenô-kal against its "aristocrat" over-lords without their permission. Nor can the Amenô-kal, on his own initiative, interfere in behalf of any Imghâd tribe. He might meet something worse than a rebuff! But he may be invited to decide whether a certain tribe is to be accounted "noble" or not. (Rodd 141,399f). It appears that his decision upon such point is infallible! a vestige of ancient priestly absolutism? It suggests that an ancient Amenô-kal might have hurled the thunder of an excommunication against some recalcitrant tribe.

Again, the Amenô-kal has no authority in the internal matters of any tribe in the federation, save advisory powers in case of appeal. Thus Barth records that Amur, the Tuareg chief who befriended him, saved his life, and guarded him at Tintellust, was head of the Irolangh tribe. This was the Amenôkalen family; the "noblemen" from whom any Amenô-kal must be selected. But as head of the Irolangh, his title was simply Amghar, or Amaghar, "Old man, Elder". But in his own tribe his power was "far greater than that of the Amenôkal himself! who was really nothing more than a prince in name!" writes Barth (1:282) always thinking in current Arab "Sultan" and European monarchical terms; unable to realize that the Amenô-kal may have been only a private citizen ere selection to a temporary presidency of the federation-council. This affects his translation continually. Thus the Tuareg make a verb and an adjective from amenôkal: tinmô-kolen amenôkal nissén, "they install their Amenô-kal". As for the adjective, Barth translates Azakkan temanôkalit, "Royal plain" (1:200. Four days west of Ghât). It should be "plain of the confederacy". Compare Gen. 49:10-"till you come to Shiloh: and there shall be the assembly of the tribes". Shiloh was an ancient cultus-site, perish-

ing soon after Israelite settlement in Palestine. Had it once been a Cretan administrative center? For the political-social organization so vividly before us is that which Berbers inevitably carried into Crete; into the Delta; into Palestine.

M. No Patriarchate: The Mother Determines Minoan Social Standing.

Reverting to Annur: his authority in his own tribe was not hereditary in our western sense. Next to him in authority was his elder sister's son, who did not reside among Irolangh but among the Tafidet: and this man was viewed as his successor. Barth (1:280) remarking that the custom is well known among some negro tribes and in Malabar, adds that it must be original Berber, for Azkar (Azgar) of Air, who have preserved the ancient institutions with remarkable purity, have this custom and their Imrhád, or servile dependent tribes also have it. Per contra, the "nobles" of their great Awellimiden enemies now think it a shameful custom! Rodd (148ff, 151), notes the same institution, as reported by Ibn Batuta (1353 AD), and adds that the genealogy of the "kings" (Amenókalen) of Agades, Tekádda and Ghât is recorded by their female parentage. The hard and fast Tuareg rule is that "nobles" are born only of a "noble" mother. A "noble" with an "ignoble" wife has not been able to pass his children off as "noble" till the breakdown of modern times (e.g. Awellimiden above). Barth (2:29) on the Berber dynasty of Bornu, Minyá, etc. observes that the rating of any ruler by his mother passed on to their negroid successors. In short, a man belongs to his mother's tribe: hence his heir must be one of his mother's children.

(Here notice F again. And consider the peculiar fact that the succession to the throne of Israel in the OT makes no mention of the King's mother. In the case of the kings of Judah, that mention is regular: it seems imperative. There is some deep-rooted difference in the social organization and institutions of the north and south. Consider 1:K 1:38; 11:26; 14:21; 15:2,9; 22:42; 2:K.8:26; 12:1; 14:2; 15:2,33; 18:2; 21:1; 23:36; 24:8,18. Did Cretan institutions that helped put David on the throne at Hebron, and Solomon at Jerusalem, continue to require a satisfactory maternal nobility through the whole period of the Jerusalem dynasty? And who elected the Successor-King? In 2:K 11:2 the dead king's sister determines the succession, with the aid of Carian guards; 11:4 19. The seven-year period, verse 4, matches the seven-year Minoan period of some traditions- And as for "sister's sons", why were three sons of Zeruah accorded more executive authority than David? 2: Sam. 3:39. The Minoan influence that made him a "kinglet" at Hebron would have expected their executive leadership).

Now it is interesting that the same institution prevailed in Minoan Crete. The laws of Gortyna, (5th century BC.) announces that a slave may marry a free woman, and enter her tribe: the children are free. Yet a free woman may elect to leave her tribe and enter that of the slave: in which case the children are servile. (Buck, p. 269f). It lies upon the surface that after the fall of the old Knössian aristocracy, many an impoverished noblewoman could better herself by entering the home of some wealthy man of servile rank. Barth, commenting upon the Tuareg social institution, observes that the Greek settlers in Lycia found themselves confronting the same institution. They could secure no assured social-commercial status save by marriage into some "noble" Lycian family and attaining membership in the woman's tribe. He did not know that in Lycia there was planted an ancient Minoan colony under an anax, or some Minoan "priest-captain", and that this Cretan commercial station came to be a controlling factor in Lycian affairs ere Greek traders began to haunt the coasts.

Similarly, Barth might have cited Cyrene,. In Egyptian section 224 is a reference to the forced intervention of a Pharaoh when there came to be open war between the three tribal confederations in Cyrene, founded by Creto-Laonians, 631 B.C. There was a small colony of "pure Greeks": a larger body of "noble Berbers", and probably a larger body of Graeco-Berbers: with the great farmer-population or Imghád tribes. But under the Berber law Greek men who married into "noble" Berber tribes had "noble" children, and all were "full citizens". Pure Greeks, per contra, were likely to ostracise these "half-breeds". Again, any Greek who married into an Imghád tribe would be disfranchised through the dominance of the "Noble" caste: his children might be seized for menial service. The exact points of contention are not clear now. But Berber institutions asserted the nobility and full citizenship of the noble "half-breeds": and the rights of "half-breeds" won the day. The Pharaoh Amasis, who espoused the cause of the "pure nobles" lost his life in the struggle. Six centuries later Strabo sees four classes in Cyrene: citizens, ("Nobles"); Peasantry, (Imghád): foreigners, and Jews (Judaized Berbers; Josephus, Ant. 14-7-2). Apparently Judaized Septs were not full

citizens", nor yet "foreigners", nor "farmers". A Greek Jewish inscription from Benghazi (Berenice) date 14 B.C. praises a Roman official for his care of the Jewish community. It is signed by 9 "archons". One from another site has 7 archons. One archon is known at Utica, (Slouschz, Judaeo-Berbers 44ff). These suggest division of the community into several Septs or Kels, but do not tell of their rating in Berber society.

Similarly in Alexandria there were "pure Greeks", a great Berber pagan population and a host of "Judaized Berbers" with Palestinian Jews in a special quarter of the city. These constituted a distinct tribe, with equal tribal rights in the conduct of the city. It is Berber law rather than Greek concession, that achieves this.

The same opposition in ethnic and cultus points of view is involved in the present selection of an Amenó-kal of Air. Rodd records that the Amenó-kal of the Kel-Owí must be a slave; there has been a succession of slaves. In Aúgila tradition, Ansattfan "Blacks" (from Sáttaf, "Black". But this may have originally referred to the black veils of the nobles. Rodd, 104,367,369). He narrates the story that finding no available candidate some centuries ago, they sent to Constantinople; and the Byzantine emperor finally sent them a slave woman and her son, who became Amenó-kal. Since then slaves must be their Amenó-kalen. Dugald Campbell telling the same story (p. 190f- says that the slave-woman was a noble Tuareg "Queen" also! Returning to her own people with her "royal" (Byzantine) son, her son would be entitled to her own rank, under ancient institutions. But the long contacts with different ethnic institutions as in their Garamantes days, have shaken Tuareg views. Rodd shows a conflict between opposing social systems and ideals.

N. Anak (son) As a Tuareg Official Title.

The appointment of sons of the Amínó as governors or executives in points distant from the administrative center has been before us in F and J. It would appear that to be known as a "son" of the administration was sufficient distinction, as in Ps. 2:12. In 2K:18:17, and Is. 20:1 we have the Tartan as an Assyrian officer. The title is Sumerian; tur-dan, "mighty son": "elected son": the actual position was that of commander-in-chief of the army. Though the title is Sumerian more than a thousand years after Sumerians ceased to be politically dominant, the institution may have originated among Assyrians who still spoke Hurrian in their pre-Sumerian times. It remains in the modern Orient, a bequest from the ancient days.

Now the Temáshight word for "son" is ának. With a modern Arabic adjective haram "accursed, forbidden, outcast", we get ának haram, "an illegitimate son: one whose father is not known". (Barth 3:755). To send an official "son" to any point was to send an "Anak"; to address him as such was to acknowledge the authority that sent him. In oblique case, inek, "son of". "Sidi Jafel, inek Sákertaf", was the mighty chieftain of that district in Air, in charge of a great number of Imghad tribes settled there. (Barth 1:219). The pronunciation ineg is also current in some districts: a common phonetic variation. And a fact of first importance is that this term for "son" is reported only in Temáshight. It is not in Kabyle, Shilha, Shawia, Ghadámsi. (Barth 3:740). It is peculiar to those Berbers who once occupied the coast-regions from the Delta to western Tripoli: the region of potential Cretan influence. The Tuareg remain the only people from whom the term ának could have passed into Greek Minoan lore, and into Palestine.

(Under foreign influence, Anag or Anga, seems shortened into "Ag": inek into Ig. Thus instead of above ának haram for an illegitimate son, there is Ag-asay).

Then there is the allied term ankas, angas, "suckling, child"; verb inkas? "he sucked" (Barth 3:729. Related to Hebrew yanak, Egyptian nek, "suck?"). This is also used as official title. In such cases it is probably because the bearer has been officially adopted by the ruling powers, by the ceremony of sucking the breast of the chief noble-woman (at Knossos, the breast of the "Snake-priestess", lady-head of the cult). "Adopting" thus a powerful chieftain of a neighboring group of tribes might prove the easiest way to control his tribesmen: to "annex them" in our modern phrase.

Barth in the two months that he was in Air was only 3 weeks at Agades (Egedes, "family") the administrative capital. He heard much of "Astafidet", a powerful man who had a tribe named for him, and was even more powerful than the Amén-kal, in mat-

ters of administration. It is one of the cases in which Barth lost the faint initial vowel and guttural, and thought he had a personal name: in consequence misconstruing the whole situation. Rodd 70 years later staid much longer, and cleared up the situation. "Astáfidet" proved to be "Ang-as Táfidet" (or Ank-as): "Suckling of Táfidet": and his people were the tribes resident in the Táfidet mountains in eastern Air. They are descended from Igermaden, and numerous place names in Air contain germa. This indicates that they came from the Garama region, the home of the "Garamantes" of the Greek and Roman authors. (Rodd 306). It will be remembered that in K the Angas-Táfidet was in charge at the installation of a new Ameno'-kal. Rodd (42,96,144) says that from a purely administrative point of view he was the most important man in the country. But Rodd does not seem to see that ancient institutions intended him to be such. He represented his own people with the Ameno'-kal, who could not act upon them in an executive way, and is rewarded by being a "Suckling" of the ruling nobility, Compare the legends in D: that a "Minós" might be an adopted foreigner.

We have light thrown upon the fact that with the rise of the 18th Egyptian dynasty, coincident with the triumph of the Berber Amén-ram-sungod the title "Royal Son of Cush" becomes the title of governors of Barábra-Nubia, Pharaoh-boasts must be qualified by the fact that the Berbers have won a diplomatic victory. Their rulers must be acknowledged as members of the Egyptian ruling family. How much of the Berber adoption-ceremony was involved, we do not know. It may have involved a Pharaoh's sucking the breast of an Amén-priestess as well as the teats of a Hathor cow.

O. The Minoan Anak in Greek Literature- Not a Basileús.

The above data recall the emphasis in D, upon the tradition that the Minoan functionary in Crete was sometimes a foreigner, adopted by the Cretan cultus- organization, and that he might be elevated to his position for the purpose of heading a revolt against foreign oppressors- who may have been Minoan colonial administrators. The legends suggests this probability. But was the "Minos" himself an Anak?

Modern Greek lexica have not recorded the distinction between the non-Greek word 'anax and the Greek word Basileús- which is not always a "king". Yet the distinction is clear in the mass of Minoan lore, collected by Pauly-Wissowa. There is no case where the word 'anax is applied to Minos. Nor is he ever a colonial figure. The Greek writers regularly use Basileús, Basíleia, Basileúein, Basileútatos; and always in connection with Knóssos.- But at Athens the Basileús was a temple-functionary. And Minos is also nomothétês, "a law-giver" or reviser: a judicial figure-Nómoi, protagmata, légifer, nomophýlax, nomothésia, are terms continually associated with him.

Then with regard to the statement that the Cretan population "was divided into warriors and peasants, as in Egypt", Aristotle says this system originated with "Minós". He evidently means the Imóshagh and the Imghad agriculturists, which certainly prevailed in the Delta, so long as Berbers were dominant there. But no war-Sagas or conquest-legends are associated with the person "Minos". Such activities were not his function.

On the other hand, relative to the assertion that the sons and near male kin of the "Minos" were called 'anax, plural 'anakes or 'anaktes, and sent to colonial posts, the term has an expository equivalent. Thucydides, Diodorus, and Plutarch say that the kinsmen "banished" to the outposts of the realm were made hégemones of the island and Asia colonies. That Greek term combines the military man and the explorer. It is distinctly executive. We have the same contrast in function that we have seen in the case of the Tuareg Ameno' and his Anak or Angas appointees.

As for the feminine, 'Anassa, C.M. Bowra (JHS 1934, 54-74) considers "Homeric words in Cyprus". The inscriptions have not yet shown an illustration of Aristotle's statement that the sons and brothers of Cypriote kings were called 'Anak, 'Anaktes. But the feminine 'anassa, Wánassa, is familiar. Five times the latter archaic form is applied to the Aphrodité of Paphos: once she is 'anassa. It is a safe inference that her priestess would be addressed the same way. Homer uses the term once in the Iliad, thrice in Odyssey, 4 times in Homeric Hymns- each time of a goddess. At least three times the title begins with the digamma (W). Aeschylus and Sophocles use 'anassa of Athênê; Pindar, of Truth: Euripedes, of Athênê and Artemis. Only still later Greek poets use it as a complimentary address to persons of royal rank. The appearance of the term in different and independent dialects widely removed from each other suggests that it is an ancient exotic: older than the local Hellenic dialects.

As for "anax, Homer uses it in all oblique cases: usually with w, as at early Argos and Corinth: all before the 5th Century B.C. when the archaic form wanak had generally disappeared, except from Cyprus, where a certain Semitic Baal-ram who sets up a stele announces himself as Wanax to the Basileús (Chief Executive again). This dominance of the Wanak-form in ancient times has its survival in the inek of oblique cases in Tuareg, and supports the suggestion in the preceding section that the Hebrew Anak (wanak) is a primitive verb form. With the Mediterranean Berber once dominant in North Africa, the Delta, and Palestine, some surviving words should be common to all three areas.

As for the wide spread of this archaic Wanax-form, Buck, p.52. records that it is known in 10 dialects and is near the equivalent of Basileús, a political chief. It is applied to all gods. The short irregular vocative ana is addressed only to gods. "Anax andrôn of Agamemnon means that he is commander-in-chief of the allied forces, as the Ankas may be in Tuareg. In Odys. 24:30, Achilles addresses Agamemnon as "anax over warriors and many and mighty men," at Troy. Nestor, in Od. 3:245, "had thrice been "anax over races of men"- like Agamemnon. "Anax is used of sons or kinsmen of kings in Pindar and in the Tragic poets; and a distinguished stranger may be so addressed, as some Americans would address one as "General".

P. The Wide Spread of the Minoan Anak-Posts.

Taking the legendary "brothers of Minos" who held colonial posts: Rhadamanthus judges all the dead of Asia in Hades, because he once was head of a Minoan colony in Lycia. His name suggests connection with Rrhadames or Ghadames, in South-west Tripoli. But Strabo (10-4-6) emphasizes the tradition that one Rhadamanthus was the original conqueror, organizer, and law-giver of Crete, and that Minos and his brothers were later figures, who copied or followed the institutions of this early Rhadamanthus, including the nine-year-periodic consultations at the ancestral tomb-cave. This harmonizes with what has been pointed out- that the Gulf of Gabes area was the logical economic base for an advance upon the Delta, Crete, or elsewhere.

Aíacus became the priest-ruler of the island post of Aegina in the Saronic Gulf, and was notably successful in his prayer for rain, in time of a terrible drought. So a temple was built to him, with annual Aiakéia ceremonies in Pausanias' time. It perpetuates the fact that Aegina was a pre-Hellenic Minoan cultus-colony.- Another Rhadamanthus is appointed administrator in the Cyclades, north of Crete, where 4 Minoa posts were known in late Greek times. Whether Rhadamanthus was judicial authority at 4 or not, no one knows now. Another Lycian colony is credited to a Sarpedon sent there, who with aid of Kilix (Cilicia) subdued part of it, and established a colony that later required Greek settlers to accept Berber social institutions, as noticed in M.- Another brother, named Miletus, was sent to Caria, and founded a city later called by his name. Another version has Miletus founded by a Cretan named Anax. Another has a city called Anaktória, founded by Anax, a son of Heaven and Earth. Later it was called Miletus. These legendists did not recognize that Anax was the official title of the Miletus-founder and the Anaktória was his military or administrative stronghold. Observe that Temashight dór, is "wall, fort": Soro, "tower". Anak-dór? may be the original of Anaktória. The formation would be the same as that of Ameno-kal. Another Anaktórion was an important coast-city on the northern border of Acarnania: jointly occupied by Corinth and Corcyra after 630 B.C. In Odyssey 15:397 Eumaeus applies the adjective anaktorious to the swine of his master's estate. There are many Basileús, "kings"- (landed gentry) on little Ithaca: Odysseus is only one of them. (Od. 1:392ff) But his estate is the Anaktórion-all aspire to succeed him. Penelope, as the official "anassa, is the decisive factor. How long an Anaktórion has been established upon Ithaca we do not know. Sophocles' Lexicon gives the feminine Anaktor-issa as one equivalent of Anassa.

Another Aíakos-brother of Minos achieves immortal administrative renown on the coast of Southern Thessaly, and is promoted therefore to be one of the judges of the dead, along with Minos and Rhadamanthus. This correlates intelligibly with the statement of the Phaiakian Alkinóus, in Od. 7:324ff. He will send Odysseus wherever he would go, "even if it be much farther than Euboea, which certain of our men say is the farthest of lands; they who saw it when they carried brown-haired Rhadamanthus to visit Elyos, son of Gaia. Even thither they went, and accomplished the journey on the self-same day and won home again, and were not weary." The statement that Euboea, half a day distant, is "the farthest of lands", can only mean that it was the boundary of

Rhadamanthus' jurisdiction. Beyond was the domain of Aíakos (or was Tityos the Anak for Euboea?) Another Sarpedon-brother of Minos went to Samos. Ovid, 9:443, says he was jealous of the power of Minos. There was certainly a Minoa station on the island.

One Minos is made a descendant of Inachos of the Argolid in the 6th generation (Gayley, Classic Mythis p.435). Then Inachos, a Minoan Anax, must have founded the colony in Pelasgian Argos, which in time became Mycenae, and at a late period eclipsed the Knossian mother. There are a number of sons of Minos in tradition for whom no location is mentioned.

In the west the Anak-officials strongly impressed religious organization. In the Byzantine area, Anaktoron persists as the name of the king's dwelling: the administrative center. But Hesychius of Alexandria defines "Anaktóron" as a "temple". Herodotus, 9:65 tells of an Anaktóron-temple in Eleusis. Anaktoron is the home of the gods, or a temple of the gods, in the Greek tragic poets. In E. Tertullian specially associates the famous Corybantes with the Minoan tomb-cave in Crete. Thence they spread widely. But Clement of Alexandria gives us the fact that the presidents or directors of the Corybantian mysteries were called Anakto-telestai (ANF ii,176b). See also Pausanias 10-38-7. Anakelion became a name of the temple of the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, whose twin electric "glows" ("St.Elmo's Fires") have been an immemorial warning to the sailor. The temple-festivals were Anakela; the twins themselves were Anakes. Ancient Minoan sailors believed these mysterious lights were the official "sons" of the Minoan administration: as reassuring to timid folk as to call them "Ste.Anne de Beaupré".

In conclusion, the name Anax enters largely into compound Greek proper names; especially in Asia Minor. We have "Anaxágoras, Anaximênês, Anaximander; Hêgéanax--Hêgênax, from Smyrna: Agênax from Rhodes: Agéanax, from Mytilene. More than 40 such are known. They illustrate the pride in the tradition of some Anak-ancestor or employer in the past. Compare the fact that King, Bishop, Priest, Earl, Baron, Marquis, Lord Duke, Major are now common English surnames.

Q. "Mínôa"- stations Mentioned in Greek and Latin Authors.

The Anaktoria being primarily a military and administrative center, Mínôa should be distinctively judicial. They were a necessity. The wide spread colonial commerce raised questions for arbitration every day, for which the expense of a voyage to Knossos could not be incurred. Besides, the Knossos "Admiralty Court" (The Minotaur's office) would have been swamped with business. And the "Minôs" himself could not have attended to all the questions of civil, ritual, and ethical procedure that were certain to arise in international relations. Even a Pope must have some Cardinals!

Pauly-Wissowa lists a dozen Mínôa well-known to Greek and Latin writers in their own time. Three or four are added from Pape, overlooked in the P.W. article: others from Kiepert and the OT. The student should locate each on a good map of ancient Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean.

1. Mínôa on a small island in front of Nisaia, the harbor of Megara. "Minos" (The Minotaur) landed here in a war against Nisos and founded a permanent "Mínôa" for the Megarid. Five or six authors mention this.

2. Minoa: the older name of Paros in the Cyclades. This recalls the former dominance of the "Cretans", says Diodorus, 5:84.

2-a. The Great Mínôa at Delos- This is not listed by Pauly-Wissowa, because the technical term did not survive the introduction of the Greek Apollo-cult. But the fact survived. Apollodorus (3-15-7) explains the peculiar interruption of the choral song to the Khárites ("Graces") in a great Apollo-liturgy at Delos by saying that Minos, crowned and in full regalia, was conducting a sacrifice to the Khárites, supported by garlanded singers and musicians, when the news was brought of the death of his son Androgeos. He instantly tore the crown from his head, and ordered the garlands thrown away and the music stopped. So this has remained the liturgical custom at Delos. Farnell 40 years ago observed that Minoan liturgy seemed to be a mourning for the dead (Farnell, 5:418). This does not seem quite complete. For the Greeks continued the liturgy with the Phoibos Apollôn of Homer as the Minoan divinity. But Phoibos Apollôn was not a sungod, till late Greek times; and then only through fusion with the Minoan

sungod. Thus Macrobius (1-17-35) states that "the Kamirians who dwell in the isle sacred to the Sun sacrifice to Apollo the "Ever begetting" (æigenetôi). Phoibos Apollôn was "the Pure Ever-Virile": Immortal Youth and Power. The Minoan liturgy at Delos must have had a resurrection-element in it to induce the Greek to make their Phoibos Apollo its central figure.- Again, the Apollo-cult at Delos is associated in Greek legend with Theseus of Athens (which had an Athênê cult) and with Crete. It seems that of all Minoan liturgies in the Cyclades the one at Delos made the strongest impression upon the Greek mind-- As for "resurrection" in Minoan Liturgy, see Section 120. In the great Tunisian mosque in Kairwan to-day no one dare molest the poor moths that have sought refuge there: souls that "wait all the days of their appointed time till their change come"!- Islam has not dared turn them out! The Red Berber brought this hope to Crete, and set the Greek to talking about "Psyche", and us to talking of "psychology". ("Kamirians:isle sacred to the sun"=Minoan colony on Rhodes:15-a).

3. Minoa on the coast of Laconia. In Limera, now Monemvasia on an island just off the coast. The mainland town of Monemvasia is about five miles to the north. Greek tradition says that a Carian colony held this Epidaurian coast in pre-Hellenic times (Kiepert, 275). This harmonizes with Minoan employment of Carian navigators. Compare next case.

4. Minoa in Laconia: on the outer ridges of Southern Kynuria. About 35 miles? north of the above Laconian Minoa.

5. Minoa was the name of the harbor-port of Aptara (Captor) in the Northwest end of Crete. See Captor, sec.

6. Minoa in the east end of Crete, in Lyktian territory: between Sammonion and Kamara.

7. Herakleia-Minoa. On the south coast of Sicily, 15 miles west of Akragas; known to have been founded in pre-Hellenic times. The name Minoa was still in use by Greek and Latin authors. The story that one Minos perished in a punitive expedition against some Sicilian foe, and lost his fleet there also may be connected with this port. The probable fact is that the Minotaur perished.

8. Minoa in the center of the island of Amorgos: the best harbor in the island. Now Katapola (Bathy?). Greek temple ruins are there. Amorgos is southeast of Naxos, the largest of the Cyclades. A colony of the Minoans in Samos and Miletos founded it. "The Samians in Minoa" are mentioned in 3d century B.C. After 189 B.C., "The people of the Amourgians, who dwell in Minoa". Antoninus Pius restored to this Minoa "its ancient freedom"; which suggests that its ancient Imoshagh were as tenacious of their institutions and their autonomy as those of the Sahara to-day, though 1400 years after the crash of Knossos.

9. Minoa on Amorgos. A Spring long known by this name. It suggests that it was connected with liturgical matters: perhaps oracle or divination.

10. Minoa on the island of Siphnos in the Cyclades: west by south of Paros. It was known to be a pre-Hellenic settlement.

11. Minoa on the island of Korkyra, now Corfu; in the mouth of the Adriatic, off the coast of Albania. A judicial station at this strategic point suggests commercial relations with the Pelasgi of the neighboring Albanian coast: long suspected to be the ancestral home of the Pelishti. See section 58ff.

12. Minoa in the Megarid- Strabo, (8-6-1) tells that the harbor of the inland town Nisaia was formed by a Cape Minoa, projecting into the sea. The naval station Nisaea developed at the bottom of the bay. Its older name was Minoa. This is probably an earlier stage of no. 1. The war with Nisos probably resulted in the expulsion of the Minoans from the mainland. They contented themselves with the island-station, and Nisos gave his name to the naval base. (Strabo 9-1-4).

13. Minoa on Aegina- The name is not specifically connected with any one point. But as the Aíakos legend insists that it was a Minoan colony, and as its character was pre-eminently religious and cultural rather than military, (section P.) it is safe to say that it was known as a Minoa rather than as an Anaktoria (cf. Strabo 8-6-16).

14. Minoa in the island of Karpathos. It has been a speculation of some recent writers that "Karpathos" is the original of the name "Kaptor." Too much transposition: too small a base for the great Minoan Sea-empire: and not a single tradition of greatness, parallel to those of Knôssos.

14-a. Minüas in Thessaly-Usually written "Minýas", in English letters, which makes English pupils mispronounce it "Min-yas." Kiepert (p. 242, note 3) observes the form Minüas regularly associated with the Pelasgi, and considers it their form of Minkas. (His Semitic speculations are long ago passé). The Minüai were dominant in the northeastern Pelasgian plain (Kiepert 304). Alakos won his promotion to be judge of the dead in Thessaly. At least three Minoan Sun-temples were there (Section S).

14-b. Minüas in Boeotia: Orchomenós. At the mouth of the Kêphissus, on the Sea-coast. Orchomenós or Erchomenós was the pre-Greek capital: the unexplained name may have been a compound of "Minos". A rival of Thebes till 364 B.C. Of its ruins, only a remnant of the prehistoric time remain on the Acropolis-crag; apparently and old "Prince-tomb," but popularly called "The Treasury of Minüas". Strabo reports these Minüai as saying their ancestors left Crete with Theseus, to consult an oracle, and migrated two or three times ere settling at Orchomenós.

14-c. Minüas, Minüai, at Cape Malea and Taenaron- These Laconian coast-ports connect with the Epidaurian Minoa in no. 3 above, and the Minoa further north on Kynuria coast. The difference is that these are specifically Pelasgian as well. (Kiepert, p. 270). It appears that the Minoan power once held much of the Laconian coast to its southern cape: pronunciation varying in Pelasgian and Red Berber ports.

14-d. Minüai in Crete - Peculiarly significant. Kiepert, (p. 248) says that Gortyna in Roman times claimed an ancient settlement of the Pelasgi and the Minüai. To find this dialectic form of "Minða" or "Mnôia" so near to Knôssos is impressive: and with the added assertion of Pelasgian presence, it strengthens the above suggestion that wherever this form occurs, it is due to Pelasgian phonetics. (Compare Cretan Greek in 58f. It is true that o and u are interchangeable in dialects at the Tunisian frontier; Slouschz observing the fact in comparing the speech of Judaized Berbers of Jerba and Tunis. But as Tunis is 700 miles west of Crete, it is improbable that the far western Berbers were ever a controlling element in the Minoan organization).

15. Minoa in the Black Sea- None specifically mentioned. But as above stated, administrative Anaktora were there in the Byzantine area, and a line of Crimea kings clung to the title of "Chief Anak" (see T section) we may be sure the pre-Hellenic time had the judicial Minoa centers also.

15-a. Minoa in Rhodes - Atabyrion. Not mentioned in the Pauly-Wissowa list because the technical term Minoa is not applied to it in classic authors. But the articles on Rhodos, Atabyrion and Althaimenês prove it well-known as a Minoan foundation; and of all the Minoan colonies it is the only one whose boundaries are definitely known, persistent in Graeco-Roman times. As its cultus-fidelity was unequalled and its value as an exchange-post at present seems unmatched, it is possible that the Minoan administration may have considered it the most important colony. Details in Section T.

16. Minoa in Arabia, with inhabitants known as Minôitai (Greek form). Listed in Pape's Wörterbuch. This comes from Ptolemy and from Pliny 6:32. Pliny describes Karna as "a northern city of the Minaeans the oldest commercial people of Arabia, with a monopoly in the trade in Myrrh and frankincense through their control of caravan routes. He refers doubtfully to their legend of the relationship of Minaeans and Rhadameans (Ghadames, in S.W. Tripoli) to Minos of Crete and his brother Rhadamanthus. Pliny need not have doubted... Strabo also (16-3-1) describes these "Minaei in the part toward the Red Sea, whose largest city is Carna:" next to them are "the Sabaeans whose chief city is Mariaba." (Schoff, Periplus, 105). Strabo uses Meinaioi of the same people. Karna was about 35 miles south of Mekka.

Now the peculiar value of this evidence lies in the recently discovered fact that the Arab was not in this south Arabian area till long after the crash of Knôssos. This "oldest people of Arabia" were not Arabs but Hamites (see Minoan Sections 10,13). These were ancient masters of the caravan roads. These transmitted the tradition that the allied Minoan Red Berbers once had a Minoa settlement, and that these pre-Arab Minoans claimed relationship with Minos and Rhadamanthus of Crete. The value of the

tradition lies in the fact that it was not a Graeco-Roman speculation, but something Greeks and Romans found on the spot. It correlates perfectly with the statement in 1K.22:48, that "Tarshish" ships sailed the Red Sea and beyond. A midway emporium on that 1500 miles stretch would seem a necessity. And the ancient dominance of the Gulf of Aden by the Red Men will be remembered.

Then in Minoan sections 37ff, the plain evidence of the maintenance of a Minoan southern trade-route is considered. But all the OT material comes long after the crash of Knossos. It only proves that the Minoan regime did not end with Knossos: the hegemony passed to some other tribe of the Minoan federation.

17. Minois in "Arabian Palestine". Inhabitants Minūiai. Identified on Kiepert's maps with Beth-Pelet, now being excavated, and astonishing for its revelation of occupation by Philistines for centuries before the Israelite invasion. This Minois and the next five are of the first importance, as showing that well-known and important Minoa do not now receive that name in the Hebrew OT. David drew part of his body-guard and temple-staff from this Minoan "Residency" and Cultus-center, but its Minoan character does not appear in any OT passage.

18. Minoa in Palestine: Gaza.- Minoa is well-known in the Greek period as a persisting name of Gaza (Asda or Azda, one current form of the name, says Stephen of Byzantium). Coins of the period bear the figure of Meino; holding out an olive-spray? Others have simply his initial "M" in a debased Phoenician form, with other figures. Other coins use the Aramaic Marna "Our Lord" as the equivalent of the Berber Meino. One shows a Greek temple front, with "Gaza" at the left outside: "Marna" at the right. A Greek inscription from Kerak reads DII MARNΑ ΤΟ; KYRIOI "To the Divine Marna, the Lord". But we shall see reason to consider this inscription as referring to a Minoa temple in Moab. The temple at Gaza was called by the Greeks a Marneion. At the solicitation of the Christian bishop Porphyrius, and the empress Eudoxia, the Byzantine Emperor gave orders for its destruction about 400 A.D. (see Macalister: coins on p. 112: Porphyrius on p. 106ff). Observe that the local "Meino" is deified. Second: the persistence of the Meino-cult in some form 1800 years after the crash of Knossos shows that event in no way affected the organization and vitality of the Minoan culture. It merely meant that the hegemony passed to another tribe of the Berber-Cretan coalition. Third, a similar vitality should be expected at other points in Minoan Palestine.

But most important of all are these facts. Among the Hebrew sherds recovered from the palace of Ahab at Samaria is one inscribed Marna-Yau, "Marna is Yahu". This assertion of identity cannot be lightly passed. Taken with section 100ff, showing the continued Minoan activity in the Davidic dynasty, and paragraphs 20 and 21 below, a most intimate relation of the two cults seems unquestionable. Then the supreme Berber-Minoan divinity was sun-god, as appears in S and T below. Now a coin from Gaza, about 400 B.C., shows Yahu as the god of the city. But this is presenting the Yahu of post-exilic Judaism to the people of Gaza. And how is Yahu adapted to them? He is presented as their sungod; his seat is a "sulky", or single axle with two wheels (Cook, no.). But the more popular O T portrayal of Yahu is as a cherub-riding storm-god (Ps. 18,29). So the "chariots of the Sun" 2K.23:11 and Yahu as a "Sun and shield" suggest Minoan influence; not the preëminence of a Thor-Teshup-Hadad.- Lastly; Gaza today is El-Mineh to Arabs: decisive as to the way they would adapt the term Minoa at other sites.

19. Minoa in Palestine: Beth-Shemesh. Not mentioned in any classic author. But "Beth-Shemesh" is simply a Hebrew equivalent for a lost pre-Israelite name. And under Philistine control it was preëminent as a center of a great Sun-god cult: the supreme cult of the ancient Berbers. It was the one Philistine out-post that long retained this prestige in Israel. Read carefully 49-b. Finally, every Minoan "Legation", "reservation", or "consulate" was in the nature of the case a place of "refuge" or "escape" from local native authorities. This principle remains in our modern diplomacy. In the case of the above Beth-Pelet, now Tell Fara, both names mean "Place of escape", or "refuge", and express an ancient diplomatic fact, the point of which has not been recognized. But Beth-Shemesh was also acknowledged as in the "refuge district" of Hebron from the beginning of Israelite control: Josh. 21:16. Its prominence as an old Minoan Sun-oracle colony is clear.

19-a. Minoa in Palestine - The Second Beth-Shemesh: Tabor-Atabyrion- Not listed

by Pauly-Wissowa, because the technical term Minoa is not applied to it by classic authors. But they emphasize the fact that the term Atabyrion is of historic Minoan origin. As used in Palestine, this Beth-Shemesh district reached across northern Issachar from the Jordan nearly to Carmel: (a trade-route?) We have more definite suggestion as to the antiquity of this cultus-district than of any other in the OT. We do not know as much about the antiquity of Gaza, or of Samson's country. Nor have we an equally clear case of early fusion with Yahwism. Details are in Section T.

20. Minoa in Palestine: Hebron— Also not named as such in classic authors. But its pre-eminence as an ancient "refuge-center" Josh. 21:13, and as possessing the cave of the "Great Ancestor", "Remotest Ancestor" (Ab-ram, "exalted father") is indubitable: paralleling the immemorial cave of "Minos" in Crete. A Meino- ancestor-cult was naturally foremost here under Minoan administration. And the OT insists that Minoan secular-officials or "Anakim" were also there; considered more fully in the next Section. Here is suggested a comparison of Josh. 11:21 with 15:13f and Judg. 1:10ff. The fuller account suggests an Anak at Hebron, another at Debir, another at Anab,-- and some others. Condensation makes it appear that all three were at Hebron. That Minoans counted Hebron a great sanctuary, with Arbok as the first great local Minoan representative to occupy the "Tomb-Cave" is clear from LXX of Josh. 14:15; 15:13; 21:11. This will be noticed again in connection with "Anak-Folk in the OT", below. The Cretans who helped make David king at Hebron were thinking of their Minoan ancestors there.

21. Minoa in Palestine: David's Maon-- Menēlyyeh. The article on Minoa in Pauly-Wissowa refers to a new article on Minaioi in supplementary Vol. 6, not at hand: and to the article on Meunim in 1 Chron. 4:41. Minaioi associated with Meunim in the OT means a transposition of the three radical letters. The LXX translators had a text reading Mn', where the much later Masoretes read M'ôn. This Ma 'ôn, David's fortress-refuge at the south end of the Wady Arabah, about 18 miles north of Aqaba, on the Palestinian side, (1 Sam. 23:24ff) is now identifiable. The LXX reads "on the west side, south of Yessaimôn." Musil over 20 years ago found the great hill acropolis of Menēlyyeh (Arabic), rising sheer 130 feet from the Wady Mineilyyeh, to be the largest and richest mining center in the Arabah, guarding six separate mining-camps within a few miles, and also guarding the southern approach to the other mining-camps of the Arabah. The fortified enclosure measures 370 yards by 143: room enough for a large permanent industrial population (BASOR Sept. 1934, p. 9f). It would be supported by the Minoan control of the grain-fields and vineyards north of Sinei: See map of Sinai at back of this volume. The singular Howeytât tent-farmers and traders who now occupy this territory conduct a profitable grain-trade still, as far down as 300 miles down the coast from Aqabah: or 600 miles in the interior. (Doughty L; 45f: 234f).

It will be recognized that the modern Arabic Menē corresponds to the Greek Minaï, and to the Minoan Amenai, Menai. The Hebrew Maon is a transposition. 1 Sam. 23:29 adds the detail that the place was known as "The Rock of Escape": a parallel to Beth-Pelet and Hebron above. David felt safe in Minoan territory. This Minoa guarded the Northern approach to Ezion-Geber or Aqabah. (The Maon ten miles south of Hebron, in 1 Sam. 25:2 might be another transposed "Minoa", in whose district David remained for safety. There is no direct evidence).

22. Minoa in Palestine: Beth-Meon in Moab? and Kerak? The Pauly-Wissowa article upon Me'unim does not suggest any derivable from the Minoan-settlement that was David's refuge from Saul. The Me'unim of 1 Chron. 4:41; 2 Chron. 26:7,8; 20:1; Ezra 2:50; Neh. 7:52 are in question. Though David's policy annexed large numbers of guards and temple-associates from Minoan posts in South Palestine, there is no suggestion that Minoim-Meonim ever became a general term, including "Cherethites and Pelethites and Carlians and Gittites" (2. Sam. 15:18ff). Nor is the Maon south of Hebron seriously considered. The LXX reading Minaioi or Meinaios where the MT now has Me'unim or Me'onim remains. Our English form "Minaeans" we have applied without historical warrant to an Arabian culture in the Hedjaz.

Now in 18 above, the Greek Gaza-form of "Minos" is Meinô. In Neh. 7:52 the Me'unim of the MT are Meinôn in the LXX: "Meinoans", so far as mere form is concerned. Then in 2 Chron. 26:7,8, the Hebrew text has "Me'unim" the first time and "Ammonites" the second: the LXX has Minaioi in both. But "Ammonites", Ammonim, is identical in Hebrew form with the Hebrew plural of the Ameno' title that we have found so significant. Under our eyes we see the MT confuse "Ammonites" with another people! How often has the Ameno' been mistaken for the Semitic "Ammonite"?- Pauly-Wissowa connects

Me'unim with Maon-Beth-Baal-Meon of Josh. 13:17 - Baal-Meon of Num. 32:38; Ezek. 25:9; 1 Chron 5:8; Beth-Meon, Jer. 48:23; Beon of Num. 32:3; Baian 1 Macc, 5:4f; and Beel-Meon, Eusebius 44:21; Maon, 134:16. It was 9 Roman miles from Heshbon. Jerome calls it the largest city in Moab.

Now a dominant Minoan trade-post on the line of cities running north and south through Moab-Ammon would be a strategic necessity to Minoans who would prevent the diversion northward of the Red Sea-Arabia trade (cf. Sections 33, 63, 64 and preface to 110). Then a like post at the south end of the Dead Sea would be necessary to insure that Jerusalem or Philistia might pass down the Arabah unmolested. And the votive inscription found at Kerak (in 18 above) DII MARNA TÔ KYRIO, "TO THE DIVINE MARNA, The Lord" can hardly be viewed as one for a Temple to a far-off divinity. There was certainly a Minoa-post in Moab: probably two; the Anak-data in Section S are to be added.

23. Minoa In Phoenicia-- Revert to 58g, where Esarhadden is quoted, asserting the submission of the rulers of Tar-si-si or Nu-si-si (Knossos). But the colony-points on the Phoenician coast are not mentioned. We face the fact that many a point known as a "Minoa" ("Commandery") to Minoans themselves would not be so-called by the foreign people among whom it was situated. We now know that "Cretans" were known and feared at Ugarit 175 miles north of Tyre, in its Mycenaean time: feared probably because expelled by their Mycenaean pupils. But we have no inscriptional evidence connecting the term Minoa with the site. That the term "Minoa" survived so long, among so many hostile peoples in localities so widely spread, is an enduring proof of power and worth in the Minoan culture.

24. Did the name "Edom" originate as a translation of the Red Berber term Tishorén, "The Red People", which they apply to themselves? This question is forced upon us. In section 4 we saw that megaliths in Palestine, Moab-Ammon Bashan were those of North African Mediterranean people who did not push into interior Arabia. In Egyptian sections 38-39, this Mediterranean people is the dynastic power dominating the Delta perhaps as early as 5,000 B.C.: Continuing dominant for probably 2,000 years: a situation that mean their control of their kindred of southern Palestine. Probably the term Amrhi for subject or inferior "red men" became rooted in the institutions of southern Palestine in that period: the Amor of the OT. (Section 35-C). In section 25 we saw that this Mediterranean Megalithic culture of northern Moab developed through many centuries at one site, at Teleilat el-Ghassûl, the oldest strata being like the earlier Beth-pelet: the last, 3500 B.C.? the same as the earliest at Jericho. Semites begin appearing in Palestine about 1000 years later (Egyptian section 74). What had they done to the Trans-Jordan Mediterraneans? Archaeology now shows a line of Bronze Age towns from Bashan south, destroyed about 1800 B.C.--but we do not know yet whose cities; nor do we know who destroyed them, if not the Red Berber Caphtorim of Deut. 2:23. Are they the "Edom" who held the whole country up to the Jabbok, in Gen. 32 and 33? near 1800 B.C.? What "ruddy brown" people are being accounted for in the etiological tale in Gen. 25:25, as a much older people than Israel? In Gen. 36, they are accorded a long list of pre-Israelite tribal heads or caravan-stations. Are their names translated into Semitic like those in Gen. 5? Now the above Minoa show the Red Berber commerce penetrating the whole region from predynastic times down to the Christian era. When did the term "Edom" first come into use; did it originally mean the Red Berber? It is all very tantalizing, in the present stage of our knowledge.

R. Who was the Minotaur?

In B and C it was pointed out that we must find the original of Minoan technical terms in the Berber languages and that any explanation of the Minotaur as half-man half-bull was making his name half-Berber, half-Greek.- Ere noticing the Anakim in Palestine it should be said that if there had been any "man-bull" figure, the Old Testament should have known it. The winged ox-figures (Cherubim) on the ark: the same in Solomon's temple; the same on which Yahweh rode in the storm-clouds-the same that Jeroboam set up at Bethel- the flying ox-lion-man-eagle figure of Ezekiel's vision--these paraded in the OT assure us that any Philistine "man-bull" would have received some attention. And excavations at Tell-el-Ajjûl, the immemorial pre-Gaza port, and at Beth-Pelet, a known Minoa, should have found it. But there is no such "Minotaur", there or elsewhere in Palestinian excavations.

Pauly-Wissowa, 1932, devotes 7 columns to the Minotaur, patiently grouping all literary references, with no solution. But the author observes that Homer and Hesiod

know nothing about this Saga; that it evidently arose outside of Crete, (among people who did not know the meaning of the technical term), and that it was openly discredited by some Greek historical writers as a popular invention. There is no basis for it in the discoveries at Knôssos. But an old portrayal of the 8th Century B.C. shows that the "man-bull" image was then known- six centuries after Knôssos crashed. (Imaginative exposition of ancient records!).

But the Temáshight language to-day, along with the "Aménô-kal", gives us also the mythical "bull". The word for boat, ship, is tóraft: plural, tórafi, which a Greek would vocalize as tórayi (Tórauí). Aménô-tórafi, "Minô-tóravi" is simply "COMMANDER OF SHIPS!" Commander of the fleet: Admiral'.

A student may apply the fact to any variation of the Minotaur saga that interests him. Thus in the story of Theseus and Ariadne, Theseus made his way to the office of the "commander of the fleet" and killed him. In the consequent confusion he and Ariadne escaped. In the story of Europa, she is not carried off by a "bull" but by the "commander of the fleet", etc.

S. The Universal Sun-God--Astérion and Pasiphaë.

This Greek folk-perversion of the title "Minotaur" forces special consideration of the Minoan Pasiphaë, who in the folk-perversions is made responsible for the existence of the Minotaur-monster. We learn something of the bestiality of early Greek imagination! As the Sun-Hero Heraklê is made Pasiphaë's assistant in accomplishing her purposes, that is a clue to the central fact. For the Herakles-sun was not an original Greek conception: and there was no universal cult of the sun among the Greeks. There is plainly some cultus-perversion in the Pasiphaë-tale.

In contrast it was shown in 58-z that a sun-cult was universal among Berbers, and that the sun is the supreme Berber divinity. It is the oldest approximation to monotheism that is known to us. And this cult of an All-Seeing Sun is one that Red Berbers carried everywhere, more than 3000 years before the time of the Pharash Ikh-n-Aton. That would facilitate the Syncretism with the Pelasgian sun-cult: the result being the Minoan culture. Now the Greek Minoan legends confront us with a term Asterios, Asteria, connected with cultus in all parts of the Minoan domain. At sight one would think of the Greek Astêr, a "star". But the legends insist that the word is pre-Hellenic, and the Greeks do not understand it. The Temashight word for "star" is Átar, pl. ítaren. To suggest that this has been adopted by Greeks to resemble their own astêr is to be confronted with the fact that no star-cult or star-lore appears in the Greek accounts of Minoan times. Fifty years ago, under the obsession that the "Phoenicians" were chronologically first in everything there was the attempt to find the Semitic "Ishtar, Ashtart" in Asteri: but it plainly belongs to the pre-Hellenic and pre-Semitic period in the Mediterranean. At the same time the theory was current that every Pelasgic name was to be explained by Semitic etymology: (Eg. Kiepert, Lehrbuch der Alten Geographie, 1878). All this is passé, and is mentioned merely that students may waste no time on it. While Asterios is in some cases found in Pelasgic territory, it does not resemble the Pelasgic name of the Sungod, which will be considered in the next section. Nor can we consider it an effort to translate a Berber term into a Greek equivalent, since the term is reported in legends from all parts of the Minoan domain, by Greeks of various dialects, spread over 1000 miles from East to west. They could not have agreed upon translating a Minoan term the same way. It must be that Asteri phonetically approximates the Minoan term. Ezeraren is still in use in Temashight for the "beams" or "rays" of the Sun (Barth 3:751). Azerar, azerari, "The Beaming one, shining one" is probably the Berber original of Asteri.

Here may be grouped illustrations of the Greek effort to explain every thing by genealogy--(1) Krête (Crete) was a "daughter" of Asterios and the wife of Minos--(2) Krête was mother of Pasiphaë, by Hélios (the Sun). Krête was a daughter of one of the Kourêtes-priestesses, and wife of Ammôn, (the Sungod of the Siwa oasis). (4) Minos was a "son" of Zeus Asterios--(5) In Gortyna in Greek times "Asterios" was the title of the Minoan "Zeus" (the Sungod). The "Zeus Asterios" of Gortyna belongs to the Minotaur Argos. But there are three regions so-called in Greek times: all Pelasgian. Argos, usually "Argi" in Latin, is simply the Pelasgian word for "Plain". Larissa a "Crag-stronghold." The "Plain" of Mycenae and Tiryns, proved by excavations to be ancient pre-Greek sites, reached the sea on the east. Another "Argos" plain lay along the

R-a. The Ships of The Minotaur -- Supplemental August 1936

At this point some account of the great superiority attained by Minoan shipbuilders is imperative. When the late Minoan fleet disappeared from the seas with the crash of the power of Knossos, no such ships sailed the seas again for about 2,000 years. Spyridon Marinatos, the veteran Greek archaeologist devotes 66 pages to a consideration of Minoan and Mycenaean ships in BCH 1933, pp. 170-236: The known archaeological representations of such vessels are about seventy: but none of these is a large scale portrayal. No wall paintings or sculpture representations have been found. Hence there are many details that miniatures can not make clear. Eighteen portrayals on vases or other objects are known: Nine moulded (?) models of ships: thirty-one representations upon seals, rings, etc.: and eleven pictographs upon written tablets: which pictographic writing we cannot read. But as in Minoan pictograph writing all animated objects face in the direction of the writing, (contrary to all other hieroglyphic writing) these portrayals show us which is bow and which is stern of the ship. It is thought that the models of ships were placed with the dead, to enable their spirits to voyage to the Islands of the Blessed: while seals, rings, etc. with ships engraved upon them were probably owned by ship-captains.

In early Minoan times no sails were used. The vessel was propelled by oars: the Minoan sailors never faced forward, using paddles. And they had rowlocks for their oars. Hence their vessels in those days were light, that they might be as swift as possible. About 15 oars on a side seems to have been the maximum then: five was the usual number. In portrayals, oars are shown forming an acute angle with the direction of the bow. The pictographic evidence indicates that the stern was higher than the bow, which was broader than the stern. "The lofty poop" of Virgil's time has such post for an ancient Palinurus. The modern rudder is not shown - occasionally steering oars are. Both bow and stern were angular, and the bow was provided with a ram, which required a bow of broad strong frame, while the captain-steersman was posted out of the way of collision. Such little vessels exposed the sailors to all weathers. A single log formed the keel of earliest ships: the hull-frame joining it at right or obtuse angle. It suggests a dug-out as the primitive ancestor (Such advance is actually shown by some North American Indian Vessels). No influence of Nilotic Egypt is apparent, but as sea-going craft of the Western Delta Coasts were in the Aegean before 3500 B.C., the original may have come from that quarter. "Atlas the Libyan was the first who built a ship and navigated the Sea" writes Clement of Alexandria (ANF 2:317b). In Middle Minoan times bow and stern are more symmetrical, the keel of two or more parts curves, so that the boat rides the waves better, is more symmetrical, stern still higher than bow, but more rounded and less angular. Five oars on a side is the rule: there is still no desk: A mast appears, with stays and halyards; the sails merely supplemented the oars when the wind was fair. At other times the mast was unstepped and lowered. Such are the vessels portrayed in the Homeric poems. Some vessels appear with an overall length of about 69 feet: width about 14. The majority were smaller. But such size, with only five oars to the side, suggests that long oars with two men to the oar may have been used. Tops on the masts did not exist.

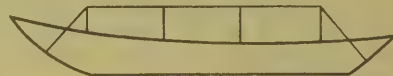
In the Late Minoan we reach a stage never reached again till the Middle Ages. By the end of Late Minoan I, a heavy type of a ship was evolved, propelled by sails alone. Some are portrayed with two or three masts; but some archaeologists are unable to credit the portrayals as representing realities. Also 28 oars on a side are shown, and discredited by some. Fifteen oars on a side are considered enough for a vessel 69 feet long. But a maximum length of 98 feet is conceded for the large sailing vessels of Late Minoan times. Seven miles east of Candia partially submerged docks have been excavated, cut in the rock. There are three side by side: the central one 23 feet wide, the other two 16½. What remains is over 100 feet long: they may have been 165 feet. It is thought that each received two ships at a time.

In contrast with the later Homeric ships, many of these Late Minoan and Mycenaean ships were completely decked. Three kinds of deck are shown: (1) Extending from stern to stern, supported by parallel struts; (2) A form of deck with no apparent support; (3) A deck joined to both sides of the ship, and supplied with a hatch to go below. This type is found only on sailing vessels and disappears with the Minoan dominance. Above this deck at the stern was a large bench for the helmsman. There were no cabins amid ships, nor deck-houses fore and aft. There seems to have been some variation in the form of the sails: Sails of canvas or "papyrus" -- all in one piece, seem shown; while others were made in two halves, attached to the yards on either side of the mast. The sails are thought to have been reinforced with rope, and to have been colored. Evans thinks

these ships had anchors; but others think that a heavy stone hung at the end of a rope was sufficient.

R-b. Contrasting Egyptian Boat-building

No early Sea-going vessels of Nilotic Egyptians are known. The Libyan coast extending westward to Tunis certainly had inland water-ways once, even in historic times; but in that early period it also had immense inland lakes or seas that are now dry depressions many feet below sea level. Any sort of navigation developed under the leadership of "Atlas the Libyan" was necessarily planned to battle with winds and waves, but the boats of the Nile did not encounter these storms. As one result the Egyptian boat-builders never learned to make a long sustaining keel. To this day their long slender boats with feeble keel and hull are reinforced by such a truss as we use under American freight-cars. But the Egyptian truss is of cables and passes over the deck on struts, from stern to stern, supporting the keel. The Egyptian boat also is more adapted to rowing or sailing either backward or forward, and more adapted to carrying freight. It has deck houses fore and aft, and may have cabins amid ships. It is plain that however early either Minoan or Egyptian shipping began, they were planned to meet different conditions. Neither can be derived from the other. (AJA. Jan-Mar. 1936, pp. 134-137).



R-c. Contrasting Phoenician Shipping

J. G. Février has made a comparative study of Phoenician and Egyptian shipping, with the conclusion that they are independent developments. What he calls "Phoenician" were heavy sailing vessels: the ancient Egyptian that he compares had no sails. He finds no good portrayal of a "Phoenician" vessel: and finds several types that he can not recognize as connected with each other - or with Crete. He finds at Cyprus a freight-ship comparable to his "Phoenician" at a period several centuries anterior to any known "Phoenician"--but does not ask by what manner of shipping men reached Cyprus in the first place!--which must have been before 4,000 B.C. for Cyprus has a long Neolithic history, and Copper-hunters, whose operations began in the Persian highlands about 4,000 B.C. were beginning to develop the copper mines of Cyprus by 3,000 B.C. Monuments do not give Février a very exact view of what he considers a "Phoenician" vessel. Dussaud ignores Crete, recognizes that Mediterranean navigation began in Neolithic times. And unaware that the Greek tale of "Phoenicians" reaching Cyprus from the Persian Gulf 2750 B.C. is an exploded fiction (See Egyptian Section 75), he invents a Neolithic settlement of "Semitic Canaanites" in South Palestine, who proceeded to "invent" the rudiments of ship-building" (Syria 1936 p. 93) -- The net result is that Février finds several types of freight vessels in the eastern Mediterranean long before the fall of Knossos opened the way for the supremacy of local shipping.

south of the Corinthian Gulf; its ancient Pelasgian capital was Mēkônē. (Kiepert, pp. 271, 273). Mūkânai of old inscriptions and Mēkônē are probably dialectic variations of a Pelasgian word for "Capital", and our term "Mycenaeen" would then mean a certain stage of Pelasgian culture. Then in Thessaly was the largest "Pelasgian Argos", called in the late Greek period, "Pelasgiōtis". Its people were "Minūans"--a Pelasgic variation of "Minoans". It had an Astérios-sanctuary on the upper Peneus, and its great stronghold Larissa, on the Peneus about thirty miles north-east. (Kiepert, 269f, 304, 306). Another Asterios, in Homer, was near Magnesia, on or near Mt. Titanos,--(7) Astérios was a Cretan king who was father of Minos.--(8) Astérios was a Cretan King who adopted Minos.--(9) Astérios was the son of the Minotaur.--(10) Astérios is connected with three different places in Thessaly: two of them pointed out above. This links with the tradition mentioned in 58-Z; that a Cyrene Sun-priestess and her sister was carried by "Apollo" to Thessaly, and brought back to Cyrene. Aíakos in section P won his administrative immortality in Thessaly. Three sun-temples are suggested--(1) Conversely, one version of the story of the Cyrene-maiden says that Astérios was a son of Cyrene and Apollo.--(12) Astérios was a king of Miletos.--(13) He was a son of Anax of Miletus; his own son was Minos of Crete.--(14) The Island of Astérios was a small island in front of the harbor of Miletus.--(15) Astérios was a son of Neleus and Chloris, of Miletus.--(16) Astérios was the first ruler of Crete, says Clement of Alexandria--(ANF. 2:324-b).--(17) He was a "son of Egypt", killed by his Danaid bride Kleio.--(18) Hesychius says the Astérioi were the earliest inhabitants of Tenedos.

The feminine form Astería was a mythical name of Delos, whose sun-temple-oracle was so famous in classic Greek times, (Q-2). A variant is that Asteria was a nymph, who was changed into the isle of Delos. Again, it is an earlier name of Crete: and also of Rhodes: and of an island near the North Syrian Coast: and of an islet at the southeast entrance of the sound between Kephallenia and Ithaca. Again it is the name of a "Titaness" who was the "mother" of various heroic figures. But Astería who is a "Titaness" seems a variant of the above Asterion of Mt. Titanos. The heroic figures of whom Astería is the (adopting) mother include "sun-persons", like Herakles, or Letô the "mother" of Apollo, both of whom are associated with pre-Greek Delos again. And here it must be remembered that there was no universal Greek Sun-cult. The fame of the "Delian Apollo" was not made by the Greeks: but in Greek times it gained prestige with some of the parvenu Greeks. Then the term Astería applied to Rhodes reminds us that the Greeks upon their arrival found there a tremendous attachment to the Sungod, which remained unchanged through all the Greek centuries. (Farnell V, 419). No Greek state had such a cult.

The whole Astérios-group then suggests that Astérion, distinguished from Anák-toron, is the name of the ancient Minoan Sun-Temple, in contrast with the associated Meinoá, or "founder-ancestor" temple. Astérios and Astería, would be the Sun-priests, male and female; the Sun-priestess being the official "Great Mother", with many worthy "adopted" sons. Farnell considers that the Rhodian Sun-Cult came from the Minoans, with whom Rhodes was closely associated from the earliest times. The coins of Rhodes, from the earliest to the last, display the radiant-faced Sun. Pasiphaë and Helios are associated cultus-figures: their images have been found at Thalamai in Laconia. Hence Pasiphaë is a Minoan Solar name, Farnell thinks. It must be Greek translation of Astería, the Berber Azerari, Azeri.

More exactly, since Helios is a Greek translation, Pasiphaë ("Shining To All") is also, and must be the Greek equivalent of the title of the priestess of the Universal Sungod, "adopting all" who met the cultus-terms of that Universal Sun. In Greek legend Pasiphaë was a "daughter" (Anassa) of Helios, and wife of a "Minos", who became the mother of one "Commander of the fleet", and had a liaison with another, resulting in the death of her Minos-husband, apparently at Heraclea-Minoa in Sicily. The permanent original fact is that the priestess of the Minoan Universal Sungod might be the wife of the local "Minos": and that Pasiphaë remained the title of a Lady of the Rhodian Universal Sun cult, in Greek historic times, despite derogatory folk-expositions.

T. Pelasgian-Philistine Sun God- Joshua, Samson, Goliath.

In contrast with Astérios is another Minoan name for the sun-god: appearing in noun and adjective forms as Talôs, Talôs, Taletós, Talaios, Tallaios, Taleton, Talaios, Kalaôs, Kílat, Göläť, Khelyt. It is claimed to be of "Eteo-Cretan" origin. Cyrene traditions declare that this Sun-cult was carried by a "Battus" official of the

Cyrenian island of Thera to Oáxos (Herod. 4: 154-E; Wáxos; Wáshasha, of the "Sea peoples" of Rameses III). Oáxos is on the north side of Crete, ten miles west of Tylissos. If we accept this Cyrene-claim, then the name appears as a feminine form of the Temáshight álus, "brother-in-law, foster-brother, near kinsman" or as a feminine of the class-word ázelai, átselei, from which "bride-groom" and "bride" are formed. Compare the Sun-bride-groom, Ps. 19:5. The Sun being feminine in Temáshight, feminine in above titles would follow.

But these epithets are peculiarly associated with old Pelasgic Minoan sites. Then we have either Pelasgic epithets, or Berber-Eteo-Cretan titles slurred by the Pelasgic pronunciation: then by later Greeks. This sun-cult is connected with a sacred cave or grotto, as the Knóssian cult was with the grotto in Mt. Dikte, 7100 feet high. Thirty-five miles west is Mt. Ida, 8061 feet high, with its famous cultus-grotto, and an associated Sun-cult. The ancient Minoan-Pelasgic city Phaistos was 8 miles from the southern foot of Mt. Ida, and 5 miles from the sea. Twelve miles north of Mt. Ida, across the valley of the river Oáxos, were the Talláia mountains, 3550 feet high, with another cultus-grotto. The town Oáxos was 10 miles north of the Ida grotto, 10 miles south-east of the Talláia summits. Remains of Cyclopean-Pelasgic origin, and of late Mycenaean have been found. Then another Táleton sanctuary was the summit of Mt. Táygeton in Laconia, overlooking Sparta. The Talétitas of Greek times were worshippers of the "Zeus of Táleton". An ancient Helios-cult is acknowledged. Pausanias says that the Akron of Mt. Táygeton was sacred to the sun, and known as Táleton, from the name Talôs. The surviving Pelasgi of this region claimed to be the aborigines. The name Ta-úg-etón sustains their claim. In 58-f was noted the fact that the Cretan-Greek l was a deep, heavy guttural, for which they often wrote their guttural u: e.g. adeupiai for adelphiai. So Ta-úg-etón and "Táleton" are simply dialectic forms of the same word: the more guttural being Pelasgian, not Doric.

So the above Pasiphaë priestess of the sun-god, as mentioned in S, was a divine figure at Thalamai in Greek times. But Thalamai was on the west coast of Laconia about 20 miles south of Sparta: ten miles north of the modern Vitylo. It also was claimed as an ancient Pelasgian settlement, and the name Thalamai suggests a dialectic Berber derivative from Talôs: ("Belonging to Thalâ?"). Messenia claimed Thalamai as part of her province of the same name. Then in Eteo-Cretan eastern Crete, the cities of Dreros and Olus were still invoking "Zeus Tallaios" in the 4th century B.C., 1000 years after Pelasgian Phaistos was gone. Then Heliadaí, or Helios-devotees of Rhodes, with their fervid Sun-cult, held that Talôs was the founder of their race and civilization. (Farnell 5:418).

Here because of its peculiar presence in Palestine, we must notice the term Atabyrion, which is Rhodian (Carian-Pelasgian?) and is not a personal name; but it is indisputably associated with the Cult of the Minoan-Cretan Sun-god. The Greek transmission is that Althaimênês, an "only son of the King of Crete", warned by an oracle that he would kill his beloved father, fled to Rhodes and brought the cult with him. The very name Althaimênês is evidence of correct transmission: it appears to be a slight modification of the Temáshight áliad - Amenai, "Son of the Aménai, or Amínai" — of the "Minoa", in short. That the Greeks, supposing the ancient phrase to be a proper name, transmitted it so nearly is to their credit.

The legend continues that "Althaimenes" landed on the northwest coast of Rhodes and founded the city of Krêtênis; the "cape-port" of the Minoan colony on Rhodes. He ascended to the top of Mt. Atabyrion and "established there a sanctuary in honor of the principal god of Crete;" (Zeus Atabyrios in late Greek times). From that summit, 4050 feet high, Mt. Dikte in Crete was visible 146 miles away: and from a Badian peak, 4980 feet high, Mt. Ida, 35 miles west of Dikte, is visible. To erect his sanctuary within sight of the ancient home-sanctuaries leaves no doubt as to the cultus contemplated. Then Lactantius, ridiculing the introduction of a "Jupiter" cult everywhere in Roman times, links Labrandius with Atabyrius. (ANF 7:38). As Labrandeus is now well understood to mean the Double-Axe Sanctuary at Knóssos, his Atabyrius would suggest the associated mountain sanctuary of Dikte. Then the ancient Atabyrion in Rhodes had a "filial" sanctuary on a hill near the city of Rhodes in Greek times. But the cult was that of the Rhodian Sungod; and the famous "Colossos of Rhodes" erected by Demetrius Poliorketes, perhaps 3000 years after the founding of Krêtênis "by a son of the King of Crete," was in honor of "Apollo" — the Greek name of the Sungod by that time. Then some 400 years earlier the Rhodians had established on the south coast of Sicily, a few miles east of the very ancient Heraklea Minoa, their colony of Akragas (Akragant, Roman

Agrigentum); and they placed their Atabyrion on the mount Akragas, about 10 miles in the interior. It is known that Corybantes liturgies were associated with the Atabyrion of the Rhodians, as with the Dictæan cave in Crete, (Pauly-Wissowa, s.v.).

The meaning of the term has been speculatively discussed: classic Greek scholars all admitting that it is pre-Greek, and attempting no Greek etymology. Hesychius says that the termination means "abode, dwelling": while Stephen of Byzantium writes that Taba, Tabai, Tabas is a Carian word meaning "Rock, cliff, crag." Several towns of such site and name were known. The compound Atabyrion would then be "mountain abode, mountain sanctuary: holy mountain." (How often in the OT? Isaiah and Micah: "Mountain of the Dwelling of Yahu" the hope of eternal peace!)

Returning to the legendary "Althaiménês"; this "only son of the Minos" did not escape the oracled destiny. His lonely, longing father finally sailed for Rhodes to bring his son home. Making a nocturnal landing, he was quickly embroiled with the natives, and was killed in battle by his own son, as the oracle predicted. The son grieved himself to death and was worshipped in the sanctuary he had founded, as the loved and tragic founder-hero - agreeing with other Minoan traditions, that the founder of the colony is honored as the chief hero of its sanctuary. "Althaimenes" has another tragic end: also is linked in tradition with three sisters - one is killed by him as dishonored, but he was therefore revered as a peculiarly tragic figure. (Pauly-Wissowa). The fact is that the term "Althaiménês" (áliad-Aménê) probably includes several early Minoan captains of the Rhodian colony.

Turning now to Palestine, an Atabyrion or Itabyrion of the Sun-cult was introduced there in pre-Israelite times. In A-18 and in Minoan Section 49-a was presented the fact of the Minoan Suncult being strongly planted in the Samson-country: Beth-Shemesh being the Hebrew translation of the ancient name. But there is another Beth-Shemesh whose Sun-sanctuary history and traditions have not been preserved. It was in Northern Issachar, about three miles west of the Jordan, and seven miles east of Mt. Tabor. And Mt. Tabor was its "Sanctuary Mountain", as the Greek forms of the name show.

An Atabyrium - city was on the mountain, and was captured by Antiochus III, in 218:B.C.—Polybius 5:70 calls the city Atabyrium. Then the Alexandrine translators of the Septuagint, with their intimate contact with the mercantile Berbers, do not write "Tabor" as our AV. does. In Hosea 5:1 and Jere. 46:18, they put Atabyrion. It is emphasized in the OT that the mountain is the boundary between Issachar and Zebulun. In Deut. 33:19 these tribes are represented as "calling peoples to their mountain." It was a place for religious assemblies, and for bargaining or covenanting with other peoples. Careful scholars have recognized for many years that this Atabyrion was a sacred mountain for other peoples long before Israel entered Palestine. It is important to know for how long before: and there are two cues. In the Egyptian cursing-texts hurled at Palestine rebels 2050 B.C. Zebulun is mentioned. It will hardly be maintained that its sacred mountain was acquired later. Then the LXX of Judg. 19:22, has Gaithbôr. This certainly looks like a Doric form of Gê-Ithabûr, "Land of Ithabyr". The two facts meant that the sanctity of the mountain with a Rhodian name was well-established in Palestine before Semitic peoples displaced the aboriginal Berber culture. Were Zebulun and Issachar Minoan settlers? Issachar may mean Red Men, or Mercenaries.(DB)

Josephus accordingly regularly uses Itabyrion for Tabor: in the Deborah-Barak Story: (Ant. 5-5-3); in his own account of his own refortification of the mountain (Wars, 2-20-6; 4-1-8; Life, 37). In one of these he is careful to remind his readers that his use of the term is not a personal whim: he writes, "what they call the Itabyrion mountain." He also uses the term in Ant. 5-1-22, when giving the mountain as the northern border of Issachar, and in 8-2-3, in telling of Solomon's commissariat-supervisors.

But the statement of Josephus that he refortified the hilltop ruined by Antiochus III, compared with his statement that in the last days of Alexander Jannæus Atabyrion was one of the important points recovered by the Jews, suggests that some other place in this Sun-cult region then had the Atabyrion Sanctuary. In I Chron. 1:7, Merari Levites have "the city Itabyrion in Zebulun and its suburbs." In short, the whole region from the Jordan to "Chisloth-Tabor", ("flanks of Tabor") $3\frac{1}{2}$ west of the mound seems known as Itabyrion. Gê Ithabûr or "Land of Ithabyr" above noticed, expresses the idea, Beth-Shemesh was both political and cultus-capital at times. The Hebrew name is certainly the equivalent of an older non-Hebrew name. As for a city in Zebulun bearing the name,

Daberat or Debûrieh is to be considered as a possible dialectic variant. So is "Deborah" (Debûrat). In the story of Barak and Deborah, the mountain seems their Cultus-place: but certainly was not the scene of battle or muster. "Tabor" in the narrative is certainly a whole Sun-cult district, reaching near to Carmel.

Why the dropping of an initial A or I, reducing the name to the LXX Thabôr, AV. "Tabor?" It is proof of a non-Phoenician dialectic influence, as proven by OT parallels. Thus Ahî-râm is well known as a royal name of the Phoenician coast; but the OT has "Hiram". And Achivi, Ahhiya, (Achaians), the OT turns to "Hivî", "Hivites." It may be observed that the original form of Itabyrion, Atabyrion was Atawurio. The surviving form in Rhodes is Atairio: in Palestine, Et-Tûr. The hardening of w into B was probably done by Greeks.

Elissfeldt happily speaks of the long felt influence of the "Phoenician mirage." But when he tries to explain the term Atabyrion as resulting from the wide spread cult of a "God Tabor" from Palestine, his etymological mirage seems very persistent. He totally ignores the evidence that the term Atabyrion is many centuries older than Greek or Phoenician presence in the Mediterranean, and that all traditions make it originate in Crete and radiate from Rhodes: no tradition connects it with Phoenicians or Palestine (JPOS 1934, No. 4, ARW 1934, No. 1).

Now Talôs may have been the personal name of the Sun-god of the Palestinian Itabyrion. But we have no proof of it, so far. But in case of the Philistine Beth-Shemesh, the Talôs - divine name seems assured by the following data.

Next observe that Greek tradition preserves, in its genealogical misrepresentations the fact that Phaistos was an integral element of the early Minoan regime. Talôs is represented as a "son" of Krês (Krêt), the "father" of Phaistos, the "grand-father" of Rhadamanthus, who was "father" of Gortys (Gortyna). Others make Talôs a "brother" of Minos and Rhadamanthus. Still others, one who came from Crete to Chios with his father and brothers, at the command of Rhadamanthus. The value of this is the recognition that a Talôs -cult reached Chios in Minoan times. It went to other points. But the fact that Pelasgian Phaistos had a Sungod "father" Talôs in Minoan times assures us that Greeks 1000 years after its fall will give us a muddled account of it.

Now Minoan Phaistos was 20 miles south of Oaxos, on the south side of the island. It is evident that the titles Talôs, Taleton, etc. have nothing to do with location. And when Zeus Talôs, Zeus Talaôs or Zeus Tallaios appears on coins of the Greek period, the Greek name "Zeus", as already observed, is to be discarded. The Greek writers and modern scholars agree that an ancient non-Greek sungod is meant. Where Zeus is not associated, Talôs is certainly a Minoan sun-functionary.

But the Greek period of Phaistos portrays the sungod Talôs on coins as a gigantic figure poising stones in his hands to hurl at strangers. The legends was that he guarded all Crete, surveying it thrice daily. And he is also identified with a human hero Talôs, killed when the Argonauts landed on Krêtê. How could the sun-god throw stones at strangers? A German speculation that he threw the moon and stars has met no favor. (Farnell, 5:415f; 1:44; Pauly-Wissowa (1932), col. 2067, "Taleton"; and "Talôs", 8 columns: "Krete" (1922); Smith, DGRG, "Axis").

Now the Red Berbers did not make images of their gods. That is a point upon which Origen and Celsus agree. The key to this puzzle of the Greek period about the ancient Minoan-Pelasgian Phaistos-Sungod is that the sungod was regarded as a periodic resident of the mountain top. Now it is a world-wide fancy among the superstitious residents among lofty mountains that the stones tumbling past sacrilegious mountain-climbers are hurled by the spirits resident on the mountain tops. And the scores of historic earthquakes in Crete have helped create this Sungod reputation. In Sparta, 474 B.C., occurred the most dreadful earthquake ever known in that land. Patches of the land were sunk: the Taygetos range shaken to the foundations: summits torn away came tumbling down: great rocks rolled through the streets of Sparta, where only five houses were left standing. Sparta was then at war with the Messenians. King Archidamus with astonishing coolness summoned all troops to arms, and the Helot slaves who had seized arms hoping to murder all who had escaped the earthquake, found themselves frustrated and driven from the region to join the warring neighbors of Sparta: a fact that the Sun-priests of the Taleton on the mountain top would make the most of. This event, some 800 years after the crash of Pelasgian Phaistos, is sufficiently illustra-

tive of what happened in Crete repeatedly. Shore-lines made dangerous by rocky upheavals gave Talôs the reputation of wrecking hostile ships with his stones.

Such belief about the mighty Talôs- sungod the migrating Philistines, Zakkara, and Wáshasha carried with them into Palestine, in the days of Rameses III. Clement of Alexandria knows this movement, saying that "in the time of Dardanus occurred the transmigration of Crete to Phoenicia" (ANF 2:324. The Dardanu are mentioned as participating in an earlier raid, by Rameses II). The Dagan they found worshipped in coast-land grain-regions (1 Sam 5:2-5) is well-known to Orientalists as a Sumerian grain-god in Babylonia more than 1000 years earlier. Now the curious and impossible story in Joshua 10 is to be considered. Confronting a combination of 5 kings of the hill-country, Joshua meets them at Gibeon. Instead of returning to their hill-strongholds, which Joshua was unable to take, they rush northward, then down the three-mile Beth-horon pass into the Philistine plain. Yahu begins hurling great stones at them. They flee to Makkedah 19 miles away to the west, in the Ekron territory, where the kings take refuge in a sanctuary-cave (?) three miles from Ekron. Joshua leaves a guard, and as the fugitives get no help from Ekron they turn southeast for Gath, Yahu hurling stones at them all the 13 miles to Azekah, 5 miles from Gath. Then Joshua returns to Makkedah. Yet not a word is said about the Philistines, or of any other of the villages of the densely populated Philistine plain. If these "Amorites" are the Amrhi of Berber society, dependent servile tribes who may not make war without their overlords' permission (Section 35b, end; and 58-W), the Philistine attitude is intelligible.- But the sun standing still? It never happened! The Sun-god is invoked to come and protect Gibeon.

"Stand still, O Sun-god, upon Gibeon,

And thou, O moon-god, in the Ayalon Vale!" And the Sungod came at the summons, and threw rocks most effectively. There is nothing said about ordering the sun to stand still in the sky. The appended comment is that of a late Hebrew compiler who did not understand an old Philistine story. People troubled about the "Long Day of Joshua" have not considered the fact of a night march from Bethel, then a battle and rout, then a 40-mile chase by foot-soldiers, to Azekah, then 13 miles back to Makkedah, then hanging the kings on trees till sundown- all in one day! There is no such statement in the text. The thoroughly Minoan-Philistine Sungod-story must have been that the Sungod tumbled rocks on Amrhi fugitives in the dangerous Beth-Horon pass, because they had dared to make war without their lords' permission. In the original Philistine version there was probably no Joshua! Some Hebrew compiler has borrowed details to "pad" his Joshua-story. (Compare the defeat of Cestius Gallus in the same pass: Josephus, Wars 2:19,7ff).

Next, in the Sun-god stories of the Beth-Shemesh region are curious identities with the Talôs-Táleton sungod stories. Observe that Sophocles uses the forms Kalôs, Kaláós, which some modern Hellenists have suggested was the correct one: not recognizing that they were dealing with an old pre-Hellenic term with dialectic variations; Kháleton or Lekháton, Khaláôn are shown to be probable forms; or Ke'lat for Talet. Now in Section 49-b was sketched the fact that the Beth-Shemesh regions was long pre-eminent as the land of the Philistine-Pelasgian sungod, but that a Hebrew name has been substituted for one of the above-mentioned forms.

Now the Talôs-legends in Pauly-Wissowa include the fact that when the guardian sun-giant was killed, he was changed into a partridge, which is probably a confusion of the immense partridge-migrations at the approach of winter (Num.11:31ff: a regular phenomenon to-day: Jarvis p. 170). Another version reported by a Latin author has the partridge as the "son" of this "Kaláós". Another has Talôs a human figure of vast ingenuity who entered the service of Daídalos and aroused his envy and was killed- but mercifully changed into a partridge. Another has it that his mother, learning of his death, flung herself from the heights of Knóssos, and was mercifully changed into a partridge, but is always calling her son. Now in the Shimsôn or "Sun-devotee" stories of Judg. 13-16, the hero is about to die after his exertions at the sacred mount of the Philistines, but is revived by a spring in the hollow of the hill. "And that is why they call it Spring of the Partridge, which is in Lekhi (aton) unto this day". (Judg. 15:14-20). As for the "jawbone of an ass", was there any? Lakhaiton or Lekhaton as the local name of the Sun-sanctuary would be opprobriously etymologized by Israelites into two Semitic words; Lekhi-atôn "jawbone of an ass!" Shimshôn originally sang

"In Lekhaiton, a heap, two heaps-

In Lekháitôn I slew a thousand men". (For form Lakhai see Gen. 16:14)

Then the Goliath-story is curiously analogous to the Talôs-giant on the Greek coins of Phaistos. This "stone-thrower" in one cycle of legends is a "thrice-giant": made all of brass or bronze: Yet he is the watchful guardian of all Crete, but was known as Phaisto-teukton "made in Phaistos". This suggests a colossus like that of Rhodes. Hesychius says there was such a figure of the Sungod. The giant went around all Crete thrice a year, guarding against its enemies. This has suggested a "circuit-judge" with laws in bronze tablets. That Greeks told that he was made of brass, not iron, points to an ancient time. But this apparently invincible giant had a vulnerable spot on his ankle: some make it a "blood-blister", by draining which he was killed. The dialectic forms Kalôs (Kalôt-s), Kalet, which Berber would harden to Qalôt or Galût, Galît, etc. are to be remembered. Mohammed never heard such a word as "Goliath". He heard Galût, which Arabs transmit as Jalût. The LXX heard Gôlyt. Argos had a Khelyt. Is the story in I Sam 17: a reworking of the Phaistos-Philistine traditions? Equipping Goliath with brass when "coast-landers" generally had iron, Jud. 1:19, is curious. Goliath's one vulnerable point, Mitzkhô in 17:49 is curiously close to the Mitzkhah on his legs, 17:6.

Consider also the Philistine highland-station of Ke'ilah (Qe'ilat), slurred in the El-Amarna Letters into Kilta, Kilti: in league with Gezer and Gath and Beth-Shemesh, the Sun-cult tyrannised. Josephus slurs the guttural into Killa: the people are Killanaï or Killitai. Qe'ilat may be another dialectic form for the sun-god sanctuary, reported by the Greeks as Talet or Kalet. With our present knowledge of the Semitic habit of modifying foreign names till they seem to be Semitic, we cannot be more decisive at present.

U. The Anak-Folk in the Old Testament.

Since in the Minoan system every executive outpost or trade-post had to have an Anak at least, it is certain that the Minoa in Q 17-18-19-20 had many Anak-posts in Palestine, since each Minoa was a judicial center: a "court of appeal" for a certain district. The long persistent Minoa at Gaza had Anak-reasons for its persistence. So when the late compiler of Joshua tells that Anak-officials were driven from hillposts in Judah and Israel till there were none remaining except at Gaza, Gath and Ashdod, (Josh. 11:21f) we are compelled to believe that these were Minoan Anakim. Then the AV of Jer. 47:5 is befogged by a defective Hebrew text. The LXX has, "Askelon is swept away, and the remnants of the Enakim". This passage is probably from the time when Psamtik I battled with the Scythians who were destroying Philistia, 640-612 B.C. Some 650 years after the Joshua raids, some Anakim are still on the Philistine coast. The New American Translation reads

"For the Lord is about to spoil the Philistines
The remnant of the Coast-land of Caphtor
Baldness has come upon Gaza
Ruined is Askelon
How long must you gash yourselves,
O remnant of the Anakim?"

Thus the Anakim who were driven from the hill country by gradual strengthening of Israelite hold upon the country are specifically identified with the remnant of Caphtor: Minoan Crete. There is no OT evidence for any other Anakim. There is the contemporary evidence (or later?) of Deut. 9:2 "the Anakim people, whom you yourselves know". Judah in that Josiah-time was still quite familiar with them.

These same compilers have confused a passage in 2:10f, and 20:23, connecting the Caphtorim with the coastland down to Gaza, as above Jeremiah passage does, and leaving the reader wondering what connection there is with the Anakim. The whole story is obscured by the omission of "and" in v 23. The LXX reads "The Evai dwelling in Asedoth (Ashdod?) to Gaza and the Caphtorim, "etc." making these combined peoples the destroyers of verse 30: making verse 23 epexegetical of verse 21. The earlier people are compared to the Anakim. The compilers know that Caphtorim-Anakim raids had destroyed a rival trading-people whose stations reached down through the Moab-Ammon Country. And other LXX passages support that. A raid on the same people is recorded in Gen. 14:5; but their destruction is here credited to the Caphtorim, who insure that Red Sea trade shall come to Gaza rather than to northern coast-ports.

T-a. Beth-Horon; The Falcon Sun-God; Hûrûn-em-Heb.--Supplemental August 1936

Since the battle through the Beth-Horon Pass was sketched upon page 110, a surprising light has been thrown upon the whole history. In the Revue Biblique for April 1935, Pierre Montet and P. Bucher consider the god-name Hûrûn found on the recently discovered work of Rameses II at Tanis (see Egyptian Section 174), in the royal titles, "The good god, User-Maat-Ra, Sotep-en-Ra"; and twice "Son of the Sun, Meri-Amon, Ra-Mes-Su, Meri-n-Hu-r-n"; and "King of the North, Meri-Amun, Ra-Mes-Su".

Now this sun-falcon at Tell el-Maskhuta is the well-known Harakhtê, or peregrine falcon; the Horus-falcon (Perknoptron) is almost forgotten. Harakhtê has been made one of the divine air-council that watches the quarrel of Horus and Set-h (Sutekh) for the place of Osiris. As a partisan of Set-h, Harakhtê takes him to the sky when he is expelled from Egypt, and entrusts him with the thunderbolt (Gardiner, Chester Beatty Papyrus No. 1; London, 1931). Thus Harakhtê appears in the double character of Sun-god and Storm-god. The designation of "Set-h of Ramses" is an abbreviation of "Set-h of Pr-Ramses (House of Rameses), making him definitely a powerful local god. Other gods introduced locally by Rameses II have the same abbreviated qualification.

The earliest known appearance of this Hûrûn-falcon-god is in the name of Pharaoh Hor-em-heb (Egyptian Section 164), as popularly known at present. Nearly all of the contemporary monuments of his reign have the falcon followed by the letter n. It is so written in 2 cases published by Budge in his Book of Kings (1908). Champollion correctly read it Horon-em-heb in the beginning. Other Egyptologists, puzzled by the n, and not recognizing a new god, have been omitting it; for the syllabic writing of foreign names did not begin till the close of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Under the Eighteenth, HR+N = Hûrûn. Montet and Bucher regard this as incontestible. Particularly interesting is the case of the Hittite princess married by Rameses II. She receives the Egyptian title, Mat-Nefru-Ra: "Beholding the beauties of Ra;" But the sun-god circle (Ra) is followed by the peregrine falcon, instead of the perknoptryx-falcon of Horus. So Ra himself is identified with the Hûrûn-falcon in this case.

Montet and Bucher then give four pages of citations of the use of the name Hûrûn in the Egyptian inscriptions to which the special scholar may refer. Considering next whether Hûrûn can be meant for "Hurrian", they observe that Seti, "Devotee of Set-h" (in Seti I, Seti II, etc.) a derivative from Set-h, can only be a personal or individual title, never an ethnic one. So Hûrûnî, an equivalent of Seti is also individual. With the equivalence stated, it is clear that Seti I, a great successor of Hûrûn-em-heb, would be thought of as Hûrûnî by those who clung to the Hûrûn-cult. As for the persistence of the name Hûrûn, Loret has found that modern Arabs still call the peregrine falcon Hûrûn. So in Nehemiah 2:10, 19; 13:28, "Sanballat the Hûrûnî" is a "worshipper of Hûrûn".

This Arab fact takes us at once to Moab. In Isa. 15:5; Jer. 48:5, 5, 34, Horonaim, or "two Hûrûns?" is an outstanding fortress or Sanctuary. Are "two sun-falcon" images in mind? Kamûsh (Chemosh) is the personal name of the Moabite Sun-god, portrayed as a winged solar disk above a stele in some surviving graphs. Montet and Bucher see that the O.T. Horon is the Egyptian Hûrûn, and suggest that "the Horites (Hurrians) had a falcon god whose name is related to the Semitic name of the falcon, as well as to their own name (Are "Hurrians" inevitable? Have we accidental resemblances?) This god left traces in Canaan, but we would not suspect his existence had not Egyptians toward the end of the Eighteenth dynasty adopted him, and had not Rameses II set up a magnificent statue to him, which may be seen now in the Museum at Cairo." Henri Seyrig approving the discovery, adds "It is not exact to say that his existence would not have been suspected without the Egyptian monuments. For it is probably Hûrûn that an inscription from Delos calls Haurônas. This dedication, made in a sanctuary of Cynthos by a native of the little Palestinian village of Iamneia (Jamnia, Jabneh; 5 miles west of Ekron) should be about the second century B.C. It shows that Heraklê and Hûrûn were considered national gods of Jamnia". (The dedication reads, "To Heraklê and to Haurônas, the gods protecting Iamneia" - (From Plassart, Sanctuaires et Cultes de Mt. Cynthe).

But there still survives the tradition of this Hûrûn cult at Iamnia-Jabneh. The Chester Beatty papyrus acknowledges that the peregrine is identified with Set-h; hence either name should have been familiar at Iamnia in those days. But Set-h or Sutekh has persisted in Arab tradition as Neby Sît in more than one place. Conder reports Neby Sît as one sanctuary by the modern Jabneh (TWP.2:173). That should be the site of the ancient Hûrûn temple. That the Arabs have preserved the Egyptian name instead of Hûrûn

is good evidence that they had no Hurûn cult.

So Jammia of the Philistines, suburb of the Ekron of whose Sun-god Ahaziah went to inquire (2K.1:2ff) had two Sun-gods: one named to suit the Greek taste; one named to please some falcon-cult people. Horonaim in Moab in Ahaziah's time had two Sun-gods: one a Hûrûn, the other Kamûš. A thousand years before the Jammia dedication Tanis had Ra, Set-h and Hûrûn. And this devout Jammian goes on a pilgrimage (?) to Delos, that once had the most impressive of all Minoan Sun-liturgies. The Greek Apollôn had to be turned into a Sun-god to win him a place in this liturgy (Q-2a). Heraklêos was not the Delian Sun-god. Was the name Hûrûn used there by any people?

So the Beth-Horon of Joshua 10 is really Bit-Hûrûn, "Place of the Peregrine Falcon" or "Temple of the Falcon-Sun-god". The name suggests that the crags in that cliff-bound three-mile gorge were a favorite nesting place of peregrine falcons. But the Egyptian fusion at Tanis has put Hûrûn in the double rôle of Sun-god and Storm-god, and the pass is now to be viewed as a "sacred road" of the Philistines. The American Standard version puts "hailstones" in Joshua 10:11; so that the "Amorî" foemen are routed in the pass of the Sun-Falcon by a tremendous hailstorm which is very selective in its activity. No injury to any Israelite is acknowledged. That the double function of Sun-god and Storm-god appears in the Minoan Talôs-legends and in the Egyptian Hûrûn-Apologia, and in the "Battle of the House of Hurûn" in Joshua will not be dismissed by the thoughtful as curious coincidences. The older Minoan cultus-myth must have molded the other two. And we can recognize the agency. Minoan influence had come with "Sea peoples" into the Delta in varying intensity through three thousand years before Rameses II. As for the "House of Hûrûn", or "Temple of Hurûn", Joshua did not destroy it. On the contrary, it is claimed that he put Levites in charge of it (Josh.21:22, 1 Chron.6:68). That means that this sanctuary had a prestige that he wanted to take over. But no "Levites" could dwell in the atmosphere of that Hûrûn-sanctuary without accepting much of its marvellore, which they would popularize by crediting the marvels to Yahu. The rebuilding of the "House of Hûrûn" by Solomon (1K.9:17; 2 Chron.8:5) means even more distinction than he gave to Gibeon by consulting the oracle of the Hûrrian Yahu there. (1K.3:4ff). An earlier builder is remembered in 1 Chron. 7:24. It is significant that the "House of Hûrûn" retains distinction as an ancient sanctuary in 2 Chron.8:5, though the Chroniclers do not like "Sanballat the Hûrûnî."

But seeing that an ancient Hûrûn sanctuary was actually accepted by Israel as prudent politics, we may pari passu recognize that was what happened in Rameses II's time. He did not introduce the Hûrûn cult: the name of his predecessor Hûrûn-em-heb proves that Rameses II recognized that the cult had become so powerful that it was best to have its adherents as staunch political and commercial allies: so he accorded them official recognition.

Then Num. 13:33 introduces a known Anak-post. "There we saw Hannepil-(im)". That the spies were not reporting a Hebrew enemy with a Hebrew name—that some Non-Semitic foeman was here indicated by an ethnic term, did not occur to the LXX translators: they guessed "Giants". But a peninsular headland fortress guarding the entrance to the port of Argos was built by some strange pre-Hellenic people. Tradition asserts that Egyptians brought them there. That would mean the seafaring Predynastic Ta-hennu dynasty—the same "Minoan" Berbers who helped mould Knossos. The name puzzled the Greeks. They have made it both singular and plural: feminine and neuter: Hēnauplia, Tō nauplion. Ta Anaplia. The name "Nauplia" persists to-day, after thousands of years. As a Minoan Anak-post, it guarded the educating of Mycenae! The "Anax of the popular assembly" at Argos is prominent in pre-Hellenic legend. When the Mycenaean pupil supplanted Minoan Knossos in Egyptian favor, Mycenae sent its own Anak officials from Ugarit. Mycenaean tombs and gateways have actually been found at Gezer, on the Philistine border. The fall of the Ugarit colony would mean the expulsion of Anak "consuls" from inland towns in Palestine. It happens that the disappearance of the Mycenaean from Palestine is contemporaneous with the Ephraimite invasion (Egyptian section). Anak officials from the Argolid peninsula of Hēnapil or Anapli, if at Gezer, were certainly at other hillforts. And Josh. 11:21 acknowledges Anakim at Hebron, Debir, Anab, their adjacent villages, and hill-towns of both Judah and Israel. There were certainly some Mycenaean Anak officials from Hēnapil, Anapli, among those seen in Num 13:33.

In Josh. 13:19 the Reuben-border in Northern Moab, in the Alexandrine Codex of the LXX, reads "Sebema and Sarada and Sion in the mount of Enak". That makes the Enak mount the high ridge running west from Beth-baal-meon to the Dead Sea. Compare Q:22. Did not the Anak reside at this Meon? Then in Josh 15:3 and Num. 34:4 we are told the south border of Judah. It touches the Arabah south of the "Scorpion Ascent" (Akrabbim) from the Dead Sea. This summit is about 18 miles south of the Sea. From this "Judah-base" on the Arabah the line runs west along Ennak. There seems systematic tampering with the text again: the LXX seeing an Enak-post where the trade-road from Beersheba through Kurnub reaches the Arabah, avoiding the Akrabbim climb from the Dead Sea level: the far later M T excluding Anak. Compare with the evidence for a Minoan-post at Kerak, in Q 22, and the above evidence from Deut. 2:23, that Caphtorim had once destroyed a line of Moab-Ammon trade-posts and occupied the country with Anak-posts.

Then the occurrence of the name Washasha at this point is a singular coincidence. The Washasha were one of the invading sea-peoples in the time of Rameses III. Now the carriage road from Kurnub forks, at 400 feet above sea level (1700 above the Dead Sea). This point is about five miles west of the bottom of the Arabah, which is 1250 feet below the fork at that point. One fork descends Southeast and crosses the Arabah at a point 450 feet higher, thence east-and north to Kerak. The other fork runs south across a broad depression, 200 to 400 feet below sea-level, continuing south on the highland border of the Arabah. The fork on the ridge is a commercially strategic point. Now the depression into which the South fork descends has two "Washasha" Wadys, on the official map of the Egyptian Government. Were Washasha under an Anak ever stationed at this strategic point?

Then the LXX reading of Jer. 49:4 offers another parallel to the Minoa at Beth-meon: "Why dost thou glory in the plateaus of Enakeim, O carefree daughter, trusting in your treasure- (cities), saying, Who can come against me?" Being grouped with Heshbon in the preceding verse, are the treasure-forts on "plateaus of the Enakeim" those of the above Enak-ridge from Beth-Meon toward the Sea? For the ruins of the mighty city show 4 great hillcrests: the central one connected with the others by broad cause-ways (Tristram, 316). The arabized name Ma'ia is attached to more than one ridge-crest on Palmer's map. There is a curious maintained consistency in the LXX-Enak point of view. They certainly believed Minoan activities once touched that Trans-Jordan trade-route. And Alexandrian Jewish scholars who knew the famous Meino- Marina shrine at Gaza in 18, surely knew there was a Marna-shrine at Kerak also.

It must be remembered that the LXX everywhere has Enak, instead of our AV Anak. The translators took their cue primarily from the large Pagan Berber-Tuareg population of Alexandria, Inek is still a current form of the title. They may have had some knowledge of the Egyptian form Iʒenek, found in old inscriptions as early as 2,000 B.C. But that is much less probable. The fact that with an immense body of the noblest Berbers Judaized there were certainly some good Berber scholars among the LXX translators has never been given proper consideration (see Heinrich Loewe, Die Sprache der Juden).

The way the word Anak, Anâq is treated in the present Hebrew text shows a jumble by Babylonian compilers who did not know what the word was. In Josh 15:13, "father of the Anaq". In 21:11 "father of the Anaq" (or Anôq?). In Num. 13:33, "Sons of Anaq". In Josh 15:14, and Jud. 1:20, "Sons of the Anaq". In Num. 13:22,28; Josh. 15:14, "born of the Anaq". In no case is the article "the" used with a plural form of Anaq, so as to express a race, people, stock, tribe. Some mysterious personality is before the compilers. So when in parallel parts of the same passages we find the plural form of Anaq with out the article, we have the same "personality"--only, we have several of them as in Josh 11:21f; 14:12,15; Dt. 2:10,11,21. And in Dt. 1:28; 9:2 we have "sons of Anaqim": a familiar idiom for a "class"- like "the sons of the prophets"- There is no hint of a race in this treatment in the OT. In some passages there are only three of them; which again points to an official class: Num. 13:33; Josh. 15:14; Judges 1:10,20.

Interesting again is the fact the LXX translators are certain of powerful garri-sons. In Judg. 1:20, "three cities of the Enak-class". In Josh. 14:12, "The Enakim there are great fortified cities". In 14:15 "the city Argob, Metropolis of the Anakim". In Josh 15:13, 21:11 "the city Arbok, metropolis of the Enak". This insistence that the word in the Hebrew text is not arba "four" cannot be ignored. Alexandrian Jewish scholars, familiar with the Berber title Inek current among their Berber acquaintance, could hardly remain ignorant of the fact that said Berbers considered "Arbok" the Minoan pioneer at Hebron, as suggested in Q 20. And the probability that the three personal names Ahiman, Sheshai and Tahmai, of Judg. 1:10, Josh. 15:14 are those of the Minoan executives at Hebron, Debir and Anab will be remembered; see Josh 11:21. (Were Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre in Gen. 14 like executives?).

The question arises, why does not the term Anak appear as that of some Philistine official, in the days of the Israelite Monarchy? The answer involves three facts. (1) Anak does not describe the duties of the official, but his relation to the Minoan administration. (2) His actual administrative functions may be before us in a familiar term. (3) The name "Achish" in the David Stories probably gives the equivalent of an adoptive Anak. (4) This "Achish" introduces his Semitic title "Abi-Melech" in the title of Ps. 34.

Is not "Abimelech", "My father is king" of this land, simply a Semitic statement of the fact that the father of the local Anak was the supreme authority? Then we must recognize that the two Abimelechs of Gerar, Gen. 20,21,26, were Anakim also. The Gerar Anak's authority at that time reached as far as Beersheba, at least. The student should know that a traveller in the Orient finds a native name or title a necessity. Thus Barth, agent of the British Government, travelled as "Abdel-Kerim Barth". Burlingame, sent as Minister to Japan, was asked by the meticulous Japanese officials his exact titles, rank, nobility, etc. He replied. "Next to the President!" There was really no other way to answer! That was a near as he could come to being "Son of the President!"

That "Achish" is an official title has long been familiar to scholars. Since the LXX regularly transliterates it Angkhous, its identity with Anchis-és of the Aeneid is recognized. Now the Cretan had a port in the Troad (Burn, 89,109,162). But how is Anchises-Achish connected with Crete? We face again the Berber official title of an "adopted child" of the administration: The Ang-as or Ankas of the modern Tuareg in section N. Achish was not an Anak, but an Angkhis or Angkhus, adopted by the "suckling" ceremony for his administrative ability. As such he would announce "my (adoptive) father is the king!" (Abi-melek). Anchises then would appear to have been such a functionary. The legend of his favor with the Minoan Chief cultus-priestess the Greeks have changed into "venereal" relations with the Roman "Venus".

Now as to the exact official activity of the Anak or Angkhis, it must be expressed by the term tseran: "lord" in our AV. The Greeks transliterate it by tyrannos. (See Minoan section 76-a). But Strabo in Josephus time tells us that Cilicia and Pisidia had the same form of political organization, being cut up into little districts called "tyrannids", (12-7-3). As Greek legend connects the Cretans and the term anax with the whole south coast, the terms tyrannos and tyrannid may be due to the same influence.

7. Some Reflections Upon the Minoan Republic.

1. If we call the Minoan organization a republic, its central figure has something of a pope about him: nothing of a Caesar. Again, it is a republic of aristocrats or aristocratic tribes, or castes. There were inferior tribes who theoretically had no voice in international matters. The OT shows us the Philistine heads of city states, conferring upon matters of public policy, like a Tuareg council does. If we call it a republic because elective in the main features, it is yet a republic under arms. Strabo tells us that in his day, 1400 years? after the crash of Knóssos, Cretan youth were under rigid military discipline of the kind we call "Spartan"; yet the Spartans called their own institutions "Cretan". Yet this militarism did not contemplate imperialism—it seemed only to protect trade, or trade-posts. No religious propagandism is hinted at in any of the Minoan legends.

2. The elective system, with the Mínô placing his near kin in the important administration posts meant that the religious headship would be sought by powerful families; or clans. The affairs of Carthage were managed by powerful rival families or tribes, for an immense majority of the population there were Berbers. There was an industrial population of many millions. Roman Tunisia claimed 20,000,000 of people. Not one per cent was Roman. The general social organization was that of the Tuaregs or other Berber peoples. But for the Ameno' headship Tyre substituted her Shophetim; Rome her own officials. Suffétula, a "Shofet-town", is now "Sbeitla". Coördinated political activity for the Berber was gone.

3. Under the appointed-Anak system, any Anak who had the requisite training for the Mínô-ship might some day be elected to the position. So in the tangle of legends, Astérios is a "king" of Crete who adopted (a) Minos. In another, Astérios himself was the son of an Anak of Miletos. Both statements may be true. (But there is more than one Miletos!). But on the other hand, could men who had spent nine years in training for the high-priesthood be the most efficient civil, military or commercial administrators?

4. The system made promotion to a more prominent post a common-place. So tradition has the same name connected with 3 or 4 places. How many changes any Mínô might make in his own term of office we can only guess. But the system was an official "spoils-system". Get rid of A, and elect B, who has ten times as many office-hungry kin! But that might involve sweeping changes of policy, as in European and American politics.

5. The system inevitably involved distinctions of rank or importance in colonial posts, and distinctions of rank or precedence in the occupants of those posts. Diodorus Siculus tells that Archê-anax, or "Chief Anax" was a royal title in the Kimmerian Bosphorus, and the dynasty collectively were called "Archêanaktidai". There had once been a "Chief anax" in the Crimea, with subordinates along the coasts. With the passing of the Minoan officials, local chieftains seized and cherished the ancient titles. Note in this connection that Minoan rhytons have been found on the coast, and that Josephus has the Tarshish ship dump Jonah in this Black Sea. Archêanassa was a hetaira of Plato, from Kolophon, north of Ephesus. Archai-anax Strabo reports in Mitylene: also Archêanax. And Archianassa is on a lady's tomb at Athens. Agêanax, "directive-anax"; Hêgêsianax, or "conductor-anax" are similar forms. With many little "consular" appointees along a given coast, administrative grouping was a necessity. We have noticed the Odyssey passage (7:325ff) which makes one Rhadamanthus tour from his Cyclades post through Phaiakia, up to Euboea, "the last of (his?) lands"-- So Sargon of Akkad, about 2700 B.C. who reached the Mediterranean near Sardis? speaks of "Anaku, and Kaftara beyond the upper sea." Probably he found only one Anak-district on that Sardinian coast.

6. "Keftyu" of the Egyptian inscriptions, G.A. Wainright and others locate in Asia Minor. The fact that the south and west coast of Asia Minor were dotted with Minoan Anak-posts is sufficiently explanatory. Wainright and Co. have done well to recognize the presence of Minoan elements. But that is far from proving that Asia Minor was the original "Caphtor". And there is no recognition of the ultimate connection with Red Berber North Africa.

7. The persistence of Minoan posts into historic times, when Greece and Rome had ended the political-naval supremacy of the central authority in Crete means that the

many colonial posts had found their interests furthered by remaining part of the great organization. Through their Anak and Angas or Angkhis representatives they could always be heard in the central councils. The mass of Greek traditions about Minoan do not report anything like a "secession" from the Minoan organization. The correlate of this was the ability of the organization to concentrate its forces in case of strategic necessity. So when Egypt reports herself assailed by forces from Sicily, Albania? Caria, Lycia, Cilicia, Tarsis, where Minoan colonies had been for centuries, the fact of a sudden coalition of non-Minoan peoples against Egypt seems impossible. That the Minoans ordered contingents from their colonies in these lands to join in the war against Egypt seems the only plausible explanation.

Again, this trade-system could cohere only by assuring each colonial post the best possible market for its wares. It was shown in section 0 that Cyprus in Greek historic times was stamped with the terminology and method of Minoan organization. But that means Minoan colonies there for centuries, for the purpose of exporting Cypriote wares. Archaeology is directly affected. To find much Cypriote ware in a given stratum in Palestine does not prove Cypriote occupation. It may mean that the Minoan organization is making special effort to push those wares, or catering to a change in taste. Thus Arabs of northern Sinai to-day say the land was once settled by the "people of Kopros" (Cyprus). But it is clear from the OT that the Minoan-Cretan-power controlled the region through many centuries.

8. The centralized supervision of all colonial trade certainly carried with it a central commercial clearing house, to which all colonial commodities might be brought and exchanged to the best advantage. Tyre was such a place in the days of Ezekiel 27. A point on the Somali coast of the Gulf of Aden is such for traders from India, South Arabia, Red Sea, and interior of Africa, with a population of perhaps 20,000 for one month in the year. Sinope on the south coast of Black Sea; the Crimea-ports on the northern coast, were similar central exchange-points. For its Asia Minor trade, Knossos evidently made its colony in Rhodes the central exchange point. Egypt, for illustration, had no direct trade with Mycenae till after (?) the crash of Knossos. In contrast, 15 times as many Egyptian objects have been found in Rhodes alone as in all Crete and the Aegean area combined. That does not mean Rhodian dominance; it means that Rhodes was an accepted exchange-point. Knossos probably reserved the principal carrying-business. Allowing only Knossian ships in its ports would keep at a distance foreign merchant-men that might carry dangerous armed forces. From Egypt we know that Western Delta ship-signs disappear from the Nile with the close of the predynastic period, but continue to be found in the Cyclades. These Berber Delta merchants had a common interest with Knossos. Reserving the carrying trade to herself would also check a too rapid ingress of European elements.

But the unparalleled abundance of Egyptian artistica is not the only proof that Rhodes was a central exchange-point. The Pauly-Wissowa article on Rhodes (Sup. Vol. V. 1931) fills 114 columns. Out of the mass we can only say that the wealth of Cretan and Mycenaean artistica is beyond measure. Excavations have touched only a few points. The Greeks admit a pre-Greek period, with many strange names surviving. There are many traditions of Cretan activity. There was a cult of the Sun, as Helios, or Apollo, or Herakles, everywhere; a pre-Hellenic personal name of the sun-god is not given. The Sun-priest or oracle was chosen yearly by lot from many candidates. The small north-western district, Kamiris, was long dominated by Crete. Its promontory port of Krêtênis was founded by an "only son of a (Minoan) king of Crete", as presented in section T. The fact that in Greek times the cult of the Minoan universal Sun-god proved to be more deeply rooted in Rhodes than anywhere else was presented in section S.

9. No extant Greek traditions concerning the Minoan period show active propaganda in the interest of some particular cult. Yet as important commercial contracts required witnesses, oaths, and recording authorities, there had to be some acceptable common Numina. The preëminent Minoan divinities were the Sun and the Noble Dead. And those are acceptable authorities among all peoples. An appeal to the "Denominational Fathers" in any American sect can arouse as intelligent a fervor as in any pagan people, ancient or modern. And the Sun is not a local god, or "race-god". In the Section upon the Tuareg, it was noticed that the Greeks had a "jungle" of explanations about how "Apollo" got into Cyrene: a bit of conceited racial stupidity! In Q-19 and 20, a mighty Sun-cult temporarily dominated the Beth-Shemesh area: but the Mighty Dead of the great tomb-cave at Hebron have made its lasting prestige. Beth-Shemesh is gone but Hebron remains: the Dead outlast the Sun! But no fixed immutable liturgy appears in

Greek Minoan legends. The Greeks unhesitatingly insert their own "Zeus" unintelligently at every point where a "supreme" Minoan divinity seems involved, but have left us not a single peral name of ancient Berber divinities.

10. Yet the Minoan regime did not accept all peoples into the most intimate political-social relations without reference to its own persistent cultus-standards. There was some esoteric element in the "Suckling-adoption" of a noble foreigner in Section N and the Tuareg section. The approval by the prophetess "Mother" (Berber Lalla, Lilla) and presentation in the temple of the phratia (Gortyna) suggests that. One had to come inside the Minoan community and become a fully accredited "Son" to share all its political-social privileges. But it loosely federated tribes of different peoples and cults for political or commercial expediency, without such adoption. So English and French could muster American Indian tribes-and fail to keep them long. The different "tribes" in a Cyrene city or state, or in Alexandria, illustrate the point. Such associated peoples were really Imrhad tribes. There is no record that any one of such a tribe--any Judaized Berber, for illustration, was conceded equality with the aristocrat Sun-cult Berbers (cf. "Jupiter" Ammon) in Minoan councils. One had to belong to the Minoan "church" in order to have a "vote". But the like was true in some of the early American colonies, because English men had not learned any better. The OT shows us people who thought only devout Yahwists should have any voice in affairs of the Israelite state. We are not so sure now of the wisdom of Deut. 13. Rome had more than 500 years of contact with and observation of Minoan colonial posts before she embarked upon the experiment of extending citizenship to foreigners. And if asked why Gallio at Corinth, in a region where Minoan posts were once influential, was not allowed to let cultus-questions enter into matters of Roman citizenship, Rome might have replied in the language of the fox in Aesops fable, "I was taught by the ass that lies dead yonder." Rome could use Paul as a Roman citizen: it is doubtful if any Minoa-post could have accorded him full citizenship.

11. No active cultus-propagandism is charged in any of the legends of Minoan activity. No persisting cultus-institutions are credited to the vanished organization. But it left a name, a memory, a tradition of honest dealing with all peoples which proves that no little influence radiated from the Minoan "Sun & Noble Past" cult into other cults. Not the least was the fact that it appeared as a cult without images. Celsus in his attack upon Jews and Christians reminds them that the nomad Berbers anticipated Israel in never using images: and Origen, who was necessarily in intimate contact with Berbers, admits the fact (ANF 4:636). This radiant influence was a most valuable fact (ANF 4:636). And the assertion is supported by the fact that Minoan archaeologica, wherever discovered, are not characterized by the grotesque sphinx-and-Cherub combinations of the human figure with lower animals, characteristic of Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia. It is observed in Egyptian Section 29 that the Berber and the Nilotic Egyptian would never fuse. Repudiation of such imagery may have been one reason for the Minoan retention of political authority within a special official cultus-circle. "Idolatry" seems excluded. No tales of iconoclasm amongst their foreign neighbors come to us in any of the legends of the Minoan regime. But a mere radiant influence on this point, taken with the Minoan reputation for fidelity to some fundamental ethical obligations, was a most valuable propagandism. There is no doubt now that Minoan influence was very strong in south Palestine in OT times, and in intimate contact with cultus at Jerusalem, Hebron, etc. No people was more feared by some people in Judah than the Philistines. There was probably no people from whom Judaism learned more. And when Psamtik I, the greatest Berber King of the Saïte Dynasty (Section 217f) consolidated his position with troops from the Minoan-Carian Miletus, he found that the orthodox Nilotic Hamite-Egyptians despised them and would not eat with them nor wed with them (cf. Gen. 43:32). So Amasis II removed them from Memphis to a point on his Berber frontier, where the Berber merchants would be their intimates: and there sprang up the great Naucratis on the Canopic mouth of the Nile. Two great temples to the "sungod" sprang up, with a sedulous imitation of Egyptian art. (See PFE) But no artist dared portray "Apollo" with the head of the Horus-hawk, or of the Ammon-ram. Donations came from old Minoan stations: Rhodes, Samos, Aegina, Chios, Clazomenae (cf. Q. 2), Cyrene; in these the Minoan tradition survived several centuries longer. No "Horus-Apollo" would have been welcome to them. The Greek invaders of these ancient colonies had found no such Minoan "bequests".

12. Another striking feature of Minoan art is its steadfast devotion to the activities of peace. There is no parade of disciplined troops: no pictures of battle or storming of cities or files of captives or torture of prisoners. What Assyrian or

Egypt or Anatolia or Persepolis delight to parade the Minoan does not show. The latest Pauly-Wissowa (1933) emphasizes the striking contrast with the neighboring Mycenaean art, arising about 1550 B.C., which delights in scenes of war and the chase. The Minoans could gather contingents from many points in the Mediterranean to plant a colony in Egypt or Palestine. But we lack all evidence of any disposition to parade such achievements. Nor do the Minoan legends tell of ruthless conquests or brutal reprisals. Suppressed piracies have left some voice of protest, but the dominant remembrance is of the justice of Minoans to all. We are left wondering if this attitude of Minoan art was a product of their cultus. The readiness to adopt a brave stranger, even a brave enemy, suggests that it was.

13. Did the Minoan culture influence Philosophic thinking? Thales of the Minoan Miletus was "barbarian", believed to be a "Red man" (Phoinix): and he consorted with the (Saite) Egyptians in his studies, says Clement of Alexandria (ANF 2:314-b, 315a). But he founded the Ionic school. Xenophanes of the Minoan Kolophon was the founder of the Eleatics. Pythagoras, a non-Greek of Minoan Samos also studied in Saite Egypt. Then there was Anaximander of Miletus: Anaximenes of Miletus, and Anaxagoras of Klazomenae-names suggestive of Minoan ancestry. Clement reminds us that Xenophanes of Kolophon taught Parmenides, and the latter taught the "half-breed" Zeno of Kition in Cyprus, founder of the Stoics. Then Anaxagoras particularly distinguished himself by denying that the Sun and Moon were divine powers; they were mere material objects whose movements should be scientifically observed: an intolerable heresy (Farnell 5:418). It is said to have nearly cost him his life at Athens. In all this then there is no direct evidence. But that non-Greeks from Minoan ports of Asia Minor--not from the interior--should be pioneers in Greek philosophy is suggestive.

14. The Minoan organization certainly seemed imperialistic to local peoples who knew only the fortified posts in their own territory, excluding them from equal citizenship. Compare modern Oriental treaty ports: Shanghai, Hong-kong, etc. Only attendance at the Knossos councils would have shown them the elective aristocracy. Aspirations of natives to become the local-Anak or Angkhis were natural: but success might mean a local line of hereditary Anaks, proud of retaining an ancient honor, but with no conception of the far-reaching "imperial" organization. And without an intimate knowledge of the inner Knossian Cultus, would they have any "faith" to propagate?

15. Again, the system of adoption by noble women continually drew into the esoteric aristocracy much of the best among local peoples. The Red Berber did not apotheosize race prejudices! But this could produce as in the case of Cyrene, a great "tribe" who had strong local attachments, and who might in time take the leadership from the adopting aristocrats. And a single man of a powerful propagandist faith, if adopted by the "prophetess-queen" might utilize the opportunity to overthrow her whole organization. Such was the fate of the great Lalla Damia: (Arabic, El-Kahena)-

16. But this peculiar system of adopting anyone from a foreign tribe, or from any Cretan tribe outside of the adopters hetaireia is still in full force at Cretan Gortyna in the 5th century B.C. (see its law-code: Buck, p. 274). The announcement, to be valid, must be in the popular assembly, from the stone from which proclamations are made (the megalith where the local ancestor lies?) The one adopted must be formally presented to the citizens own hetareia, and to its temple. (The inference is that the cultus-authority-"adopting-priestess?" may forbid the procedure). If the adoption is completed, and the adopter has no children of his own, the new tribesman shall perform all religious and social obligations of the citizen who adopted him.- There is provision for repudiation of the adoption later, but the approval of the same public authority (Cultus-authority?) is necessary. That would also mean that the adopted son is now an alien, under the care of the "consul for foreigners". It is possible that diplomatic complications with a powerful foreign people might result: the adoption in the first place may have been for diplomatic reasons rather than from personal affection. A girl who had attained maturity could not be adopted.

It should be recognized that such adoption was often for political ends; that the Minoan organization might have a powerful "Suckling" ally at some strategic point. On the other hand, a Minoan colonial Anak, knowing that his own authority was appointive only, or at best would pass to his eldest sister's son, might adopt a local "son" who in the local point of view would inherit his adoptive father's title and found a local line of "Anakes or "Anaktes", whose titles might be purely honorary, as in paragraph 5, above, and section R.

V. Paragraph 13a. Additional Data on Minoan Influence in Philosophy.

Clement of Alexandria reminds the heathen that Euhemerus of Agrigentum, Nicanor of Cyprus, Hippo of Melos, Diagoras of Melos, and Theodore of Cyrene were assailed by the rabble as atheists because they opposed the popular worship of their place and time. (ANF ii, 177-b). His list of such is considerable, and includes chiefly old Minoan centers. Since it has been shown that a long list of known Minoan Cultus- centers existed down to apostolic times, the persistence of such cultus at still other points at much earlier dates will hardly be questioned. But Clement does not seem to know that the Berber-Minoan sun-cult was regularly linked with the apotheosis of each Mino' or hiero-phanth.

Euhemerus has no extant biography: his exact time is not known. But the term "Euhemerism" has been coined from his name, because of his widely known assertion that all the gods whose cult he opposed were only deified men. But Agrigentum (Greek Akra-gant-) has been noticed as a well-known late Minoan colony in Sicily. The cult of its apotheosized cultus-officials was all about him. Modern meticulous critics of Euhemerus do not seem aware of this. Euhemerus appears however not only as a Minoan philosopher, but also as a religious reformer: or at least a "protestant".

Empedocles of Agrigentum is another credited by Clement with repudiating the worshipping of all images: yet he is surely to be counted an atheist because he taught that fire, air, earth, water, agreement and disagreement were gods! (ANF ii-190-a). Empedocles' activity was six centuries before Clement's time, and he is said to have been of an old and wealthy family at Agrigentum: suggesting one of the pioneer Minoan colonist families.

Of Nicanor of Cyprus no biography is available. But the fact of Minoan elements and terminology in its official organization was shown at the bottom of page 97. Nor is any date or sketch available for Hippo of Melos in the Cyclades. An old Minoan post, it eventually became Dorian politically about 1100 B.C. Diagoras survives as its most brilliant religious philosopher: accorded 2½ pp. in Smith's DGRB as a very remarkable man, in open conflict with the "Ionic" gods, or Pelasgian use of images. It is commonly overlooked by modern readers that the ancient Berber sun-cult steadily repudiated the use of images (p. 116, par. 11). All these registered protests from ancient Minoan-Berber colonies are a natural reminiscence of one phase of their missionary work.

Then Theodore of Cyrene of the age of Pericles is credited with being a teacher of Plato, who went from him to the Berber priesthood of the Western Delta, in Saïte Egypt. As Cyrene was one of the ancient strongholds of the Berber sun-cult (pp. 75-76), those who called Theodore "an atheist" were the Doric Greek colonists who used images. In his repudiation of much that they valued, he simply expressed the best Berber religious sentiment.

It should be observed that Clement credits Xenophanes of Kolophon, an old Minoan post on northwest coast of Asia Minor, with being the founder of the school that sprang up at Elea in southern Italy: founded 522 B.C. while Clement quotes Apollodorus the chronologist as saying that Xenophanes was born 620-616 B.C.: and Parmenides of Elea became his pupil (ANF. ii:314-b). But Clement groups Parmenides with Empedocles of Agrigentum, and Thales and Anaximander and Anaximenes and Leukippos of Miletus as being "atheists", because while they rejected image-worship they made "gods" of water and air and earth, in their scientific speculations! (Thales thought water the primal element; which Anaximander elaborated by saying that all animal life began in the water and advanced till it reached a land-animal stage: a good idea which he stole from our modern biologists and palaeontologists. And the "Atheism" of Anaximenes consisted in announcing that air was the primal element: by various condensations of "air" all things are produced. This is his way of announcing that all matter once existed in a gaseous condition: for which theft he owes an apology to our modern physicists! Clement has his own personal limitations, in matters of "science".

But cases of the known association of heroized dead with the cult of major divinities are well-known to Clement. He mentions Menedemus of Kythnos, Callistagoras of Tenos in the Cyclades, 15 miles from Delos: and Anius of Delos, (ANF. ii-182-b) among his "indigenous daimonia who have obtained sacred honors."

In Rev. Arch. 1934, pp. 155-164 Roger Texier considers the tangle of Greek

references connecting Anios or his daughters, who are miraculous givers of wheat, wine and oil, with various gods and places: with Dionysos: with Apollo: he is a son of Apollo and Creusa the wife of Aeneas: a priest-king who entertained Aeneas and Anchises: an official of Rhadamanthus: a seer who foretold that Troy should not be taken for ten years: he is associated with Crete, with Caria, and Euboea. He had a wife, Dorhippé who was a captive from Thrace: his three daughters, "Wine bestowers" were Rhoio, Molpadia, Parthenos. There are legends of their pregnancy; of being put in a box and cast into the sea, reaching another isle in safety. Texier concludes that some pre-Hellenic facts have been fitted into Greek etiologic legends. But he does not consider that the pre-Hellenic Delos was Minoan (p. 99, 2-a); nor that corn, wine and oil are not indigenous to Delos.

But recent excavations have recovered the old Anios-sanctuary by the lake in Delos. There is a rude bas-relief of an old man, with naked torso, half-reclined upon a bed, with a bowl in his hand: a robed adorer stands by: above him, from roughly indicated foliage, a serpent reaches toward the bowl: at the foot of the bed a boy is leading a ram toward a table of offerings--R. Vallois has proved from the restored inscription that the old man is Anios: probably a successful ancestor farmer; heroized, his cult spread through the Aegean isles. It puts sharply before us what Minoan philosopher-reformers like those mentioned actually had to contend with among their own people.

Much more direct is Clement's knowledge that two women named Hyperochê and Laodikê wives of unnamed Hyperboreans, were buried in the Artemision in Delos, which is in the temple of the Delian Apollo. This gives us four stages in the local cult. The old Minoan Sun-shrine has the Greek Apollôn turned into a sun-god, that he may be fitted into the cult. Then a shrine of "Artemis" is placed there: but this is more probably a renaming of the tomb of the priestess of the Minoan sun-god. Then two women reputed to be "Hyperboreans" in Clement's time are worshipped under Greek names in that same "Artemis" tomb shrine. Speculation as to their identity is all that is left to us. (ANF ii:184-a). Clement compares the Sepulchre of Leukephrynê in an another "Artemis" shrine in Magnesia on the Maeander, 15 miles from Miletus; but he has mistaken the adjective "white-browed" for the name of a person. More direct is a tomb of one Telmisseus, a reputed seer or oracle of the ancient sun-god in Telmessus, which had come to be known as the "altar of Apollo". In the old Pelasgian Acropolis of Larisa in Thessaly (p. 76, bottom) the "Cyrenian" Berber sun-cult was established in pre-Hellenic times. In Clement's time the shrine is known as "the Temple of Athênê", and the tomb of King Acrisius was shown in it, while in another passage he tells us that the lady Phemonoe, who lived before the days of Orpheus, was the first to chant oracles in verse to "King Acrisius". (ANF ii:184-a; 325-b). Clement has managed to lose the sun-god Perseus--or does he take it for granted that all know the Acrisius legend? For Acrisius in the extended Greek legend, was a grandson of Danaus and Aegyptus: that is, he was of Berber Delta ancestry, slain in his old age to make way for his grandson as successor, and entombed in the sanctuary that he had tended so long. (Gayley, pp. 224-231). Further citations of this phase of old Berber-Minoan religion are needless. It should be clear to the thoughtful student that philosopher-reformers in long-surviving Minoan areas found it hard to eliminate the cult of ancient Minoan heroes. Christianity finds it equally hard to eliminate ancient pagan numina from the ranks of approved Christian saints. As with the pagan Greeks, a suitable legend can make anything acceptable.

As a final note it may be observed that of the "Seven wise men" recognized by Clement (p. 313-b), four are from ancient Minoan strongholds: Epimenides the Cretan, Cleobulus of Lindos in Rhodes, Pittakos of Mitylene, and Bias of Priênê, at one time one of the 12 Pan-Ionic cities. It was the former seaport of Caria. In Strabo's time its harbor was blocked with silt and the remnant of the town was 5 miles from the sea; a bone of contention between Samos and Miletus.

17. There remains the question of the Imrhâd peoples. Strabo says that in Cyrene in his day the "farmers" were not "citizens". It is the same system still prevalent with the "most noble" Tuareg Imôshagh: they expect to live by the toil of Imrhâd farmers and herdsmen. In 12-3-4 Strabo tells of the persistence in Crete of the Minoa Synodos (or Mnôia, of some editors)- This "Synodos" is the equivalent of the Tuareg Kél - a group or association of petty tribes. They could not be ousted from their lands. But the aristocrat military-commercial tribes got the profits of their toil. In Strabo's time their services had become a matter of sale or transfer. But this is not the individual serfdom of mediaeval Europe. No uprising of these scattered half-armed peasant-tribes overthrew Knossos. Such an uprising would have ended the system of Imrhâd peasantry. But Crete being like Japan in not having more than one-tenth of its area available for grain cultivation, the failure to terrace every available spot and foster the agriculturist in every way meant the eventual failure of Crete as a political power.

There also persisted in Crete down to Roman times the Klarôtai. These were poor laborers on the great clan-lands. They could not be made to go elsewhere. Translators err in calling them "Serfs". For the already mentioned laws of Gortyna provide that when a man of property dies leaving no potential heirs to his estate among the citizen-gentry, the property shall be divided among the Klarôtai upon the estates (Imagine that happening upon an English estate!) But this seems to acknowledge the Klarôtai as his own poor relations a few times removed- descendants of the ne'er-do-weels or black sheep of the "noble" family. But similar cases of near kinship exists among the Imôshagh and Imrhâd Tuareg of the Sahara to-day. They are inherent possibilities of such society.

18. The fall of the Knossian Minoa must have been due to the keeping of strong and prospering neighboring tribe-cities always in the Imrhâd status, without voice in the Knossian council. The American Union would not exist to-day, had rapidly developing territories west of the Alleghanies been kept long in a territorial status, without voice in the councils at Washington. The parallel is far from complete. But this makes a main point clear. The Minoan organization continued after Knossos crashed. The hegemony went elsewhere: that was all.

19. This survey does no more than suggest factors in the passing of the great Minoan power. The same factors made the Red Berber lead the world in the predynastic culture and political hegemony in the Delta of the Nile. However "imperial" in its attitude toward the Nilotic tribes, it had no imperialism within. Individual "noble" tribes asserting their pre-éminent "nobility" made the Predynastic empire go down politically before the less cultured but more "consolidated" "Menes and Co". There are periodic returns to political hegemony by leaders like Shishak or Psamtik: Yet the internal structure of Red Berber society does not seem changed. At each crisis it seems to fall short of "world-empire", because of the preéminence of tribal independence, or "State's rights". There is an incessant process of subdivision of all tribes: one may become a score within a century. It is a species of "Secession". And Sahara spaces make it easy to "Secede" 2,000 miles or more. That could not happen in Crete. The Red Berber aristocrat tribe and its small troop of dependents had to live together, in the same small tract, as they do not in the Sahara. There was nowhere else to go! When geographically cramped, the Red Berber became the greatest people of the ancient Mediterranean world. That he infused much into the making of Judaism is now beyond question.

20. So in the Minoan traditions we hear continually of eminent justice: but it is justice in international relations. There is no tale of a marvelous ideal society existing in Crete. There is no picture of a Cretan Utopia which the legends urge all to realize. There is no vision of a lost social paradise to be regained. The Red Berber left an immortal memory of honest and fair dealing between petty coast-peoples and sea-traders. He left Minoan-stations long remembered as centers of appeal or arbitration for the merchants of the sea. He left fixed convictions upon the subject of piracy, forgotten in the days of modern buccaneering. He left permanent convictions about freedom of the seas. He left some foundations of international laws of the sea. He left such impression for fairness in such matters that Asiatic coast-peoples hoped for Rhadamanthus as their judge among the dead. Others dreamed so of Sarpedon. Some Europeans heard of Aiaceus, and desired no better judge hereafter. But no one of all legendary Minoans is famed for marvellous social justice among his own people. No Sagas are told: no Cretan legends of "Solomonic" decisions. In the field of international comity, the Red Berber achieved a lasting memory. Politically he saved others: himself he could not save.

C. Old Testament Data Upon Minoan-Philistine-AegeanCulture: Judah and Edom

59. Read now Hastings' Dictionary: Articles on Philistines, Caphtor, Cherethites, Anakim. These articles are over thirty-five years old; there are none better yet. Observe how scanty and unsatisfactory they are, in the light of facts above given. Then read Macalister's "Philistines," first 28 pages; written fifteen years later, but now twenty-five years old; and on Caphtor see G.A. Wainright, Quarterly Statement, Oct. 1931; pp. 203-216. All later. (Today we can add to the above information, in the proper place, the vast body of material in Evans' Palace of Minos (3 vols. quarto) Glotz's Aegean Civilization, and recent excavations in Palestine.)

60. In the two preceding sections the student faced the critical question: Are imaginative reconstructions of the history of religion to be seriously regarded? Shall we accept the immense body of new facts, sketched in those two sections, which contradict some fundamental assumptions of Robertson Smith's Religion of the Semites? Or shall we stand by Robertson Smith, who did not know all those facts, and refuse all the facts?

But now the student faces a special application of the imaginative method. Wellhausen, starting with some imaginative guesses at the antiquity and order of development of some Hebrew religious institutions, led in a critical dissection of OT narratives, cutting them into sources of various dates, to fit his presuppositions.

Now for our historical inquiry, should any attention be paid to speculative documentary analyses, like the JEDP analysis of forty-five years ago? It is notable that Robertson Smith, acknowledging on p. ix his continual indebtedness to his friend Wellhausen, knew that he could make no use of the JEDP analysis in his lectures. The question of proper historical method must be squarely faced by students. Can you take such documentary analyses and "discover" any new archaeological facts with them? Or do you discover archaeological facts by excavations? Will you twist your report of what you dig up, to make it fit the claim of some document-analyzer? If an old Bible Dictionary article says a certain fact could not have been true before 800 B.C., and an old tablet, dug up since, says that was a fact 2,800 B.C. which will you believe? Literary analyses are possible and desirable when you are writing a history of literature. But can you write a history of any literature before you have any history of the people? Can you, for illustration, make any accurate analysis of the Book of Joshua, before you know when each group of towns existed in the stated tribal-relations? (Cf. Garstang, Preface; Notes and Queries, July, 1930, Review of Lost Tribes A Myth.) To sum up - should JEDP speculations be considered, in our historical inquiries? Have they ever taught us any history?

61. Philistine Origins, in the OT.

We first find the Philistines in Gen. 10:14, 1 Chron. 1:12 as derived from Cas-luhim, (Arabic, Kasr-Uâhîm, "Oasis-garrisons," along with Caphtôrîm. This makes both the Philistines and the Caphtor-folk to be in control of great oases, west of the Nile, but "sons" or subjects of Mitsraim, or "Egypt." But to-day peoples calling themselves Pelistîm are scattered through western north Africa and Sahara. (See Godbey, "The Lost Tribes", Chap. X.) Consider Deut. 2:23; Amos 1: 6-8; 3:9; 6:2; 9:7; Jer. 47:4. Then Israel and Judah depend upon Philistines to reach western lands in Is. 11:14. Compare Jonah embarking for the west at the Philistine port of Joppa, Jonah 1:3. Are the Philistines connected with Caphtor at every period of OT history?

It should be said that the word uâh (wâh on modern large-scale maps) is not Arabic but Egyptian. It cannot be found in any classical Arabic dictionary. From the form uâhet the Greeks turned it into "oasis." They probably first met it in the colonization of Cyrene, 631 B.C. Herodotus knew it in that region, 440 B.C. Serious mistakes have been made by those with a theory that it was Arabic! (See H. R. Hall, p. 5.)

62. Who were the Anakim, "Anak-folk," in the Old Testament?

The Anakim are in Num. 13:22, 28-33; Deut. 1:28; 2:10f, 21; 9:2; Josh. 11:21;

3:2-3; 14:12, 15; 15:13f; 21:11; Judg. 1:20. Observe remaining Philistine cities of Gaza, Gath, Ashdod, in Joshua 14:15; 21:11. In Joshua 15:13, the LXX has not the "four" (Arba⁶) confederates, but "Arbok was metropolis (Mother-city) of Anak," instead of "father"; thus agreeing with Josh. 14:15. How early were these Anak-folk in south-west Palestine? Consider the statement in Num. 13:22, that Hebron (or "Arbok the metropolis of Anak") was founded seven years before Zoan (Tanis) in Egypt = before 2700 B.C. Can they, like the Philistines, be connected with Caphtor, Egyptian Keftû? Cf. Wainright, PEF Quarterly, Oct. 1931, 206-231. Are they mythical, or historic people?

53. How Many Anak Strongholds?

In above passages only the three southern Philistine cities are mentioned; Askelon and Ekron (Amm-Karûna, cuneiform) are not. Was this because the Anak-folk were only in the extreme south? For we have to deal with the fact that there were more than five Philistine strongholds. The present Old Testament text is from a time when some in the south had become part of the Kingdom of Judah. (Consider Hebron, Philistine in Gen. 26:1, but not one of "the five lords of the Philistines" in 1 Sam. 6:4; Josh. 13:3; with Avvim; Josh. 15:51; Ziklag of 1 Sam. 27:6; and Beth-Pelet of Josh. 15:27; Neh. 11:26.)

But we must consider the discoveries made by Garstang and Phythian-Adams in excavation at Askelon, 1920-1923. A Philistine stratum was found, and a pre-Philistine, which would represent the Caphtôrîm of Deut. 2:23. Beneath was a Bronze Age stratum of some peculiar, distinct culture. These people made their ceramics of local clays till about 1500 B.C. when a great influx of foreign wares began; Cypriote and Mycenaean, with local imitations of 18th Dynasty Egyptian wares, known now to begin in time of Thothmes III. Peter Thomsen, with Hebrew 'lyyîm in mind, suspects that Avvim of Deut. 2:23 means "coast-people" only. There was such a pre-Caphtor Bronze culture at some points. (Real-Lexicon I: 237; 1924).

54. Other Anakîm and Caphtôrîm.

But recently published Egyptian cursing-texts, from the close of the eleventh Dynasty (about 2,000 B.C.) show that the powerful Mentuhotep III had feeble successors, who only hurled volleys of royal curses at their revolting subjects in Asia. Zebulun is one of the "accursed places," about 800 years before Joshua's "Israel" conquered Zebulun! Three Anak-princes or city-states are named; Elam, Akram, Abima-Ammu. (See Albright, JPOS, 1928, 222 ff. Compare Josh. 15:13; 800 years later.) Names not Semitic. How long before "Abram"? In Deut. 2:9-11, 19-25? note the tradition that Anakîm and Avvim once had trade-stations in region later seized by Moab and Ammon; the Avvim had penetrated that region from villages about Gaza; and that some Caphtor people had seized that trade-frontier. Some Avvim persist in western Benjamin in Josh. 18:23. We cannot yet define these Western Sea-peoples more exactly; but we cannot challenge the tradition.

55. Anak with Caphtôr in the Cuneiform.

Egyptian inscriptions show the Keftû (dropping final r of Keftûr) as a great mercantile sea-people from the earliest times. The form Kaptar occurs at Kôm Ombos in inscriptions of the Ptolemaic period. (Hall, PSBA, 1909, 284, Cf. Wainright, loc. cit.) Tyre and Sidon rise only after Keftû power declines. (For dates, consult the geographical index of Breasted's ARE.) Anak is not connected with Keftû in Egyptian inscriptions thus far reported. But in the great statement of the geographical extent of the Empire of Sargon of Akkad (northern Babylonia), 2750 B.C., Anak and Caphtôr are Aegean regions. He ruled from "A-na-ku and Kaftara which are beyond the Upper Sea" (The Mediterranean) to "Dilmun and Magan beyond the Lower Sea" (Bahrein and Oman, Persian Gulf). Here are Anak and Kaftara people in the Mediterranean, known in Babylonia, 1500 years before Joshua's time. (Albright, JAOS, 1925, 196-236) Who were these Anak-folk, about the time Anakîm founded Hebron?

66. Anak An Official Red Berber Title: Still In Use.

In Homer's Iliad, Agamemnon, Basileús ("king") of Mycenae, is regularly Ánax andrôn, commonly translated "King of Men". But he is not "king" of each tribe that is fighting Troy, though he has been chosen Commander-in-chief of the allied forces. The title Anak might be related to that fact. But because he was "king" of Mycenae, there has been a tacit assumption that "Anak" was the same as "King"; and as it is used in Greek legend as an official title among some pre-Greek peoples, there has been a guess that it might be an old "Mycenaean" title. But as Mycenae is the name of a famous pre-Greek city, that does not tell us who the people were. Liddell and Scott's Lexicon does not help the Greek student. He finds the official titles Anax, Anákeia, Anáktôr, Anáktorio, Anáktoron, Anassa (feminine) scattered about the coasts of the Eastern Mediterranean: and that the Greek scholars have not found out their origin.

And here the Hebrew agrees that Anak is an official title. The passages cited in 62 show that no race or tribe is in mind. The article "the" is used with the singular, Anaq: not with the plural Anakim. Then in Josh. 11:21f, we find that each important hill town in Judah and southwest Israel had an Anaq. See Chapter on "Minos And The Minotaur" Sections F, N, O, P, U.

67. Anak Known to Christian Fathers as An Official; connected with Argos.

The early Christian fathers did not know of any "Giants" in Joshua, nor of any people or tribe called Anakim. They knew Enak or Inek only as an official. Thus Clement of Alexandria, the greatest Christian scholar of the first two centuries, takes his chronological cue from Apion, and accordingly in his sketch of Moses six times repeats that Moses was a contemporary of the legendary Inachos, ancestor of the Pelasgian culture of Argos, which is a Pelasgian word (ANF. II, 324, 331, 334). The mistake of Apion and Clement was to move the date of Inachos down - not to move Moses back. For the title Anák was in use in Clement's time: but the Berber Tuaregs of Alexandria said Inek: the LXX had translated Enak: Egyptian cursing texts 2000 B.C. (Section 64) wrote Inak. S. Clement and other Christian scholars of his time think the Inek or Ianak opposition in Palestine is synchronous with the Inach of Pelasgian Argos, who is inextricably tangled in the Greek genealogies with Mycenaeans and Minoans. (See Gayley, Classic Myths: Roscher, Lexicon). The sum is that Anak or Inek is not separable from the Minoan culture, nor from Egypt. Inachos is even ancestor of the Minoan culture, and his grandson Epaphus (The Hyksos Apepa) is a king of Egypt. But all agree in localizing him at the river Inachos in Southern Argos, with Mycenae, Tiryns, and Argos within two to five miles of it. (Consider in the "Minos and Minotaur" chapter, Section S, third paragraph. The perplexing "Mycenaeans" of Section 82 below may be a local stage of Pelasgian culture). Various cultures in the eastern Mediterranean are traced to the shadowy Inak people of the Argolid. The Christian fathers Julius Africanus, Tatian, and Clement of Alexandria say that Moses led Israel from Egypt "in the days of Inachos". They must have had "Anak" in view. Since Julius Africanus (ANF, VI, p. 134a) quotes Apion in his book Against the Jews, and in the fourth book of his History, for Moses' revolt "in the time of Inachos, King of Argos, when Amosis reigned over Egypt," it appears that the attack of Josephus upon Apion, and the passage of 200 years, had not weakened the respect of the Christian Fathers for Apion as a historian (Josephus ignores this synchronism with Inachos.)

68. Akkadian Anaku- "Tin, Lead", Not Connected with The Anak Official.

Albright, on the Sargon-passage in Section 65, suggests that the Anakim were pre-eminently workers of tin and lead. Even if they were, how should an Akkadian name for either metal be spread all over the western world as the only name for either and be the same as a Berber official title? Did all western peoples get the metals and their name from Sargon of Akkad, the first Semitic-speaking monarch of whom we have record? All Orientalists know that is not true. Greece was the main ancient source of supply, Asia Minor second, says Albright. That disposes of the possibility of an Akkadian name in either place. The Inachos-Anak territory may have been a "tin-land", just as Cyprus (Greek Kúpros) is "Copper-land". But that does not prove that ancient Argos spoke Akkadian! But in this connection be it noted that Minoan-Aegean-Cyprus peoples did bring metal-working into Palestine; see discoveries already noted at Gerar, Tell el-Aj, Beth-Pelet; and the persistence of Arab tradition in Sinai that all that ancient culture area was peopled by colonies from Copros (Cyprus; Jarvis p. 112).

69. OT Extension of Minoan-Philistine Domain.

In Sections 55-57, it was made clear that the pre-Israelite Minoan colonial sphere of influence, from Ekron southward to Koseima, was at least three times as large as had been supposed. The old southern colonies followed David, helped make him King at Hebron, which was still an Anak stronghold 300 years after the Hyksos were driven from Egypt (Josh.15:14; Judg.1:10; Num.13:12). All the settlements near Ziklag, Beth-Pelet, Gerar, etc. are later reported as belonging to Judah (See Josh. 15:2-27; 19:1-9; 1:Kings 15:27; 16:15). The same region is "Philistine", and "Simeon" and "Judah". (Was Simeon a Philistine clan?) Sharuhin in Simeon (Josh. 19:6) was the Hyksos stronghold from which they ruled for a time when driven from Avaris (Tanis, Zoan) in Egypt. (See Budge, 241-254.) How long they held it we do not know. Note cities in Joshua 15:1-47; When did this Philistine region become "Judah"? See 1 Kings 15:27; 16:15.

See trade-routes in North Edom, Deut. 2:9-11, 19, 23; fear of Philistines, Exodus 13:17; of. 15:14; 23:31, "Sea of Philistine." But were these Cretans really "Philistine"?

70. Hyksos In This Area In OT.

Besides above strongholds notice Beth-Lebaoth "House of lionesses" near Sharuhén and Hazar-Susah, "mare-yard" and Beth-markaboth, "House of chariots" in Josh. 19:5 were garrison points far south of Beth-Pelet, on the Egyptian frontier. Whose are these horse-pastures and chariot-stables? It is familiar to Egyptologists that horses (from Central Asia) were unknown in Egypt and Arabia before the irruption of the Hyksos hordes. Also Solomon put his horse-stables at Megiddo. (Locate it.) Would any Israelite king put his horse-equipment three or four days' journey south of his capital, when enemies to the east and north were his continual peril? Or would the Philistines of Saul's time (1 Sam. 13:5) have kept their like equipment so far away? Would any but the Hyksos rulers of South Palestine and Egypt have found that region a proper center for their "cavalry" and horse-breeding? The "Simeon" town of Ziklag, where David was a "Philistine" lieutenant (1 Sam. 27:5f.) was about five miles northwest of Gerar.

In contrast with this southern division of the Minoan colonists who founded David's kingdom, "the five lords of the Philistines" in 1 Sam. 6:16-18 represent a northern secession(?) and the historic opponents of the kingdom. Observe on the map that Mak-kedah, Gaderoth, Beth-Dagon and Naameh in above list of Judah towns are but suburbs of Ekron. Consider the map (Hastings' DB) and recognize the towns from Ekron southward that could not have belonged to Judah so long as the northern "five Lords" were strong. Is the list a post-exilic census list?

71. Minoans Link Palestine to Other Lands.

Egyptian tomb-paintings of the time of Thotmes III, (about 1470 B.C.) show Minoan envoys or carriers grouped with those of Kadesh on the Orontes, Gebal or Byblos, the Hittite area, Cyprus and Cilician coasts. It emphasizes the fact that the Minoans were controlling the coastal trade, reaching Egypt by trading all along South Asia Minor and down the Palestine Coast. (Evans, II:651, 655 f.). Libation rhytons found on the coast of Pontus shows that Minoan and Mycenaean mariners were at the same period trading along the Black Sea Coasts (Evans II: 658). The short road from Crete to Egypt would have been from Komo, on South coast of Crete, 180 miles to Derna in Cyrene (Evans I, map; II, 79:89). But this meant no profitable coastal trade. Finds at Knossos also show Crete trading with lower Babylonia and the Persian Gulf as early as 2200 B.C. (Evans II, 654) thus supplementing Sargon of Akkad's claim that his trade reached "Anaku and Kaf-tara, which are beyond the Upper Sea." Evans (II:530) says the Crete-Persian-Gulf trade dates almost from Neolithic times.

72. Cretan and Carian in the OT.

Now notice the OT passage relative to the activity of these "Cherethites" (Kerethi) or Cretans. They are identified with Karî, "Carians" in 1 Sam. 30:14; 2 Sam. 8:18 has Kerethi while Karî is in the parallel 20:23. Did David have both? Then there was a Beth-Car (House of the Carian?), in 1 Sam. 7:11 in the extreme northeast of the Philistine area. Were these Carians of the extreme southwest of Asia Minor identical with Cretans? or merely political-commercial proteges? Minoan discoveries show that they had not the same script. Then the temple guards 200 years later, in 2 K. 11:4, 19 were also "Carians" (AV wrongly, "captains"). Did they carry the cult of Yahu to the land of the later Seven Churches of Asia? (See Godbey, Asia Minor map) Compare again the foreign temple guards in Zeph. 1:8; 9, 11. Carians controlled the sea when Samaria fell 721 B.C. (Eusebius). In Zephaniah's time Carian mercenaries, in Egyptian employ, were leaving inscriptions from Tahpanhes of Jer. 43:1; 44:1 all the way up the Nile to the Jewish garrison and temple at Elephantine (Sayce, PSBA, 1905; 123 ff; 1906, 171 ff; 1908, 28; 1910, 261; TSBA Vol. IX (total, 60) and Rowe, JRAS, 1920, 84 ff.) Diodorus says Carian fleets dominated the Aegean when Jeremiah was in Egypt.

73. Foreign Levites Control.

Then with these Karî guards of 2 K. 11:4, 19, and Zephaniah, compare the "foreign

Levites" of Ezek. 44: 6 ff. and the Jewish rabtebahim (Babylonian title): "captain of guards" (slayers, butchers) or "chief of sacrificers" (Smith, OTJC, II:262): Zech. 14:21, "Canaanite": same coast-peoples? Then we have Kerethi or "Cretans" in 2 Sam. 23: 23; 20:7; 1 Chron. 18:17; 2 Sam. 15:18-22 and 18:1-5; Zeph. 2:5; Ezek. 25:16. Observe that in Zeph. 2:5, and Ezek. 25:15, the LXX translates Philistines as "Cretans." See brook of Kerith east of Ahab's capital, near Jordan; (Al-pnē - "this side") near Beth-shean, Philistine stronghold once. 1 K. 17:3, 5.

74. First Egyptian Notice of Philistines.

Now while we have had Kefti^u and Anak in Egyptian records for many centuries, and have seen powerful Cretan colonies planted for centuries South of the Philistine country, we have as yet no appearance of "Philistines" in Egyptian records. Turn now to Breasted's ARE IV: 30:48. The Pulusati are part of a migration coming down the coast, in the time of Rameses III, 1190-1185 B.C. Hittites, Eastern Cilician (Kode) Carchemish, Arvad (Awad) Alwes (Alashiya, Elishah) and Cyprus are plundered. Zakkara mentioned (Tukeri, Teukri? See Macalister, pp. 22-28.) shown by later inscriptions to hold all the coast from Joppa to Mt. Carmel. Mariners in 1100 B.C. (See Macalister, pp. 30, 35, 36, 33, 38, 68 ff.)

75. Old Philistines versus New-Comers.

With the stopping of these migrating Philistines at the Old Gaza frontier, all far north of the Gerar-Beth-Pelet strongholds, whose culture had dominated for centuries for fifty miles south of Gaza, controlling trade-roads south to the eastern branch of the Red Sea, we have a political-social question. Would these warrior-new-comers have the same cordiality and intimacy with old Palestinian peoples that the old Cretan commercial colonists had? Would the latter be much assimilated or adapted by centuries of local contacts? Would they be less likely to war with Israel?

76-a. The Philistine tseran, Seran: (Greek "Tyrant").

Notice "five lords of the Philistines" of these newcomers; each the head of a city-state. How often in the OT? Of what towns? (Concordance). Compare Macalister, 71 ff, 87 ff. Whence this official title (Seranim, Sarnē, in Hebrew OT? It has been compared to the Greek Turannos, which we have changed into "tyrant". Notice the following important neglected evidence.

In Graeco-Roman times in Palestine, Josephus uses it regularly for the official head of cities of the Old Philistine Coast. Zoilus is "tyrant" of Migdol-Ashtart (Strato's Tower) and Dor. He aspires to be "tyrant" of Ptolemais (Accho) and Gaza; gains the latter appointment (Ptolemais rejects: 13-12-3). All this because Pompey had left Marissa, Ashdod, Jamnia, Arethusa, Gaza, Joppa, Dor, Migdol-Astart, "in a state of freedom to their own inhabitants"--choosing their own heads. (Ant. 13-12-2, 4; 14-4-4-- Wars, 1-7-7). Zeno, or Cotylais, was "tyrant" of Philadelphia (13-8-1); Silas, a Jew, "tyrant" of Lysias near Tripoli (14-3-2). The Roman Cassius Longinus, "president of Syria," thought this government most efficient and "appointed tyrants over all Syria," (Wars 1-12-2); disliked by Tyre and Sidon, "free cities from ancient times," etc. So James Moffatt regularly uses the term "tyrant" for the Philistine lords in his new translation of the OT.

76-b. Is Seran, Sarnē, of Egyptian Origin?

The Jewish scholar Israel Eitan observes the Egyptian official title "sr-nt" - "city governor," "city prince." He sees the Philistine leaders under the decadent Ramesside Pharaohs arrogating this Egyptian official title. The dropping of the feminine t, as in Coptic and Hebrew, would turn sar-net into Sarnē, translated "lords" in AV of 1 Sam. 5:8, 11; 6:4, 12-18; 29: 2,7. Compare "No-Amon" for Nēt-Amon, in Jer. 46-25; Nahum 3:8. So Eitan concludes (against the theory of adoption of the Bab-Assyr. Sharru) that Sar - often an official term in the OT, (as in Gen. 37:36; 47:6; Ex. 2:14; 1:11) is an Egyptian official title adopted in Hebrew. It occurs more than a hundred times in the OT; in all social and official and liturgical relations. In 1 Sam. 29:3, 4, 9 it is specifically used of Philistine officers. It is outstanding evidence of Egypt's influence upon all Hebrew-official organization. (Revue Etudes Juives, 1926, 223 ff.)

77. Expulsion of Hyksos from Philistia.

In Section 74 we saw that the Pulusati do not appear in Egyptian records till about 1190; some 50 years after the immigration of Joshua's Israel? But the above towns called "five lords of the Philistines" were already very old. Partial excavations show that Askelon (and Ashdod?) were burned 1550 B.C. when the Hyksos were being driven out. The names at that time we do not yet know. Promptly rebuilt, the present names appear. In the El-Amarna Letters, 200 years or more before Joshua's Israel, over 200 years before the Philistine invasion, Gezer, Askalon and Gath, and Lachish and Gaza and Joppa seem confederate enemies of Egypt, though under the Egyptian deputies Yankhamu and Rianappa.

78. Persian Names in Palestine, After Hyksos Expulsion.

The famous El-Amarna Letters, Egyptian official correspondence with Palestinian governors beginning about a century after the expulsion of the Iranian Hyksos from Egypt, show a large proportion of Persian names among Palestinian officials. They are regarded as remnants of the powerful Hyksos regime, which Egypt has not thought it advisable to displace. There is no post-Hyksos invasion of Palestine to account for them and their hold upon official positions. The persistence of Persian personal names and god-names shows that in more than 300 years many Iranian families had refused to be assimilated by local culture and cultus.

Among such Iranian names are Shuwar-data (Sun-given) of Keilah; Piridashwa (aspa) "Horse-owner" of Umki; Yami-uta, "Yami-blessed"; Intar-uta "Indra-worshipper" Yash-data (Yasda-date), "God-given"; Artakheba, "Servant of Kheba"; Artatama, Arteshupa (Arta-Teshupa), Arta-shumara, Arzawia (Arta-Zawia?); Shutarna; Shutatarna, Shutatna (Zatatma); Daasharti (Dash-arti), Arta-Manya, Ruts-Mania, Was-Mania, Dasha (Tashshu), Manya, Shuta, Zirdam-yashda, Mania-waza, Piria-waza, Biria-maza, Namia-waza, Mayar-Zana (Ma-Varzanu), Baduzana, Sharatum (Zurata), Etakkama, Abiratta, Shubanda. Compare Egyptian Outlines, Section 172.

Very few of the El-Amarna Letters come from familiar Philistine territory; and very little excavating (relatively) has been done in the region. So we can not tell yet how large a survival of Iranian names, etc. there was in this southwestern region. But the subsequent arrival of the Pulusati of Egyptian records (about 1190 B.C.) found the old Minoan-Cretan colonies apparently unshaken in their coherence. A very few of the above names are from their area. Keilah and Lachish are in above Hyksos area, but are never Philistine in the OT (See Josh. 10:3, 5, 31-34; 2 Chron. 11:9), though Philistines try to take Keilah (1 Sam. 23: 1-4). But strata of ashes show that the invading Pulusati of 1185-90 B.C. sacked and burned Askelon, (and Gaza?) rebuilding on a large scale.

79. Skeptical Documentary Analyses.

In the light of the above archaeological discoveries, read Hastings' DB, I, p.92; paragraph about Abimelech of Gerar. Is the skeptical criticism justified? Compare Gen. 20, and 21; 22 ff. with above facts. Then compare Gen. 26:14 ff. with same. Abimelech, "my father the king" is Semitic. Notice "Abimelech" in title of Ps. 34 for "Achish" of 1 Sam. 21:10 ff; 27 ("Anchises" of the Aeneid). Is not "Abimelech" then a Semitic official title adopted in these Southern or Minoan colonies? Or a Semitic translation of a Minoan title? (Consider "Ben-hadad" of 1 K. 20 f. His real Aramaic name is "Bir-Idri" in cuneiform records. Hebrew compilers have translated it.) -- "Pharaoh King of Egypt" appears in Genesis 12:15 ff, while "King of Gerar" is in like story in Gen. 26:6-11. But since Gerar is proven by archaeology to have then been part of the Hyksos kingdom of Egypt, could not the "Pharaoh" and the "King of Gerar" represent the same supreme power? Difficulties are made over the non-Semitic name "Phicol". But the name "Phicol" survives through 2,000 years in this region: See Josephus, (Ant. 12-4-2). And "priest-king" with a "Captain of the hosts" is regular still in Josephus' time: At Gaza, Zoilus is the "tyrant" and Apollodotus "general of the army." (Ant. 13-12-4; 13-3-3). (Consider Duncan, 136.)

30. Lines of Kings of Same Name.

And as for frequent occurrence of a royal title, or long lines of kings of the same name, compare the line of Karibael, King of Zabar, (Schoff, Periplous, 109) twelve Pharaohs called Rameses; four called Amenophis; four called Amenemhat; four Assyrian Tiglath-Pileasers; five Shalmanesers; four Ahaziah in Palestine (2 K. 1:1; 1 K. 22:40; 2 K. 8:26; 11:35; 13:1 and 16:1). Over fourteen Abgars of Edessa (ANF VIII: 652). Then consider change of name, as in 2 K. 23:34; 24:17; Solomon was Jediah, 2 Sam. 12:25.

Then the head of any Assyrian merchant colony in Asia Minor, 2400-2000 B.C., is "the Father" of it (Cappadocian tablets). So Abi-melek, "my Father-King" might be natural title for the head of a trade-colony in Palestine in the same age. (Again, "Abû" occurs in Egyptian as a term for small cattle, goats; a goat herd. Abi-melek might be a hybrid-compound for a "flock-prince," or "Shepherd-King!") as the Hyksos were explained to be!

31. Egyptian Law Seized Families.

Again, with regard to seizure of Sarah and Rebekah, Gen. 12: 10 ff; 26:6 ff; are these two versions of one incident, as document-analysts have asserted? Consider Egyptian law of the 12th Dynasty (2000 B.C.?) reported by Chabas: a Pharaoh might seize the family of any foreigner in Egypt (Knight, p. 103; as hostages?). Every immigrant ran that risk. Was Gerar then under Egyptian rule? Compare Milki-ilu in El-Amarna Letters (about 1400 B.C.); an unscrupulous adventurer in Gezer and Gath, he writes that Yankhamu, the Egyptian deputy in that region has seized his wife and children, and will kill them unless Milki-ilu pays 2,000 shekels silver (EAL 270). And consider David-Bathsheba. Taking all together, is skeptical criticism of the Abraham-Isaac stories justified?

32. Mycenaean and Achaian-Hivite.

A pre-Greek culture found by Schliemann at Mycenae and Tiryns we conveniently call "Mycenaean." The city Mukēnē, or plural form Mukēnai, is familiar in Homer; also the adjective Mukēnaios-a-on, and feminine adjective Mukēnis. But who are the people, ethnologically? In the Odyssey they are always "Achaians"; Latin, Achivi; Hittite, Akhiyawa; OT, Khivi; AV, "Hivites." But the fall of Troy was some 300 years later than the period now before us, and near 200 years later than the mention of Akhiyawa in Asia Minor records. Also the "Hivites," Egyptian Ekwesh, do not appear in Egyptian records till the time of Merneptah, about 1300 B.C. when they are one of a group of coast-people moving southward into Palestine. We cannot then identify the ancient culture of Mycenae as either Achaian or "Hivite." We deal with a pre-Achaian culture of a people whose name we do not certainly know! Consider again Sections 62-67 on Anak. The town-name Mycenae, and the adjective Mycenaean we do not find in the Old Testament, nor in the Egyptian records. But the peculiar culture of pre-Achaian Mycenae was powerful in Palestine in the two centuries preceding the Joshua invasion; beginning about 1450 B.C. Consider the case of Gezer, in Section 41, acknowledged later by Macalister to have been the home of a Mycenaean colony at one time.

33. Mycenaeans as "Canaanites."

In 1 Kings 9:16, the once Mycenaean Gezer is "Canaanite." In Gen. 36:2, a "Canaanite" might be Hittite, or Achaian (Hivite) or Nabatean? In Gen. 27:46 Rebekah says, "These Hittite girls make me tired!" (Esau's wives in 26:34). But in 28:1,8, they are "daughters of Canaan" while in Zeph. 2:5, Canaan is the land of Cretans and Philistines. The real reason so many visiting and trading people (cf. Section 71) cannot be identified in the OT is because they are included in the general term "Canaanite."

Now the Egyptian records from the XVIII Dynasty on, give us another form of the term "Canaanite" -- Kinahhi (See ARE, index). This introduces a new ethnic element, the Hurrian. Philo of Byblos gives Khna as the original root word. Forms like Kinahhi, Kinah-na, have suffixes of gentilic origin. It is familiar to Orientalists in the

last few years that he or hi is a Hurrian genitive-ending. Mat Hur-wu-hē, several times in the El-Amarna Letters, is simply "Land of the Hurrū." (Compare Xenophon's "Cardu-chi".) In Kinah-hi then the Egyptian shows us a Hurrian population along the coast, using their own grammatical forms. And the last discoveries at Ugarit show such Hurrian culture was along the northern coast before any Semitic-speaking people. The Egyptian Kinah-na, when used, suggests later Semitic suffixes.

But no people giving Kinahhi or Kenahna as their gentilic name appears in the Egyptian records. The term is merely topographical. The Egyptian grouped all Mediterranean peoples as "Sea-peoples." There is OT evidence that this custom was accepted in Palestine; that the OT term "Canaan" includes all the Mediterranean cultures that we have noticed, the following passages show.

84. "Sons of Ham" = Vassals of Khēmi, Egypt.

First of all, the writer in Gen. 10:6 undertakes to tell us of the "political sons" or vassals of Khēmi (Egypt). This is clarified when we read Thothmes III speaking of this Phoenician-Palestinian coast as "countries on the water of Egypt" (ARE II, 420). The whole Eastern Mediterranean is an Egyptian lake. Rameses II, 200 years later, calls it "Great Lake of the North" and boasts that he rules this sea (ARE III, 479). Of the "Canaan" vassals, Gen. 10:15-18 declares that Sidon was the earliest; then follow the Hittite coast-colonies, Yebus, Amor, (the Eleutheros valley; cf. S.8), the Teucrian Gergithes (?A.R.Burn, 156) or Gergesi (Egyptian, K-r-K-s), Achaians, Arkē, Sinna, Arvad, Simyra, and Hamath-Katna area. Then from Sidon southward, the Zakkara around Mt. Carmel appear in the Egyptian records to Joppa? (See Section 74.) Then the Philistines and Caphtor-Keretim to Gerar: thence colonies across to south end of the Dead Sea. The distinct character of "Canaan" is emphasized in Gen. 15:21; Ex. 3:8, 17; 23:23; Deut. 7:1; 20:17; Josh. 3:10; "Canaanites" are not "Hittites", Amor, Achaians, Yabusī, Perizzi"; comparing with Joshua 3:10; 12:8; 17:11, the interior colonies are worsted: Canaanites held the sea-coast and the Dor Piedmont (3 towns).

85. Pre-Conquest Canaanites Coastal Peoples.

Next, notice the reference to Canaanites in the conquest-stories: Num. 13:20, Canaanites by sea and by Jordan. In 14:25, 43, 45, in a gorge or wady (leading to the sea). In Josh. 5:1, Canaanites dwell by the sea. In 11:3, east and west of Merom lake. In Josh. 13:3 ff, from Ekron northward along sea, including Sidon and Gebal. Judg. 3:3; Philistines, Canaanites, Achaians, Sidonians; Judg. 1:27, Canaanites hold Sidon, Dor, Gezer, Kitron, Accho and other coast-points. Excavations have proved the older "Canaanites" of Gezer (Judg. 1:29; Josh. 16:10; 1 K. 9:16) to be Mycenaean. In 2 Sam. 24:7, David's census groups Sidon, Tyre, Achaians, Canaanites.

86. All Foreign Traders "Canaanites."

In the above passages there is nothing to show that the "Canaanite" was specifically a foreign trader, though the possession of costly equipment which Israel did not have would suggest it to the thoughtful; see Judg. 1:19; 4:3, 13; 5:28; Josh. 17:16-18. But in Ex. 16:35 the LXX and Boheiric translate "Canaan" as "part of Phoenicia." Job 41:6 the AV "merchants" is the Hebrew Kena'anīm: LXX has "tribes of Phoenicians." In Is. 23:8, of Tyre, "merchants are princes, Kena'anīm the honored ones of the land"; LXX reads "traffickers are honored, ruling the land." In Prov. 31:24, the merchant-trader is Kena'ani. In Ezek. 17:4 "land of traffic" is paralleled with "city of Kena'anīm" (Aramaic and Coptic versions have "fortified city.") Zeph. 1:11, the AV "merchant people" is the Hebrew Kena'anīm, who are Philistine and Cretan in 2:5. In Hos. 12:7, "The merchant, with false balances" is the "Kena'ani." And Ges-Buhl lexicon sees the foreign "trader" in Zech. 14:21; so also J.M.P. Smith in Chicago translation. Naville (PSBA, 1915, 218) cites an Egyptian funerary papyrus for "Yutai Kerāna, "Kena'ana trader," with a non-Semitic name. Thus out-side the Pentateuch, three-fourths of the passages make "Canaanite" a "foreign trader." (1 K. 9:16; Ezra 9:1; do not specify.) Obadiah 20 has "Phoenician sea-coasts." For coast-traders securing the arable land, see Jarvis, pp. 2, 4, 60 ff.

37. Pre-exilic Israel Never Gained the Sea-Coast

Now it is to be emphasized that Israel and Judah never gained a foothold upon all this sea-coast. The fact has often been noticed by historical scholars. Israelite settlements are all in the interior, which some coast-colonies penetrate. (Compare the Anakim in Moab, Deut. 2:10; and Caphtor-Cretan colonies that we have studied.) Obadiah 20 has Canaanites a coast-people; Israel to possess as far north as Zarephath (Sarepta of Luke 4:26). Isaiah 23:8, calls the coast-princes "Canaanites" or coastal traders: Tarshish, Cyprus, Sidon, Tyre, etc. Is. 19:18 assures Egypt that the Canaan-folk will found colonies in Egypt. (Compare Daphne, Naucratis, Leontopolis, etc., in same century.) Zeph. 2:5 calls Canaan the sea-coast people: Cretans and Philistines; Zech. 14:21 does not like "Canaanite" temple-officials. See Cretan-Carian temple staff in Sections 72 and 73 above. In Gen. 12:10 ff; 20:1 ff; 26:1 ff. 16:3, observe that the Egypt-Gerar-Bersheba-Philistine-Canaan is the Minoan-Philistine-Edom area that we have studied. In Gen. 23:2; 24: 3,37, "Canaan" is the Anakim country of Josh. 14. The Mediterranean is "Sea of the Philistines" in Exodus 23:31. Compare terrible Canaanites of Num. 14:25, 43, 45, with Philistines of Ex. 13:17.

38. Canaan Is "Coastland" In Hastings' DB; And In Roman North Africa

The OT data given above any English Student can and should check over. But the new data from ancient records must here be supplied him. In Hastings' DB 1:37ff, observe that Canaan is simply "coastland". Schroeder (Phönizische Sprache p.6) sixty years ago had recognized this, and further had recognized that "Canaanites" in the interior of Palestine were simply colonies of the coast-traders. Greek writers (e.g. Herodian) explained that Khna was the northern "Phoenician" coast. The trouble with this is that the whole conception of "Phoenicia" was a Greek fiction: see Egyptian Section 75. The one fact that we do get is that Khna was not Palestine, but a coast far north of it. Eusebius quotes Philo of Byblos: "Khna was a brother of Phoenix, his name being first changed." What older form than Khna was perplexing him he does not record. No people in all the inscriptions call themselves "Phoenicians": (Neither do "Chinese" and "Japanese" call themselves by the respective terms). But residents of the northern half of the east coast of Mediterranean do call that coast by some one of the forms in Section 83.

But the Greek and Roman writers call a very different region by the same name. We learn from St. Augustine that the peasantry of the Carthage region in his time called themselves Kana'ni. But these were partially Semitized Berbers. Tyre had built a new quarter to an old Berber town and exploited the Berber peasantry in her own interest (p.59,middle) beginning 1200 years before Augustine's time. Five hundred and fifty years had passed since Carthage was destroyed: yet the Berber peasantry spoke a jargon of "Punic", Latin and Western Berber. A large body of Christian literature had been provided for them in that lingo (LTM 229), which the Greek writers down to the 5th century call Chananaïôs, "Canaanitish". The invaluable monograph of the Jewish Scholar Heinrich Löwe, Die Sprache der Juden (1911:p.15) tells the same, and the additional fact that the Scriptures had been translated into this jargon: but all this literature has disappeared, (Through Moslem activity?). But again, the people, the jargon, the region, have no connection with Palestine, yet are "Canaanite".

Compare the Suaheli, "Coast-people", (from Arabic Sahel, "coast"). They are Moslemized Arabo-negro porter and trader-folk of the East African Coast about Zanzibar. Their language is fundamentally negro, with a large infusion of Arabic words and idioms; see Krapf and Rebmann, "Suaheli Dictionary".

38-a. Canaan Not Palestine In Egyptian Records and El-Amarna Letters

Repeating Section 83 in different phrase; Egyptian records do not use the term Kinahhi before the Mycenaean period in Palestine. It does not seem to be an Egyptian invention, though frankly acknowledged now to be Non-Semitic. And in no case does it specifically include the interior of Palestine. In the Akkadian commercial lingua franca of the El-Amarna letters it is applied to coastland far north of Palestine. The following are the passages. All places save Akko are on the last map in this book.

Burna-Buriash, King of Babylon, writes Amenophis IV that traders sent from Babylon to Kinahhi had been murdered in Hinnatuni (Hannathon) by two chieftains of Akko, which is Pharaoh's territory: and the "King of Babylon desires satisfaction." This passage does not tell us that either place was in Kinahhi. (EAL 8:10ff).

Rib-Addi of Gebal writes Amenophis III, "Formerly at sight of a man from Egypt all the Kings of Kinahhi fled. But now the sons of Abd-Ashirta (of Amurru) are making the whole coast revolt. Sumurri is plundered: the troops from Gebal slain (EAL.109:46ff). Letter 131 repeats the whole complaint. Lose Gebal and you will lose all! -- Letter 137:76 again begs to save the cities of Kinahni."

Abdi-Milki of Tyre, which is on an island, without sufficient water, and with no wood or fodder, complains that the King of Sidon is harassing him. He wants the adjacent coast-settlement of Ushu, with abundance of water, wood and fodder. "Ask your inspector-general: he knows Kinahna!" (EAL 148:46). In letter 151, he repeats his petition: then in line 50, Pharaoh has written him, "What you hear about Kinahna, write me!" His news is that the king of Danuna is dead, and Ugarit, the King's City, has been half-burned! (line 55). The people of the other half of Ugarit have fled and the troops of the Hittite land are no longer there: Etagama is lord of Kadesh: and Aziru (of Amurru) has declared the Damascus region (?) an enemy: and I have seen open rebellion on the part of Zimrida (of Sidon), for he collected ships and troops against me out of the cities of Aziru." Observe on the map that the great city of Ugarit was about 160 miles in airline north of Tyre.

Such is the Kinahhi - Kinahna of 1400 B.C. It does not appear as an ethnic expression, as it does 1500 years later in North Africa, already quoted. It includes people of different languages and stocks, as shown by inscriptions from Ugarit. There are tablets that we cannot yet read, which may have come from near-by towns in that same coast-strip which used Akkadian as their ordinary lingua franca. But no people uses any form of "Canaan" as a designation for itself, or for any other people. A thousand years later we have coins from Latakia, only 8 miles south. One long known reads "Of La'dakia, a mother-city (metropolis) in Kena'an". Another reported by Ginsberg reads LeLadaka Ashkenaan, "Of Ladaka which is in Canaan" - to distinguish it from several other towns of the same name (Laodikia). But the people do not call themselves "Canaanites". A glance at the map of St. Paul's travels in Hastings' DB will make clear how remote this coast from Tyre to Antioch is from any connection with what we call "Palestine".

88-b. Canaanites of Reliefs and Excavations Who Are Not Semitic

"Certain Egyptian reliefs sharply distinguish the Kenahhi from the neighboring population. In a great inscription of Seti I a Canaanite warrior is shown as a slender, helmeted, highbrowed, short-kilted, cropped-bearded figure, utterly un-Arabian: clearly some one of the Aegean or European coast-people. Lebanon folk shown are just as clearly Bedûin in appearance; long-bearded, long robed, with sloping foreheads and with kerchiefs tied on by a cord around the head." (LTM, 66-67).

In IK.9:16, Pharaoh is represented as capturing a city of the "Canaanites". A fair question is, Was the term Kinahhi used in the Egyptian official account? For Macalister excavated Gezer many years ago, and found shaft-graves that he pronounced identical with later Mycenaean and with Carian at Assarlik. Kurt Galling in 1913 observed that New Mycenaean finds at Gebal-Byblos were like those at Gezer (LTM.67). And the excavational evidence is that Gezer had some Mediterranean peoples at least as late as 1,000 B.C. Pharaoh might have recorded that the "Canaanites" of the OT narrative were the "sea peoples" of the Egyptian Records (Egyptian Sections 178, 184-a, 187-a, 187-b, 189).

In Gen.23:2,19, Hebron is a city in the "land of Canaan": while in Josh.14:12ff it specifically held by Anakim. Now in the Minoan Sections N,O,P, (pp.96-98), The Anak was shown to be a familiar Minoan administrative official. So Hebron was a Minoan trade post. The non-Semitic names Aner, Eshcol, Mamre, pledged brothers of Abram, may have been such Minoan officials. (Gen.14:13,24).

Again, Ezek.16:3 declares that Jerusalem was "of the land of the Canaanite": which is immediately expounded in vv.3 and 46 as a "mixture of Hittite and Amurru (?)". It was not a Semitic City in Judg.19:10-12: and was still the same in David's time (2 Sam. 5:6-10); and David's Hittite Captain with a wife Buti-Kheba, slurred into "Bath-Sheba" was probably acquired at that time. And Egyptian cursing - texts show Jerusalem was a strategic commercial point about 2000 B.C. (Egyptian Sections 81,82). Now a Mycenaean gateway has been found in recent years at Jerusalem: and a few years ago a rich tomb chamber was found in the Northwestern part of the city with about 100 bowls, pots, jugs, and lamps of Late Bronze times. Most of the pieces were made abroad, or imitated foreign models: especially Cypriote; and there was one Mycenaean Chalice. (Maisler,

AJSL 49:248-253). Ezekiel certainly knew what he was talking about when he expounded "Canaanite" as meaning certain non-Semitic peoples.

88-c. Earlier Form Of The Hebrew Language Not "Canaanite"

With all this before us, it will be recognized that no OT author could ever have thought of any speech that he dubbed "Canaanite" as being an early form of his own language. That so many Orientalists persist in calling the pre-Israelite stage of Hebrew "Canaanite" is lamentable. It makes their accuracy in all other matters suspected. Albright, reviewing F.M. Abel's new monumental work on the Geographie de la Palestine, observes, "The Semitic etymology of the name Kena'an, a cuneiform Kinahna - is no longer accepted by most scholars. Kenahna is quite un-Semitic in form, resembling Southeast Anatolian place-names such as Karahna" (J.P.OS. 1935, p.187). One who confesses the name to be non-Semitic should not apply it to Semitic speech! Yet in his presidential address of Nov. 1934, Albright continues to use "Canaan" and "Canaanite" of the land, and of objects: and writes "before 3000 B.C. a northwest Semitic element speaking an early form of Canaanite [Hebrew] was already dominant", (JPOS 1935:208). This requires much repentance!

88-d. Aamu, Sea-peoples, Canaan, Iyyim, Erzerûm, Frank - Who Next?

The immemorial fear, suspicion, contempt and hate of the East for the West is before the student. The Egyptians sometimes applied their contemptuous term Aamu to people of Kinahhi: but the same term they used also of other peoples: it was not definite. In their contempt for exact ethnology, they grouped all peoples of the Mediterranean as "Sea-peoples". But that was too inclusive when they would specify the sea-peoples of a particular coast: they accepted somebody's term Kenahhi. The OT prophets had no more exact geographical and ethnographic knowledge than their fellow-country-men. They too feared all coast-peoples: but "Canaan" and Kenahhi were definitely local: did not include all the "sea-peoples". So they use the term Iyyim, mistranslated "islands" or "isles" in AV. The student will consider Is. 11:11; 20:6; 23:2,6; 24:15; Jer. 47:4; 25:22; 2:10; Ezek. 27:7,16; 26:15,18; 27:3,7,15,16,35; Ps. 72:10; Dan. 11:18, as referring to some Mediterranean Coasts. In Is. 40:15; 41:1,5; 42:4,19,12; 49:1; 51:5; 59:18; 60:9; 66:19; Jer. 3:10, coasts of the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean may be meant. Rome left such fear and memory in the Orient that the succeeding Byzantine Greek Empire was "Roum" or "Rûm" to all the Orient: Erzerûm, "Land of Rome", remains its memorial. The prominence of the French in the Crusade Terror has left the Orient calling all Europeans "Franks" (Fering-hee) ever since. Which western people will be made the next name of abhorrence?

Read Albert Viton, "Der Tag In Palestine" in Christian Century 6-10-1936. Consider the picture as the cyclical recurrence of the East against the West.

89. Israel Begins Struggle with the Philistines

Now, to consider in chronological order the OT data concerning the struggle with the Philistines, we must first recognize the very small area of the original Israel of Joshua. Consider Josh. 13:1-7, corroborated by Judges 1, and 3:1-6; Josh. 5:1. The forested condition of Mt. Ephraim: Josh. 17: 14-18. Captured only one hill-fort, 11: 1-14. Headquarters at Shechem, Josh. 24:1 ff, 25 f, 32 f: Bethel captured later, Judg. 1:22-26. The same small area in 1 Sam. 7:12-17; note Samuel's home, 1 Sam. 1:1; 25:1. The Jerusalem area still Jebusite: Judg. 1:21; Josh. 15:65; Judg. 19:10-12; 2 Sam. 5:6-10.

90. Edomite Power Older Than Israelite

In Section 51 was noticed the possibility that the "Caleb people" originated in the Tell Fara region. Now in the OT Edomites are the pre-Israelite peoples of the south. Gen. 36 gives a long list of Edomite rulers, "before there was any king over the children of Israel" (verse 31). Observe there the nativity of Caleb; and Josh. 14:12-15; 15:13-19; Judg. 1:11-15. And the spread of Caleb in 1 Chron. 2:42-55. Kenaz and Amalek belong to this southern area. Edom holds East-Jordan, up to the Jabbok, in Gen. 32:3f; Ephraim north of that in David's time (2 Sam. 17:26; 18:6). Jerusalem rulers hold Edom as a part of their kingdom, to keep a Red Sea port. Note Saul, 1 Sam. 14:47; David, 2 Sam. 8:14; 1 Chron. 18:13 (cf. Ps. 60:8 ff.) Solomon,

1 K. 9:26; Hadad, 11:14 f; Jehoshaphat, 1 K. 22:47; 2 K. 3, Jehoram, 2K. 8:20-22. Amaziah, 2 K. 14:7-10 (2 Chron. 25:20). Total, from Saul to Amaziah, about 275 years. Note Ps. 83:6; 137:7; Deut. 23:7. In the Prophets, Edom threatened: an independent power.

91. East Edom and West Edom.

In the above, it is eastern Edom that revolts. But western Edom is South Judah, and combines with Cretans to make David king. Observe that "Aaron the Levite" (Ex. 4:14) has evidently fled to Edom when Moses fled to Midian (Ex. 4:27; Num. 20:22-29). He probably secured Calebite support, since Calebites and Aaronites hold the same towns. (Josh. 21:13-19) For Edomite elements in Jerusalem culture, see Sections 110-116.

92. Philistine-Edomite Fusion.

Observe western Edom and Philistine-Cretan fusion. In 1 Sam. 30-14, David being Philistine governor, the Egyptian calls the region Keretim. Consider the towns in verses 26-31 to which David restored booty captured, in 14-16, from "the South of the Kerethi." Jerahmeel, Hormah, Hebron, Jattir, Ramoth-negeb, Kenites, Eshtemoah, Aroer, all Edomite? (See Hastings' Dictionary and the Jerahmeel list in 1 Chron. 2:9, 25-42) So the Egyptian in 1 Sam. 30:14 recognizes the Kerethi as controlling the country Egypt had lost. Compare statement in Gen. 21:25-32, that "Philistines" held the interior as far as Beersheba in Abraham's time. Compare McAlister, "A Century of Excavation in Palestine," 162-164. Notice the priest-cities in Joshua 21:9-16. Were these Edomite, or Cretan priests? Observe Judges 3:1-3: the "Israelite" nomads learn art of war from the Philistines and "coastlanders" (the "Sea-peoples" of the Egyptian records: cf. Num. 13:29). Recent excavations show Mycenaean pottery appears in Palestine, near 1450 B.C.; disappears near 1250, long before Philistine pottery appears (1150 B.C.) at Beth-shemesh (1 Sam. 6). Earlier at Kirjath-Sepher; See Duncan, 84 f, 134, 143.

93. Edom Absorbs Late Philistia: All the West-Jordan now "Palestine."

In Maccabean times, and later, western Edom has politically absorbed Philistia. The Roman province is "Idumea." Judas attacks Syrians at Emmaus, west of Jerusalem, and pursues to "Gadara, plains of Idumea, Ashdod, Jamnia." (Josephus, Ant. XII; 7:3) Dor, Mareshah, Joppa, Jamnia, Ashdod, Gaza, Ascalon, Raphia are all in "Idumea" (Ant. XII: 15:4). Hebron, which was Edomite in the time of Caleb, is a chief city of "Idumea" (Wars, IV: 9:7). Josephus' Idumea reaches from Tekoah westward, passes a little south of Bethlehem, and northwest to the sea. And the Idumeans claim equal rights in sacred offices in Jerusalem, "our common city"; "our common temple" (Wars, IV: 4:2. 4, 5, IV; 5:2 See "Idumea," in any index of Josephus, for more.) For Edom in the cult, see Sections 110-116. But while Philistia was becoming "Idumea," the whole of the Jewish land became, and remains, "Palestine."

94. First Philistine Oppression.

We may survey again some of the data considered, following in chronological order the OT references to Philistine contacts with the Israel led by Joshua. (There is no record of any earlier contact.) This Israel came in around 1250 B.C.

The first references are in Judg. 3:31; 10:11 (cf. 1:18; 3:3). No area, no locality mentioned. Shamgar (Hittite name) contemporary of Jabin, 4:1-24; 5:6-7. Shophet, "Judge"; the regular Hebrew term for any political leader, Judg. 2:15-23; Melek (Malik), AV "king" not an old Hebrew term: Judg. 8:22 f; 9:6, 18; 17:6; 19:1; 21:25.

95. Second: Samson?

Judg. 10:6, 7, 11. Is this same as Samson story? Judg. 13-16? How much territory in this story? (11 place-names). Any organized Israel? or army? Is Samson a

reformer in any sense? Interest in any cult?

96. Third: The Eli-Shiloh story.

I Sam. 1-4. Was Samson in this period? (40 years in Judg. 13:1, 1 Sam. 4:18). Note Shiloh sex-orgies Judg. 21:19 ff; 1 Sam. 2:22. Did Philistines destroy Shiloh? Jer. 7:12; Ps. 78:57-70. See Danish excavations, JP6S, 1930; Ahijah in 1 Sam. 14:3.

97. Fourth: The Samuel-Saul Period.

Samuel's area, 1 Sam. 7:13-17. Cf. Section 89. Philistines hold Beth-Shemesh in Samson's country; and Kirjath-jearim, 1 Sam. 6-7:2: garrison north of Jerusalem, 10:5, 10; Did Samuel organize this "prophet-nomination-rant"? "The Gilgal" v. 8, seems near there; was it at Mizpeh? (vv. 17-25?) Renewal of some "Kingdom," 11:14 f; 13:4, 7, 15; 15:12, 21, 33. Note Saul's country, Gibeah, (10:26; 13:2, 15; 14:2; 15:24; 23:19; 26:1); battles for ridge north of him. Israel up to that time had no metals (13:19-25). Much important material here.

Excavations of the first importance should be noted here. Tell el-Fûl, four miles north of Jerusalem, and a quarter of a mile east of the main road, was long ago identified by Robinson as the "Gibeah of Saul" and "Gibeah of Benjamin." Albright began excavation there in 1921, not being able to do much with means then available (Annual ASOR, 1924). But excavations in the last seasons make it clear that a small village was burned there, near 1150 B.C. Probably the catastrophe of Judg. 19-21. Then in last days Early Iron, 1050-1000 B.C., a very considerable citadel was built there, 44 yards by 29, with double walls and projecting corner-towers: a small town about it. It was certainly built by Saul; and fell with him? Later history, down to Greek times, does not concern us here. (BASOR, Dec. 1933)

98. Saul Makes Israel's Political Power.

1 Sam. 11:14; 14:47; 15:1-9; 2 Sam. 1:24; but can not dislodge Philistines, 1 Sam. 12:52; 17; 23:27; fails in attack on Gilboa-Beth-Shean strongholds: (1 Sam. 31) Note strategy on map. Observe that David has fled from Saul's domain, and become a captain in Philistine employ, (1 Sam. 27, 28: 1-2; 29, 30). He is not King!

99. Fifth: David as Philistine Vassal.

Judah at peace, Israel not; 1 Sam. 27: 1-7; 28: 1, 2, 29; 1. 11; 30:26; 30:14-16. Ziklag-Gilboa are synchronous (2 Sam. 1:1-16; 4:10). David still vassal, (2 Sam. 5: 1-5); Mahanaim is Israelite G.H.Q. (2 Sam. 2 ff, 12, 29; 4:5 ff). Israel's choice of David against Abner Philistines had counted their own, (2 Sam. 15:17-25, 18:1; 21: 13-22).

100. The Cretans Save the David Dynasty.

Consider again the Karî bodyguard, in Sections 72, 73, above. Add the guards of Rehoboam, 1 Kings 14:25-28. Consider the control of succession in 1 Kings 1:38, 44; 2: 30-35, 44-45; 1 Chron. 18:17. Note Solomon does not rule Philistia, (1 Kings 4:21). See Jehoiada (2 Kings 11:4 ff, 19): Karî = "Captains" in AV.

101. David's Pelethites and Cretans against the later Philistines.

Revert for a moment to the facts noted in Sections 29, 30. Pelethites in 2 Sam. 8-18. 20:3; 1 Chron. 18:17; 2 Sam. 15:18; 20:7; 1 Kings 1:38, 44, associated with the Cretans. In Num. 16:1, a ben-palet or Pelethite is one of the Jerahmeelites of southern Judah. Are the Pelethites identical with "Philistines"? Are they connected with Beth-Palet of Josh. 15:27; Neh. 11:26?

102. Beth-Pelet Restored.

Beth-Pelet means "House of Escape" or "refuge"; probably because a border-stronghold for refuge from nomad marauders like the Amalekites. The modern name Tell Fara¹, 18 miles south of Gaza, is the ancient Beth-Pelet; while Albright thinks it is Sharuhen of Josh. 19:6; a Hyksos stronghold; besieged as already stated in Section 49. Petrie, Duncan and others think Tell Fara¹ is Beth-Pelet. Following its 25 Hyksos kings was a line of "Philistine" or Cretan lords, shown by relations with synchronous Egyptian kings, to have ruled from 1320 to 1100 B.C. Section 52. Such Minoans were settled there still earlier (Section 74); they seem "lords" long before time of Rameses II; 150 years before Philistine invasion under Rameses III. Five great tombs have already been found, some containing seven to nine successive burials. (Royal family vaults?) The contents of the tombs shows weapons of steel and bronze, against the flint of Palestine (1 Sam. 13:19-23). The whole rich plain for fifty miles south was the grain basket of Crete, and the industrial-commercial base for their trade through the Red Sea. The pottery in the tombs is of Cretan patterns. (Petrie, London Times, 5-4-1929; 7-1-1929, p. 15; 7-9-1930; 7-9-1931; 7-11-1930; 7-17-1930; ILN, June 30, 1928; Duncan, 144-147; Beth-Pelet I; Beth Pelet II).

103. What Became of Gath?

Note confederacy against Israel, Ps. 83:7; 108:9; but an ally, Ps. 60:8; 87:4. Any discrepancy? Gath belongs to Rehoboam, 2 Chron. 11:8. Did David repatriate Ittai of Gath (2 Sam. 15:17-25) as a governor, who would be loyal to David? Solomon had a King of Gath, 1 K. 2:39 ff. Gath seems to belong to Judah till Hazael's time, 150 years later, when it seems to belong to Ashdod, 2 Chron. 26:6. Ekron a royal oracle 2 K. 1:2; cf. Isaiah 2:6. (Lord of what flies?) Courting Jehoshaphat, 2 Chron. 17:11: plunder Jehoram, 21:16 f. Libnah of Josh. 10:29, (Probably the excavated Tell el-Hesi) probably started the trouble by revolting to the Philistines, 2 K. 8:22: is Philistine for Sennacherib, 2 K. 19:8. Philistia a refuge from famine, 2 K. 8:3. Hazael takes Gath from Judah, 2 K. 12:17. Uzziah captures it, 2 Chron. 26:6. But Sargon of Assyria captures it from Ashdod again in 711 B.C. Gath no more in history. This is emphasized by the fact that Sargon's son Sennacherib attacks Askelon as the leader of the revolt, and captures from it Joppa, Beni-Berak (Josh. 19:45) Beth-Dagon of Josh. 15:41; 19:27; but he knows no Gath. Micah 1:1, 10, 14 is earlier than Sargon's capture of Gath.

104. Earlier Lost Gaths.

The name "Gath" is a Masoretic mispointing of a name familiar in Palestine 2000 years before Masoretic times. The real name almost appears in "Gittite, Gittith, Gittah, Gittaim." Men of Gath are "Gittites" (Josh. 13:3; 2 Sam. 6:10; 15:18 ff. 21:19.) Semitic languages assimilate an n to a following t. The name Gintu, Ginti, Ginta, then is not Semitic. But the El-Amarna Letters, (1450-1350 B.C.) show us the towns Ginti-Kirmil (Carmel) Ginti-ashna, Ginti-Padalla, Ginti-rimuni, (Gath-Rimmon, Josh. 19:45); Gamtêti (a plural - the Gittaim of 2 Sam. 4:3). Ginti-padalla was in the plain of Jezreel, near Megiddo. Gina in the same region is mentioned by Josephus, and by Thothmes III in his account of the battle at Megiddo. It is considered to be the Ginath of 1 Kings 16:21. The forms Ginti and Ginti also occur in the EA Letters. The immediate point is that the same ancient culture that established the "Gath" of OT renown had a line of Gint-settlements up the coast and from Carmel across the Jezreel plain, before 1500 B.C. We do not know the meaning of the term; the Minoan script is not deciphered. But we see that when Philistines marched into the Jezreel Plain to contest that trade-route with Saul, they were 400 years later than Thothmes III, and perhaps 2,000 years later than their forebears who had established those Gintu-stations.

105. Egypt, Opposing Scythian Invasion, 640 B.C. ff. Mistress of Philistia.

Observe that Josiah, 2 K. 23:8, rules only from Geba to Beersheba. But the list in Josh. 15:21 ff, includes a score of cities that were certainly Philistine throughout previous Judean history. Probably the administrative change was made by the Egyptian Psamtik I (663-609) who swept through Philistia, fortified Gerar for himself, cap-

tured Askelon speedily but was twenty-nine years in taking Ashdod. He swept up the coast to Arvad. Josiah certainly could not have annexed all these Philistine cities without the permission of Psamtik. It must be that the said Joshua list does not represent any conquest of Philistia by Josiah but an annexation to his domain by Psamtik for Egyptian administrative purposes. See Necho adjusting Judah after Josiah's death, 2 Kings 23:28-36.

106. From Isaiah to Ezra, 720-400 B.C.

Philistines raid Ahaz, (2 Chron. 28:16 ff; cf. Is. 9:12). Hezekiah drives them back (2 Kings 18:8).

Philistines an ally who carry Israelites to western lands, Is. 11:14; will fail Israel, Micah 1:10-15 f. Scythians will desolate, Zeph. 2:1-7; Philistine women are better than those of Judah, Ezek. 16:27. They seek revenge: will be swept away, 25:16ff.

Just here notice an Egyptian document from the time of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. It tells of Pet-Isis, "an envoy to Kina'na and Pulesati"; probably sent by Hophra of Jer. 44:30. The point of interest is that the Egyptians themselves are now using "Pulesati" as a regional or geographical term; but not yet for all "Palestine." They still hold the term Kina'na (Canaan) for more northerly regions. (CAH. II; 295).

107. Yahu-Cult at Gaza, 400 B.C.

Now observe the post-exilic Neh. 13:23-25, near 400 B.C. and the still later contrasting attitude of Zech. 9:1-7; (considered later than 300 B.C.); asserting that Yahu worship will win the remnant of the Philistines. In connection with these consider a famous Philistine coin in the British Museum. (See S.A. Cook, 147, 186, and plate XXXII, originally described in PSBA, 1908; 45 ff). It is considered a coin of Gaza. Yahu is the city-god! The date is about 400 B.C.; about the time when the fanatic Nehemiah did not like to hear any Jews speak the language of the Philistine Ashdod! The writer of Zech. 9:1-7 seems to us far wiser. Did Ahaziah inquire of the Philistine god of Ekron (2 K. 1) because said god was more like Yahu than we suppose? Or was Yahu already "Lord of Flies" (Souls) at Ekron? For Gaza was also called Minoa in the Greek period, and Minos is pictured on Gaza coins. (Hill, Greek Coins of Palestine lxxii.) There was certainly syncretism of the Yahu and Minos cults.

108. Yehūd State: No Yahu Jar-handles.

Many jar-handles of post-exilic time have been recovered, bearing, as first read, the name Yahu. But Dr. E. L. Sukenik, of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem, has subjected these and other epigraphs. to a searching re-examination. He has proved that the reading "Yahu" is an error; the name is really "Yehūd", the Aramaic form of "Yehudah," or Judah. So Nehemiah and his associates were really establishing under Persian protection, a state declared to be "Judah only"; and Aramaic was its lingua franca, or official language. Another silver coin of the fourth century B.C. has been found with the same inscription: the last letter an unmistakable q. Then a four-letter stamp in archaizing Hebrew characters, formerly read Adayah is now seen to contain a monogram already known from fifth century ostraka of the Jewish colony at Elephantine, followed by three letters Yhd (Yehūd). This monogram follows the words lmlk, "belonging to the king," referring to the royal fiscal service. Thus coin-stamps of Judah's fiscal service 500-200 B.C. are now known. And a pentagram stamp formerly read Shelem-Yau is now seen to be Yerushalem; it suggests an administration that did not include more than the city and its environs, perhaps under the high priests Johanan and Jaddua. Another coin found at Beth-zur with the name "Hezekiah" on one side may have been struck by the high priest Hezekiah, mentioned by Josephus. (Albright, BASOR, Dec. 1933, p. 20: Feb. 1934, 20 ff.)

109. The Philistine Type Survives.

The modern Jewish ethnologist, R. N. Salaman, in a recent PEF article considers

"What Became of the Philistines?" (See AJA, 1925, p 463, and "Racial Origins of Jewish Types," Tr. Jew. Hist. Soc. England, 1922, 103-184.) He finds that one-fourth the native Jewish population of Modern Palestine is of the Philistine physical type! The total of the Semitic or "Arab" type is not more numerous! The Hurrian and Indo-European type total half the native Jewish population.

109-a. Shifting Boundaries of Edom and Judah.

The line of Bronze Age Cities (2500-1800 B.C.), referred to in section 33, and suggested by some archaeologists to be colonies of Coast-land traders (possibly Avvim of sections 63, 64: Egyptian 55) has intrigued recent explorers very much. In Moab, during 1933-4, Prof. Glueck discovered in Moab, west of 'Ain Lejjūn, on the slope and top of the hill that rises behind it, ruins of a tremendous walled Bronze age city, 825 yards by 275. The potsherds showed its date to have been 2200-1800 B.C. There followed a gap to about 1250 B.C. Glueck thinks this line of Bronze Age Cities perished in the raid of Gen. 14, and suspects this was a campaign of the Hyksos invasion (AJA, Ap-June 1934, 212-218).

This stirred Explorers to survey further south, since the Gen. 14 campaign had reached the Hurrians in Mount Seir. Accordingly in the summer of 1934 the American Schools of Oriental Research in Jerusalem and in Bagdad, The Hebrew Union College of Cincinnati, the American Council of Learned Societies and the Transjordan Department of Antiquities cooperated in an archaeological Survey of the region from Kerak in Moab south to the Gulf of Aqabah. One important result was the discovery of the long-lost site of the ancient capital of Edom at the great ruin called Tawilān, outside of Pera to the east. The long-famous rock-hewn Petra is a late Graeco-Nabatean City..

A second important result was the discovery of a number of very important copper mines along the Wadi Aqabah, from a point 23 miles south of the Dead Sea to the Gulf of Aqabah. There were others near the wādy, both on the East and the West. Strong fortifications suggested precautions against sudden raids, and perhaps the necessity of keeping all the workers under guard. Pottery showed that these mines were worked between 1200 and 800 B.C. Solomon's commercial activity was about the middle of the period, and the product of the mines may have been a chief item of his trade through the Red Sea. The greatest site of all, Menēīyyeh, is on the west side of the Wadi 'Arabah, 21 miles north of Aqaba. It is a fortified enclosure 370 yards by 143 on a flat-topped hill, 135 feet above the bed of the Wady, and guards six mining camps (ILN 7-7-1934). That is 65 miles southeast of Ain Gedēīrat, the ancient Israelite headquarters, called Kadesh-Barnea.

An important inference as to the date of the Exodus was drawn, announcing, without giving any historical reasons, that the southern boundary of Edom at the time of the Exodus was the edge of the Neqb overlooking the Hasmah valley. (As usual in BASOR, no sketch map is given, and hence the verbal boundaries are meaningless in the average college library). And in this theoretical fortified Edom there were no settled communities (?) between 1800 and 1300 B.C. It is believed to have remained a "Bedouin area." That is not a necessary deduction. A much inferior culture at new sites would not necessarily be Bedouin--Then the explorers point to the Israelite request when at Ain Gedeirat (Num. 20:14ff) to be allowed to pass through the "land of Edom." Assuming that Edom was very strongly fortified, they point to this newly-discovered area and conclude that Israel of the Exodus could not have passed through the southern Trans-Jordan before the 13th century B.C. (BASOR Sept. 1934)

109-b. Confusion Of the Red People and The Red Land.

That the compilers of the Old Testament have translated some non-Hebrew terms into approximate Hebrew equivalents is familiar to all scholars: consider Beth-Shemesh in 49-a, and the Minoa stations in Palestine in "Minos And Minotaur" chapter, Q-16-ff. The student has had before him the persistent and powerful influence of the Red Berber people in South Palestine: down to the Christian era the very names of its judicial cultus-centers remained unchanged in cosmopolitan Mediterranean vernacular. But none of these names appear in The OT.

Now "Edom" in OT exposition heretofore, has meant the "Redland" east of the 'Arabah, south of Moab; boundaries indefinite and variable. But the dominant settlements of the

Minoan Red People were west of the Arabah. Then in 58-Z, the stubborn antagonism of the Red Berber Tuareg to all Arab culture was made clear. It should be clear that the "Red People Edom" west of the Arabah were originally antagonists of the much later Semitic speaking peoples who migrated into the "Red Land Edom", east of the Arabah. Considering our very defective OT ethnology in the past, it is not surprising that the above statement of the explorers overlooks the fact that the Edom through which Israel was not allowed to pass northward is not the Edom whose boundaries they have discovered.

First. The Israel of Num. 20:14ff are already in the borders of Edom, though 75 miles west-north-west of Mt. Hor, toward which they turned. The Edom from which they turned was a region of fields and vineyards. (See Palmer's statement in the inset of upper left corner of the Sinai map at back of this volume). And it had a "king's highway" running through it. And the region to be crossed was so small that the Israelites were sure they could get through without taxing the local water supplies. All very different from the "circuit of the wilderness of Edom" that was made with Moab as an objective, about 850 B.C., in 2K. 3:9ff. And when Israel turned away from the Edom of fields and vineyards and pools they marched 75 miles (air-line) east southeast to Mt. Hor, straight into the Edom of the explorers' survey and of 2K. 3:9ff--but this Mt. Hor is "by the border" of the explorer's Edom. The Edom from which they turned away was clearly the western Edom, later south Judah (Sections 90,91). In Josh. 15:21-32 Edom extends clear across the south to the Sea. The Israelites had apparently wished to follow the highways north-northeast, from Ain Gegeirat to Beersheba or Hebron. (See map in Palmer's Desert of The Exodus) Palmer thinks an earlier failure (Numbers 14:45) was on this route.

Then there is the further difficulty, with the explorer's present theory, that Jephthah, near 1150 BC., claimed that Israel had dwelt along the Ammon frontier, and northward, for 300 years before moving up into the Gilead region, (Judg. 11:26), putting Israel there 200 years earlier than the present explorers think possible. Then a very strong group of scholars do not find it possible to explain all the conquest-stories as the acts of a single people in a single generation. They see rather the fusion of the traditions of several different peoples. (cf Ex. 12:38).

The student will recognize that these recent discoveries do not affect the important fact of the prominence of Edomite elements in Levitical cultus and in literature. Taken with the declaration "Thou shalt not exclude an Edomite from the congregation of Yahu" (Deut. 23:7f) it is certain that Israel dwelt long in Edom, and that the story of some Israelites being refused passage is but one minor incident.

D. A Glance at Some Elements in Cultus

Special interest attaches to Edomite and Minoan influences because of their long and unbroken contacts. The student should remember the evidence on earlier Israelite cultus, stated in Section 4 of the Preface.

110. Edomite Elements in Cultus.

The ark made by a great-grandson of Caleb (Ex. 31:2f; 1 Chron. 18-21). And when David found moving the ark dangerous, he put it in the care of an "officer of the god Edom"--Obed-Edom of Gath, 2 Sam. 6:12. Observe that Othniel and Kenaz are ancestors of an Edomite "valley of artisans" or "craftsmen" (charashim) in 1 Chron. 4:13 f: workers in metal and wood. They claim an ancestor Jo-ab, "Yahu is father." Is this "valley" the Gerar-Beersheba glen, of Sections 48 to 54? Then, consider new discoveries by Horsfield that ancient Moab and Edom were rich copper-producing countries, with flourishing towns and villages of the Bronze Age and important commerce; and that a line of Early and Middle Bronze towns (3000-1500 B.C.) ran from Bashan south through Moab and Edom! (Section 33). (BASOR, no. 35, p. 10; no. 43, p. 22, no. 45, p. 29). Correlate this with the reminiscence of powerful pre-Edomite peoples there, Deut. 2:10, 20; and with the just-mentioned Exodus story of skill in all metallurgy in certain Calebites of Edom. The assertion that the story of the wilderness-tabernacle is impossible is archaeologically contradicted.

111. Note Aaronite priests in Calebite Towns.

(Josh. 14 and 21:13-19), with Caleb, Judg. 1:10-15. How reconcile? Observe that Aharôn ("Aaron") means "mountaineer." And Aaron's home is Mt. Hor, in the land of Edom (Num. 20:22-29, 21:4; 33:37-39; Deut. 32:50). It is Moserah in Deut. 10:6; Num. 33:30. (See G. L. Robinson, SAC, pp. 263 ff.)

112. The Edomite almond (shakéd, "awakener") in the ark-cultus? Num. 17:8; Ex. 25:33, 34; 37:16-20; Jer. 1:11. See Hastings' DB, "Almond." Contrast the pomegranate, in Solomon's Temple, I Kings 7:20, 43; Jer. 52:22 f; and on late priestly robes, Ex. 28:33 f; 39:24 f; Josephus, Ant. iii: 7:4,7.

113. Edom He-Goat, or Ibex, in OT Ritual,--The "Sin Offering."

The ordinary domestic he-goat is attûd. This never occurs in OT ritual. Seventy-six times we have se'ir; shaggy goat? Shivering goat? It is debated. The Ibex is recognized, probably an "oracle-goat"; in 2 K. 23:8 (AV. "gates") Such wild-goat oracles may underlie the repudiation of se'irim in Is. 13:21; 34:14; Lev. 17:7; 2 Chron. 11:15, where the AV has "devils," or "satyrs." Jews charged with worship of Mendesian goat in CHA, v-ii (ANF, VII, p. 443; and Wilkinson III-303). Compare rabbinical assertion that the devil appears as a very hairy goat; and that Minim (heretics, Christians) count the scape-goat "a second god." (Herford, 316 ff.)

114. Edom in Literature.

Read R. H. Pfeiffer, "Edomite Wisdom," in ZATW, 1926, pp. 13-22. So S.A.Cook, who however, thinks of postexilic Edomite settlement; not Minoan, in CAH.

115. No Edomite God Condemned.

Observe again that while Moab, Ammon, Sidon, Egypt, etc. have distinctive national gods (Chemosh, Milkem, Ashtart, etc.) which are condemned, there is no condemnation of any Edomite god. On the contrary the Shaddai of the Edomite Job (24 times; AV, "Almighty"), is declared to be same as Yahu, in the patriarch-stories; El-Shaddai in Ex. 6:3; to be known to Abram in Gen. 17:1; Isaac, 28:3; Jacob, 43:14; 48:3; Shaddai, to Jacob, 49:25; and in Balaam story, Num. 24:4; and of Naomi, Ruth 1:20, 21. Observe that Shaddai is not in the early Abram and Jacob stories; only in their Edomite residence. In Gen. 48:3 El-Shaddai is declared to have been the god of the dream at Luz, later Beth-el, in 28:10-19. Was the Edomite Shaddai the god of the initiation--wrestling in Gen. 32? See Edom frontier in verses 1-7, 22 ff; 33:1 ff.-- Shaddai is the name still stamped on every mezuzah, or Jewish doorpost-charm; considered prescribed in Deut. 6:4-9.

116. Who Compiled These Edomite Elements?

Consider the insertion of a summary of Edomite notables in Gen. 36. Who, what people, furnished this? Why inserted at this point? (An interruption of the story of Israel-development). Were the patriarch-traditions originally Edomite, and here edited in the interest of the later political leadership of Israel? Is Gen.25:23 Etiological?

With regard to this Edomite element in Early Hebrew history S.A.Cook (CAH, iii: 478 ff) suggests a "Calebite rebuilding of Judah" consequent upon Edomite immigration after Nebuchadrezzar destroyed Jerusalem: cf. Jer. 49:7-22; Lam. 4:21 ff; Ezek. 25:8; Obadiah; Joel 3:19; the Caleb families in 1 Chron. 1:42 ff; and 4:13-22, "the records are ancient." Shall we call the Caleb settlement postexilic; or pre-Jewish, as in initial paragraph above?

117. Survey Glotz, and Evans' "Palace of Minos" for cultus-elements.

With the fact before us that the Minoan or Cretan culture was long solidly planted in the region of Gerar and Beth-Pelet and Sharuhén and fifty miles southward, we

have seen that this culture combined with the invading Edomites and largely shaped the kingdom we call "Judah." But also Mycenaean garrison and trade-colonies in Palestine, between 1500-1250 B.C.; all grouped under the general term "Canaanite" (Coastlanders), in the OT. For some appreciation of the cultural influences from the Aegean, we will read the first half of Glotz, Aegean Civilization; then glean from Evans, "Palace of Minos."

For a rapid semester's survey for English students, about three weeks may be allotted to Glotz, omitting parallel portions in Evans. But in Evans the invaluable introduction should be carefully scanned. Then all pictures, plans, architecture, should give a rapid, vivid impression; especially of the cultus-features indicated in the references below. There is not time for more than a few days of this, in undergraduate's short course.

But-NB! -- From Evans' book the student may gain the impression that the great Minoan culture developed out of the Neolithic underlying it, though no trace of the world-famous double-axe is found in the deep Neolithic deposits. Evans thought it intrusive from somewhere in Western Asia.

Now in 1933, the British Excavation at Tall Arpachiyah ("Hill of the Barley people"), near Nineveh, pierced ten strata. The upper four showed culture identical with the oldest found at Ur, Kish, Lagash, and Erech in Southern Mesopotamia; approximately 4000 B.C. The strata beneath show an older and very different culture, which the southern invaders had driven out. And in the 6th and 7th strata were found double-axe amulets, and circular stone foundations like those of Mycenaean bee-hive tombs, with fragments of mud-vault roofs. This unknown culture was driven from what was later northern Assyria probably 1000 years before it mastered Neolithic Crete (London Times, 7-14-1933; LN, 6-27-1931; 7-10-1932; 5-13-1933; 9-16-1933.)

18. Altar-Horns in "The Palace of Minos".

Notice the pictures and indexed passages; with commentary, locate OT passages. In Exodus, Leviticus, blood is rubbed on them. In Ex. 30:3, overlaid with gold. Gild the horns of a sacrifice is familiar in the Odyssey (3:419 ff); and tall ox-horns are a regular feature of Minoan altars; cf. Gilding the altar, Matt. 23:16; CHA, v-11 (ANF, II, p. 443).

19. Sidelocks. (Evans, II:34) Compare Godbey, Chap. XX. An ancient Berber custom: still survives. Jews have adopted. Not found in Arabia; cf. Jer. 25:23, "corners of hair cut off."

20. The Butterfly-Soul: weighed, as souls weighed in Egypt. (Evans, I, 705 f; II, 78 f, 482, 787 ff.) Lord of Flies, god of Ekron, 2 K. 1:2 f, declares Life or Death, f. Psyche and her butterfly wings! (Liddell and Scott, s.v. psyche, VI). White abbage - butterfly! In vol. III pp. 148-153 Evans notices golden butterflies with the dead; gold balance for weighing souls, with butterflies embossed on the pans, in third shaft-grave at Mycenae; two chrysalises are portrayed over a youth and maid who meet in Elysium. Pictures of white butterfly chrysalises are painted; and Cretan peasants still call butterflies "little souls."

Such thought about the dead in Palestine for ages before Israel arrived!

21. The cult of the Dead.

(Evans, 1:438 f, 447. Would he now include snakes and doves?)

22. The Ancestor-Spirit as a Snake.

(Evans 1:495 ff, 509; pictures, passim) wrongly, "snake goddess." But in new discoveries (London Times, 6-20-1930, p. 15) rightly speaks of "domestic-snake". Thirty years ago, in Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult, he noted survivals of the "house-mother-snake" in Aegean coasts. Read Ovid, transformation of Cadmus and Harmonia into ancestral snakes that dwell in the temple. Evans has found the temple-tomb of Minoan priest-kings built into the rocky hillside at Knossos. There is a chamber, for the ancestral snake, and milk-pots for them. Signet ring shows that the Minoan mother-goddess was also keeper of these royal dead. (Times, 7-30-1931). Brass snakes have

been found in Minoan snake pits at Gezer. Now consider 2 K. 18:4. Was this brass snake supposed to represent Moses himself? Gather all the "divination" passages in the OT. (AV) The Hebrew word in each case is "snake"! Were these snake-oracles ancestors? Joseph used "snakes" Gen. 44:5, 15; Syrians in 1 K. 20-33.

Such thought about the dead was in Palestine for ages before Israel arrived!

123. Dove-Souls.

(Evans 1:222-224; 440-635; pictures passim) compare Greek Phassa or Phatta, "wood-dove, wood-pigeon"; pherse-phatteion, "a temple of Proserpina," Queen of the dead; Phere-phatta, Pharephatta, "Wild-dove Bearer," a title of Proserpina. (Liddell and Scott, Lexicon. Greek inheritance from Minoans?)

124. The Interceding Mother-Goddess.

(Evans 1:198) Compare "Mother and Child" (II:277). How closely related to Egyptian Isis and Horus - the Catholic "Virgin and Child"? (cf. Draper, p. 47 f, 71 f). How far was the intercessory Palestinian Queen of Heaven affected by the earlier Minoan? Or was Anat (Greek Athene) of Minoan origin?

125. The Double-Axe, and Thunderer-Bull.

(Evans; pictures passim, 1:469: 11: 25f). Compare Thor's hammer: Hittite or Hurrian double-axe of Storm-God Teshup (Jove? Tshu'v?)

126. "The Earth-Shaker" Cult.

(Greek, Poseidon, Latin "Neptune," a submarine God). Worshipped in subterranean chambers, with bull-sacrifices, when Knossos is ruined by earthquakes. (Evans, 1:30a, 324, 623 ff; II:312 ff, 360, 542. See Homer's Odyssey.)

127. Holy Springs.

(Evans, II:127 f, 134, 138) What of such in Palestine? Compare Cave-Sanctuary with Baetylic stone: (Evans, 1:153-163).

128. Peacock-plumes; priestly or royal insignia.

Evans II:2, frontispiece; and p. 685). But why are lilies and crocuses given these royal or priestly insignia? (pp. 773, 776, 777, 779). Why in 1 Kings, 10:22?

129. Position of Woman in the Minoan Art.

How far a directrix of liturgy? Compare Ex. 38:8; 1 Sam. 2:22; Num. 4:23; 2:24; 4:3; 30, 35; 2 K. 23:7.

130. Any Sexual Nudity ever Found in Minoan Art?

Compare Ex. 32:25; 2 Sam. 6:20; 1 Sam. 19:24; Hos. 23; Micah 1:8, 11; Ex. 20:26; 28:42; Ezek. 16:22. What do you see in Semitic or Oriental art?

131. Consider Skin wearing, when sacrificing. (Gen. 27:15 ff. and Evans, 1:438).

132. Consider the "Priest-King"

In Evans' portrayals, compare the Philistine tseran of Sec. 76a. Notice in 1 Sam 5:8, 11, 18, these lords pass on matters of oracle, ritual, etc. Are they essentially "Priest-Kings"? Did Ahaziah send to the Seran of Ekron? 1 K. 1:2? Note that the King of Damascus in 2K. 5:5 ff. thought his plea for help had to go to the King of Israel.

TOPICAL INDEX OF EGYPTIAN INFLUENCES.

2. Egypt never Isolated from the rest of the world.
3. Its Sea-contacts.
4. Climatic changes: The Sahara conditions are geologically modern.
5. Glacial Africa: Only in high Atlas Mountains - Not on low coasts.
6. Pleistocene Egypt. Humanity in the Nile valley 500,000 years ago.
7. Two Different ways of succession of Paleolithic Cultures (The oldest may be on the highest ground, (2) They are in the lowest stratum).
8. Pleistocene African men out-side of Egypt. (Genesis 2,3, and 10 will make students ask, Did humanity originate at one point only, on the earth? or at several widely separated points?)
9. Early man In The Rift Valley Pleistocene (Rift Valley is the great cleft of the Jordan-Dead-Sea-Arabah-Red Sea across Somali-land-Lake Rudolph-through Kenya to Lake Nyassa-Dr. Leakey's discoveries in Kenya since 1928 are of the first importance).
10. Pleistocene man outside Africa. (A list of the points where the very oldest fossil men have been found: from 500,000 to 1,000,000 years old).
11. Pleistocene Arabia. (Recent discoveries show equally ancient humanity there, and thousands of stone houses of a more modern unknown race. The desert is relatively modern).
12. Jebel Silsileh Boulders. (Weather-dimmed petroglyphs: Egyptian Glyphs fresh, yet 4000 years old!)
13. Non-Semitic Origins-(As in sections 7-15, Minoan: No Semitic beginnings.
14. Capsian stage (of Tunisian proto-Berbers). Snail-shell heaps. Ancestors of the Red Berber Minoans. Vegetarians when France had reindeer).
15. The Petroglyph Evidence. (Pictures of animals that become extinct, in some cases 25,000 to 100,000 years ago. A page, including all parts of Africa.
- 16-19. Merimê Beni Salamê! (Forty miles northwest of Cairo. Ancient agricultural community, 10,000 to 5,000 B.C.? Sketch of 4 years excavations.
21. Survival of the Ancient Mediterranean stock (As in case of same people in Palestine. Fifty skeletons in an Algerian cave, trapped by a land slide!)
22. Mediterranean Agricultural Rituals. (Some originating in Egypt were carried north into Greece, and into Palestine with Israel: Lev. 23:43).
- 23 and 24. Nakada Discoveries. (North of Karnak and Luxor, Ancient predynastic Hamitic people. Their ancestors were on Nile terraces 150,000 years earlier.)
- 25 to 34. The still earlier Badarian and Tasian discoveries, (125 miles northwest of Thebes, on a strip six miles long, 80 to 90 yards wide, at foot of limestone cliffs. Marvelously beautiful pottery and artifacts, but no built houses. Lived above overflow, Prototypes of Egyptian gods).
33. Kharga "Fossil springs" (In Kharga oasis: have slowly heaped around their openings deposits of mineral-built mounds or cones in which ancient artifacts are found.)
35. "Dynastic" and "Predynastic." (Meaning of these terms. Manetho's information limited).
36. What was the Date of Menes? (A fundamental question in Egyptian chronology. The debated beginning of the Sothic Cycle calendar).
37. The Predynastic Kings. (Of The Red House of the Red People in the Western Delta. The whole monograph on the Pre-Semitic Red Berber Minoans is implicate here. Breasted finds this Tahennu Dynasty may have been established in the Delta as early as 5,000 B.C.).
38. Early Mediterranean Delta Supremacy. (The above-mentioned monograph is again implicate).
39. How long the PreDynastic Delta Dominance? (As above: Synchronisms suggest that it may have begun as early as 5,000 B.C. Its remains now under 35 feet of alluvium).
40. Menes of Manetho a fusion of three or four rulers (Cover 100 years?).
41. Pre-Dynastic Commerce, (Proofs of Jerusalem, Sinai, Phoenicia, Aegean),
42. Whence This South-Egypt Hegemony? (Not primarily Hamitic. Probably from Persian highlands, trading along South Arabian coasts, bringing brick-making, picture writing, etc.)
43. Religious Invasion of the north by Second Dynasty (Attempt to plant the Hamitic animal-gods in the Berber Delta. Some compromise. But animal-gods never got into Pharaoh-titles).
44. Second Dynasty Influence Abroad. (Gabal-Byblos: Danube trade, etc.).
45. Predynastic contacts with Minoan Culture. (Exchanges with Crete-See "Pre-Semitic Red Berbers").
46. Predynastic Period in Asia Minor. (Non-Semites; Hittites, Hurrû, Caucasus).

47. Sumerian Zenith Attained In Pre-Dynastic Period (Trade reached Cilicia, Caspian, India).
- 47-b. Why No Correspondence Between Egypt and Lower Euphrates? (Papyrus rot in the mud).
48. How did Egypt meet competitor Trade? (Through Kupna-Gebal-Byblos).
49. Who are the Fenkhû? (Unidentified Gebal ship-builders. Perhaps Minoan).
50. Beginnings of Metallurgy ("Perizzites": Hittite parzi, "metal:" parzi-ili, "iron").
56. Egyptian Gods (Make general survey of the more prominent).
57. Third Egyptian Dynasty. Stone Buildings Appear (Marvelous perfection of work of Zoser and Imhotep. Antecedent experience probably in the mud-buried Red House).
58. Zoser Mortuary chapels. (Oldest tomb-endowment deeds yet found).
59. Sneferu-(First use of Cartouche. Fleets on Mediterranean, Red Sea; reached India?)
60. Cheops: Khufu: 2900 B.C.? (Great Pyramid.—Stone "Boat-Tomb."—At Gebal--No Records)
61. Chephren; (His "Sphinx": self-portrait.—No Records.—Great Zoan Sea port).
62. Mycerinus: Men-Kau-Ra" (First "Son of the Sungod," Ra". This title persists).
63. Splendour of Fourth Dynasty Art. (Unequalled. Remains the model for later times. Recent startling Discoveries by Reisner. Kings were "Gods").
64. Egyptian Tombs at Gebal. (Local Rulers copy Egyptian models and Liturgy).
65. Great Fourth Dynasty Queen, Khent-kawes. (Startling daughter of Mycerinus: comparable to later Hatshepsut, or English Elizabeth).
66. Fifth Dynasty. Revolutionary Usurpers. (Expansion of Ra'-Cult. Sahurâ fleets reach South Arabia: Somaliland: exchange-point with India. Palestine, and Lebanon ports).
67. Sumerian Advance to Amurru (cf. 35-b, Prolegomena. Lugal-zaggisi of Ur reaches "Phoenician" coast. Sumerian influences remain in the Mediterranean thence-forward).
68. Advance of Sargon of Akkad, Gen. 10:10. (Earliest Known Semitic ruler. Plants trading-stations to Sardis. Sumerians must play "second fiddle".)
- 68-b. Egypto-Sumerian correspondence. ("Semitic" Traders used Akkadian as Lingua franca; employed Sumerian scribes and accountants, who wrote in Akkadian.)
69. Early Hurrian Cultures. (Oldest known in Asia Minor. Centered in the Harran region. Discoveries of Oppenheim. A hindrance to Sargon. Palestine will become "Land of the Hurrâ.")
70. Fifth Dynasty, Continued. (Isesi places royal Cartouche on Sinai mines. Precepts Ptah-hotep. Great Zoan Trade. Migration from "Syria" comes down Palestine coast).
- 71-72. Fifth Dynasty: Unas, last King. (Holds Gebal with his fleet. First step toward compilation of mortuary liturgies—"The Book of The Dead".--Tomb endowments fail!)
73. Sixth Dynasty, 2675-2475. (Zoan enlarged, Byblos held. No "Phoenicians" in Palestine yet. People still agrarian. No great cities).
- 74, 74-b, 75. Sixth Dynasty. Pepi I. faces migration of starving agriculturists from east of Jordan: first known "Semitic" move into Palestine. They find Old Egyptian spoken there. Meyer shows no "Phoenicians" in Palestine yet. Greek stories of ancient Phoenician migration a late fiction. Discoveries at Ugarit show no "Semites" there till after 2000 B.C.).
76. Pepi II: 2566-2470 (Traditional Reign, 96 years. Great caravan extension; Harkuf to Soudan; Fleets on all seas. Contacts with Crete. Zoan enlarged. Egyptian religious dominance at Gebal. Hurrian trade-posts).
77. Seventh to Tenth Dynasties-27 Kings, 146 years (Foreign Delta commerce makes "Syrian" Pharaohs).
78. Chronological Anarchy (Probable beginning of Manetho's 511 years of Hyksos domination).
- 79-80. Middle Kingdom: Eleventh Dynasty (2160ff?) Out of the conflict of rival claimants a Theban Antefâ emerges-but does not rule The Delta. The third announces that he rules The North. The Menthu-heteps follow. Mentuhetep III has a personal triumph only-Cultural independence of the "Berber-Syrian" Delta persists.
81. Asiatic Revolt. (Feebler Successors of Menthu-hetep III hurl curses at Zebulun. Three Anak-rulers. Compare Minoan 62 to 67. Iranians are crowding into Asia Minor).
82. Jerusalem, 2000 B.C. (Mentioned with Askalon in above cursing-texts).
- 83, 84. The god Ea of Eridu becomes Yashar, "Yahu is king," of Akkadian-speaking traders. (In "Cappadocian" trade-posts; with Hurrian traders. They will bring Yashar into Palestine).
- 85, 86. Twelfth Dynasty: Amenemhat I. (Probable instigator of above revolt: reverses cursing and swashbuckling, and "purchases" opponents with diplomatic gifts and tactful religious envoys. Local courts ape Egyptian magnificence. Senusert-ankh at Ugarit).

87. Twelfth Dynasty In Asia Minor. (Its diplomatic relics at far interior points).
- 87-b. Akkadian correspondence with Egypt. (Proof pointed out by W. Max Müller).
88. Sesostri I, 1980-1930. Master of Palestine (Shechem, Gezer, Libya—"God of the Gods"!).
89. Yahu ("Jehovah") In Palestine. (Ea:Yashar, of 83-84. Sumerian name EN.KI at Beth-shean).
90. Amenemhat II, 1930-1895 (Continues conquest of diplomacy. Daughter at Katna).
91. Sesostri III, 1887-1848. (Great King of Greek legend. Mementos at Gebal. Caucasus trade: Gezer necropolis; Shechem attacked by Rutennu cattle-herders; Arabia starving them).
92. Amenemhat III: 1849ff (Original genius. Magnificent Builder. Palestine, Lebanon, northern coasts held by diplomatic gifts: funerary equipment).
93. Minoan Labyrinth-The Golden Calf (Builds the Labyrinth in the Fayyûm: with Minoan architects? Extends Moeris Reservoir. Hat-Hor cow-pectoral in Palestine).
94. Ascanian Migration From Balkans (Askênos, "Ashkenaz", Gen. 10:3—"Meshech", Phrygians, etc.—These will not touch Palestine till some centuries later).
95. Fall Middle Kingdom. (No orderly records from 12th to 18th Dynasty. Horde-movements of horsemen from Asia pushes new peoples into Palestine-Egypt.)
- 96, 97. Hyksos-Avaris-Zoan-Pi-Rameses. (Of Exodus 1:8;12:37. Proven by recent excavations of Montet.—Rameses II copied Babylonian Ziggurat.—Anat of Palestine chief goddess. Probably a local diplomatic necessity).
98. Zoan secondary Hyksos capital. (Tell Fara, Beth-Pelet, Minoan sections 39, 52, the primary capital—Analysis of chariot woods proves the Hyksos came from the north of the Caucasus—Iranian: not Semitic).
99. Hyksos Dynasty chronology. (Manetho, 510 or 511 years, long rejected, reopened by Beth-Pelet. Hyksos certainly brought throngs of Hurrians into Palestine-Delta. Probably Persian names mistaken for Semitic).
- 99-B. No Hyksos "Jacob Is God" (This long-current explanation of a Hyksos name proven erroneous. "Joseph-El" goes with it).
100. Hyksos Strategic Position—What "Two strongholds?" (Mitsraim of OT. means "Two Strongholds": but our AV reads "Egypt." Term probably arose in Israel from their experience with Zoan-Beth-Pelet strongholds).
- 101, 102. Read Josephus—Manetho, and Egyptian Captain Aahmes, on Hyksos Expulsion.
103. Indo-Iranian-Hurrian Palestine. (About one-sixth El-Amarna names Semitic.)
104. Egyptian Element In Language—(Thirty percent of the words in the Akkadian El-Amarna letters are not Akkadian. The persisting Egyptian is that of the Old Kingdom—gone 1,000 years!)
- 105, 106. Hebrews And Israel And Abram Not Aramean (Deut. 26:5 Mistranslated).
107. Hebrew-Phoenician Writing. (Finds At Beth-shemesh, 1600 B.C.). The "talent" of the OT in use at Ugarit, 1400 B.C.: 200 years before Israel arrived).
108. Resume Pharaoh Succession, Amenophis I. (Succeeds expeller of Hyksos. Compelled to push to Euphrates. Hittite collisions begin. Palestine Industrial).
109. Thothmes I, 1530-1514 B.C. (Compelled to follow Iranians to Euphrates. Stele there. Fortifies Beth Shean. Ignores Destroyed Beth-Yerah, on Jordan).
- 109-B. Mitanni: A New Rival for Egypt. (Out of the Iranian horde, of Section 95 has arisen Saush-Shatar, who seizes the ancient Hurrian capital of the Harran region, calls himself "king of the Maitêni;" and his rapid annexation of Hurrian states threatens the whole of Egypt's gains in Asia).
110. Hatshepsut: 1514-1479. The Elizabeth of Egypt? (No more romantic figure in the records. Mysterious Romance with her architect, Sen-mut).
- 111, 112. Thothmes III—Hatshepsut, 1501-1447 BC. (The Hittites and Mitanni have cut out his work for him. Not an ambitious conqueror of the world, but a Caesar, who sees that certain boundaries must be defended. The Euphrates was his Rhine). 270 captured towns are mainly in old territory: not in new).
113. Pharaoh-Gods, Temples, and Images. (All Pharaohs being gods, their steles are to be worshipped, as the Pharaohs worship predecessors. OT baalim include many steles of conquerors of Palestine. Towns called by a Pharaoh's name meant a temple for his worship; cases cited).
114. Yahu and Amun, Amon. (Sethe identifies them. Does not know the Berber Sun-Sheep, addressed as Amen, Amanay, in Berber. With this paragraph compare in Pre-Semitic Berber Monograph the "Minos and Minotaur" chapter, and 58-z).
115. Hurrian Culture. Mediterranean Guards. (In the Palestine Garrisons of Thothmes III. But "Syro-Hittite" or "Hurrian" art in the Beth-shean temples means Hurrians have become culturally dominant there during the Hyksos regime. Thothmes III places Hurru at Egyptian temples: with Yashar of 84?).

116. Minoan-Sea Trade. (Pictured in Tomb of Men-Kheper-Râ-Senb and of Rekh-ma-Râ).
118. Mycenaeans not Greek! (Proven by new discoveries at Lemnos: distinct from the Greek to Persian times. Compare Minoan Section 66ff, and 82).
- 119, 120. Egypt Reaches Mycenae. (With her diplomatic gifts--for the first time!)
120. Mycenaean Port of Entry In Palestine: Ugarit. (185 miles north of Tyre. One of the most surprising discoveries in fifty years. Cosmopolitan Commercial emporium: 9 languages. Some still unread. Excavations 1929: still continuing. Clear that Thothmes III had a Mycenaean naval alliance.)
122. NO TYRE and Sidon Yet! (Review section 75. "Phoenicians" will not be prominent till after the crash of Knôssos, near 200 years later).
123. Ugarit Cuneiform Alphabet. (A surprise. But not Hebrew, nor ancestor of Hebrew).
124. Religious Epic of Littafôn, "The Dreamer". (Many fragments: tentative translations and new discoveries still in progress).
- 125, 126. Resurrection of Aleyân-Baal by Anat. (Etiological-cosmologic myth. Aleyân, Hebrew Elyôn, is the Storm-Cloud. How induce him to rise, out of the Sea? The myth illuminates Elijah's competition on Mt. Carmel! Elyôn, AV "Most High", not yet popular).
127. El, Elohim, and Yahu At Ugarit. (These divine names in the Epic, with more than 40 others, upset long-popular theories about them. See the section).
128. Sanchun-Yathôn vindicated. (Philo of Byblos, who tells of Sanchun-Yathôn, has been pronounced a romancer! The discovered epic proves him truthful. See Summary in ERE XI, 178).
129. Farewell to Thothmes III. (No more Epochal departure from Egypt's ancient alliances than his with the Mycenaeans. Did that bring to Palestine the cult of "Right-and-wise, "Truth, Justice?").
- 130, 131. Issue Between Egypt and Mitanni.—Hurrian Jews. (Restive under Iranian dynasty Hurrians of the Harran-home land negotiate with those in Egyptian domain: actually invite Egyptian invasion, and do not fight Amenophis II in support of their Iranian dynasty.—The Hurrian somatic type is the original of the popular conception of the Jew).
- 131-b. Amen-hotep II and the Sky-mother cow. (Sucking the All-Mother in child-like humility).
- 132-133. Thothmes IV, 1420-1411, And Mitanni. (Short reign: far-reaching cultural-political significance. Excavates Sphinx; revives ancient Aton-sun-cult: pushes into Mitanni with Hurrû support; colonizes Hurrû (and Yashar) in Egypt: marries Hurrian princess, whose son became Amenophis III. This will colonize Palestine with more Hurrian immigrants.
- 134-137. The Aton-cult revival organized by Thothmes III? Thothmes IV, Amenophis III: Not by the later Amenophis IV.
138. Aton-Cult Not Monotheism. (Records are against it. No "hereafter").
139. Mitanni Cedes The "Hurrû-Land"—Regains Ašrianni. (The situation in 130 culminates in the cession of the whole Harran-Hurrû-territory to Amenophis III, who restores to Dushratta the Strategic Capital of Ašrianni—Hurrian migrations are now by Egyptian authority).
140. Ašrianni-Osroênê. (Scholars see Edessa; modern Urfa. Cession clears road to coast).
141. The "Hurrian Land" is the Harran Area. (Evidence from many ancient texts).
142. Harran Immemorially Non-Aramean (Oppenheim's epochal excavations at Tell-Halaf uncovered an ancient culture, resembling Hurrian-Perhaps older. An Aramean adventurer, Kapara, established a capital near, about 1200 B.C. The region was not Aramean in patriarchal days. The name "Aram-Naharaim" in OT arose in late Hebrew times).
143. The God Ea-sarru (Ya-šar) a treaty-guarantor. (In the Dushratta-Amenophis III negotiations. The annexed Hurrians will bring Ya-šar into Palestine).
144. Hurrians in the El-Amarna Letters (Usually SA. GAZ, "Sinew slashers"—or GAZ, "Slashers; brigands". But in Letter 60, "all the local kings are employing Hurri troops": an expression not understood for 40 years).
145. Hurrians at Ta'anach (Found by the excavations of Sellin).
146. Iranian Masters; Hurrian subjects. (Names and Egyptian reliefs show the chariot-driving lords always held the Hurrian "private" in contempt: holding themselves aloof. That may explain the fall of Hyksos and Mitanni dynasties).
147. Shubartu Hurrians. (Mountains north of Nineveh. Ancient founders of Niniveh. Ushpia and Kikia two of the early kings, Section 69).
148. Palestine Cities In El-Amarna Letters (No Complaints of the Hurrian immigrants from the majority. No invasion from the east of the Jordan).

149. No Jericho in The El-Amarna Letters. (Excavations reveal a magnificent Hyksos city: a later Egyptian one, with scarabs down to Amenophis III. Destruction must have been early in his reign, before complaints about Hurrian immigrants began. Their importation was a precaution against new disasters).
- 150, 150 Supplement. Shechem, Labaya, Hurrians and Joshua. (All previous portrayals of the El-Amarna situation have assumed that Labaya was a Palestinian rebel. A neglected Hittite letter of his own proves him a citizen of "Vine-Land" in Arzawa, west of Cilicia; a great commercial captain, and confidential agent of kings. And a regularly mistranslated word in the El-Amarna Letters has reversed the whole picture of Hurrian activity and Amenophis III's policy. Hence the necessity of retranslating all the Letters bearing upon the activity of Labaya and his sons. He chose Shechem as a commercial base because in a far stronger position than the destroyed Jericho. There is no more striking personal story in the ancient past.)
- 150-b. How The Hurrians Got Possession of Shechem. (The fragmentary account in the El-Amarna Letters is curiously paralleled by the Dinah-story in Gen. 34. The treachery of an Achaian traders' camp is the motif. The compilers of Genesis seem to have used an Akkadian record that they did not understand very well).
- 150-c. Labaya's Levites-Any others? (The Levi who dug through a wall in Gen. 49:7 parallels Labaya's angry Lûy or Luvî (?) troops. It has been suggested that the Luvî liturgists of Boghaz-keûi Tablets are the original "Levites!").
151. Political Chronology of the Letters. (The prominent characters, with reference to them in Hittite royal correspondence, make it appear that most of the Letters come from the reign of Thothmes IV, and the early years of Amenophis III).
- 151-A. Political chronology of The El-Amarna Letters: supplement. (The criticism having been made that Meyer's chronology of 20 years ago was decisive, the student is given a lesson in criticism of sources; showing that Meyer never saw the decisive material used in 150-b, 150-c. Labaya's death appears to have been in 1400 or 1399 B.C.).
152. Splendor of Amenhotep III, 1411 B.C. (Summary of his pro-Hurrian policy, diplomatic lion-hunts, Mycenaean Sea-policy, Contacts with Assyrian and Kassite Kings; Hurrian art in Palestine, Hurrû-attendants of his own mortuary temple: his vocal Memnon).
154. Egypt no Consolidator. (She knew how to collect taxes, but not to impart a unifying passionate idea: no civis Romanus Sum! attitude. Depending upon mercenaries, these in time took the lands for themselves. In contrast, Hurrians brought the slogan, Yashar-ilu! "Israel!")
155. Shubbilulyuma's New Hittite Empire. (Two earlier Indo-European dynasties-2400 B.C.? and 1800 B.C. Now a new one: the language "Nesite": cf. Gregory of Nyssa. Correspondence with Amenophis III, Ikh-n-Aton, Mitanni. E-a-sharru, (Ya-shar) invoked in Mitanni treaties).
156. Amenhotep IV, "The Heretic king," 1375-1358. (Coregent with father in latter's last years. Not the originator of the Aton-revival: See 134-137. Probably a dreamer "about an" ideal society" at Ikhet-Aton. Women's quarrels wrecked his Utopia. Recent finds suggest he was a drunkard.)
157. Ikh-n-Aton Reverts To Third Dynasty Regalia. (Flowing, filmy, long "feminine robes. But they became the parade-apparel of the Ramesside times).
158. Ikh-n-aton never reached his prepared tomb. Mob fury wrecked it and Sarcophagus.
159. Nefer-titi Repudiated. (Her tomb also wrecked. Supplanted by her eldest daughter two years before Ikh-n-Aton's death. In her private palace, many caricatures of Ikh-n-Aton as a monkey were found! Who repudiated who?
160. Smenkh-kha-Ra; and Merit-Aton. (His hydrocephalic mummy long mistaken for Ikh-n-Aton's. Now no one knows where the latter's is. Protagonists in reconciliation with Theban priesthood).
161. Tut-Ankh-Aton Becomes Tut-Ankh-Amen (Famous now for unplundered Tomb).
162. Ay (Eye) and Ankh-esen-p-Amen. (Amen-hotep IV had no sons: succeeded by husbands of 4 daughters. Ay married widow of Tut-Ankh-Amen: Amenophis IV's oldest surviving daughter: Ankh-esen-p-amen.
163. Palestine city states Independent in action. (No permanent bonds).
164. Har-em-Hab, 1350-1315 B.C. (An old soldier-reformer, who effectively punished thieving tax-collectors and priestly carpet-baggers. "Chopnose Town" his lasting memorial).
165. Rameses I, 1315-1314. Delta Foreigner? (Probably associate Har-em-hab).
166. Seti I, 1313-1292 B.C. Beth-Shean Stele. (Recent discovery. In 1st year crushes Hamath chief, and Trans-Jordan Aamu and Eperû, who troubled his Hurrû colonists).

167. Aperiu Not "Hebrews" - (Eperû-passages collated by John A. Wilson; who suggests Khabirû. Brugsch suggests "redskins." Conclusion that they are "Ephraim").
168. Conquests of Seti I. (After above, subdues "Libyan" push in Delta: Hittites in Galilee: Kadesh on Orontes: north to the Gulf of Issus? 43 towns).
169. Punishing Aamu and Eperu. (Across Jordan to Mahanaim: stele at Tell es-shihab: to "marshes of Naharin," southeast of Damascus. Through a dolmen region).
- 169-b. Are Aamu "Boomerang-Throwers?" (Boomerang-peoples, including Num. 35:18).
170. Anat at Beth-Shean. (Queen of Heaven, Jer. 44:17-25; 7:18-Anathoth; DB. article totally wrong--Anat and Elyôn in Section 126).
- 171, 172. Beth-Shean And Beth-Pelet Steadily Egyptian. (No conquest by any invaders).
173. Rameses II, 1292-1225 B.C. Becomes "Job!" (Pushes across Jordan to treat with his father's Eperû-enemies. Stele at Ashtaroth-Karnaim; became known as "Job's stone." Still an asylum for runaway slaves).
174. Zoan, and Anat again. (Cf. Hyksos Zoan in 96, 97. New excavations by Montet. Rameses II colossus largest ever reared. Anat-cult his favorite).
175. Mycenaean Disappear (Suddenly, totally. Not yet accounted for. Achaian invasions? of the Argolid? Expelled from Ugarit by Hittites?)
176. Is the Hittite Treaty In the Pentateuch? (Loss of the Hittite war leaves Rameses II's northern Palestine boundaries essentially those claimed by Early Israel).
177. No Proscription of Rameses II's subjects. (Pentateuch proscriptions are against trade-folk Rameses feared. No proscription at all of Philistines, Moab, Edom, Zebulun, Hurrians, etc).
178. Sea-Peoples Not Included In the Hittite Treaty--Eperû-Ephraim Mercenaries. (Story of battle of Kadesh includes 24 non-Hittite peoples. Mycenaean mercenaries lost, Rameses III found others. Eperû were in his army at home. Now settles some in Palestine).
179. The OT version of an Eperû Treaty with Hurrian Yahwists At Shechem. (Joshua takes orders from a Sar of the Yahu-Host in Josh. 5:13f. Treaty at Shechem in 24).
- 179-b. First Eperû: Then Israel: Then Ephraim. (Eperû) in treaty with the Hurrû must accept their Yashar-ilu; pronounce it Yisar-il, Yisrael, Isar-lim known far earlier in Hurrian Hana--Eperû, with Hebrew plural ending, becomes "Ephraim").
180. The capture of Little Jericho. (In 149, a great Jericho was destroyed in early years of Amenophis III. A small town arose there later, as all modern excavators admit: Captured by Joshua).
- 180-a. The Coincident Capture of Bethel. (Excavations at Bethel and Ai, 1934, revealed that there was no town at Ai for 1000 years before Joshua: and Bethel was burned in early 13th century B.C.).
- 180-b. Where was Jeroboam's Bethel? (No trace of a sanctuary in the very inferior little town excavated. Jeroboam's Sanctuary must be at a Beth-On near by).
- 180-c. Confusion of Israelite and Pre-Israelite stories. (Compilers of Joshua did not know which of two ruins was the older: so connected Joshua with wrong site. How many such confusions?).
- 180-d. Lachish Not Captured when Jericho And Bethel were. (Fact revealed by excavations 1933-34. So Josh. 12:11 credits Joshua with achievement of a later time. Lachish history began in Neolithic times. Rameses II had a temple there. His Eperû did not come so far south).
181. Rameses II Begs The Hittite King for Iron. (From Kizzuwadna: Roman "Pontus."-- Why the Ancient world could not smelt Iron. Peoples of Hittite region the first to do it scientifically).
182. Phoenician Script, 1250 B.C.: Time of Rameses II. (Found In Fifth Tomb Gebal).
183. The Khirbet Balua Stele and Rameses II. (Found 1931, in Moab: 3 miles north of Jebel Shihân; copies rudely Egyptian art. Inscription in unknown characters. What is the relation to Egypt?).
184. Merneptah, 1225-1215 B.C.--"Israel" Not a "Land" But a People. (Merneptah inherits the aggressions by Tahenu and Sea-peoples upon the domain of his feeble old father. Repressing revolt in Palestine, he names six lands; and "Israel," who have no "Land" as yet called by their name).
- 184-a. Merneptah Assailed by Tahenu, Garamantes, Ribû, Temeh, Achaians: and by Minoan colonies in Lycia, Sicily, Crete and Caria.
185. Amen-meses: ?? years: Siptah, 6; Seti II Merneptah, 2: 1215-1205? (Original of the story of Joseph? Gen. 39:7ff).
186. Rameses III Describes The Uncentralized Government of 1215-1198 B.C.
187. Rameses III, 1198-1167 B.C.--Medinat Habû Inscription. (Not accurate as to order of events. Late arrangement for dramatic effect).
- 187-a. Rameses III Twice Faces Tahenu, Meshwesh, Ribû, and Temeh, with their "Sea-Coast" Allies. (Renewal of the thrust of Minoan colonies to recover their losses).

- 87-b. The Transmigration of Cretan Pelasgians. (According to Clement of Alexandria).
88. Philistines In Palestine Before The Nineteenth Dynasty. (Cites recovered records).
89. Older Guesses At the Reason For The Sea Peoples' Migration. (Minoans were unknown).
90. Philistine Dominance In South Palestine, 1180-1003. (OT. Evidence, Wen-Amon).
91. Northland Culture Dominant. (Ramessides fail because Berber culture has all North Africa as reserve man-power. The Thebaid has no homogeneous culture to reinforce it).
92. Hurrian Elements In David's Time. (Among Hebrews: various scholars cited).
93. Tanis-Amon Dynasties, 1090-945 B.C. (Delta against the South again. Tanite Kings cultivate the Palestine of David. Hebrew colony at On, 1000-600 B.C.).
94. Si-Amon and Solomon? 976-958. (What Pharaoh's daughter? in I K. 9:16? Probably Si-Amon of Zoan, rather than incompetents at Thebes--Solomon's commerce).
95. Solomon And The Proverbs of Amen-Ope. (Fifteen other lists in the section).
96. Shashanq (Shishak) 945-924 B.C. Divides Palestine. Further Dispersion of Yahwism (Descendant of Tahennu Buyuwawa of Pre-Semitic Red Berber Monograph, 58t. Capital in West Delta: Solomon's alliance was with the East. Jeroboam takes refuge with Shishak? which brings him into cataclysmic conquest. Huge Deportations).
97. Shashanq As Builder. (Greatest Egyptian Builder in South Palestine).
98. Shashanq and Jeroboam's Calves. (LXX says Shashanq married his sister-in-law to Jeroboam. Did Shashanq prescribe The "Calves," and building Beth-On? 180-b).
99. Osorkon I, 925-895--Son of Shashanq. (No monuments. Who is "Zerakh the Gushi," 2 Chron. 14:9-15?--Rose-granite statue of himself at Gebal. "Divinely" feared--probably all over Palestine).
00. Osorkon II. 880-850 Long Dominance of Egyptian Art. (Great builder and appropriator of previous works. Boasts trampling "Northern and Southern Syria"--With Ahab at Qarqar, 854 AD--Beautiful Egyptian ivories of Ahab's Ivory House," IK. 22-29, and on Phoenician Coast, and northward).
01. El-Amarna Days Recrudescence. (Hurrians now Semitized. Iranians dominated Haran in El-Amarna days: Aramaeans of Damascus do now).
02. Rival Dynasties: Twenty-Third and Twenty-Fourth. (Period of 105 years, to fall to Samaria. Time of the Prophet-complaints of Egyptian influence. "Beth-On" Annoying).
03. Tanite-Thebes Dynasties--Libyans Against the Amen-priests. (Revolutionary discoveries of Reisner in Nubia throw light on the confused accounts of their period).
04. Libyan Versus Nubian makes Hebrew Garrisons. (Northern Egyptian factions would employ "Libyan" mercenaries: southern hired Hamites and negroes. When these threatened Palestine, Hebrew levies would roll them back: Hebrew garrisons placed in Berber lands and on upper Nile).
05. Dynasties XXIV and XXV Synchronous. Hebrews man Egyptian Armies (745-663 B.C. Egyptian Army made of "Spearmen" and Khal-sêrê, or "Young Hebrews." Cf. Jer. 40:11ff; also so!)
06. Shubarî Becomes "Syrian": Yehûdah, "Jew." (Shubarî, Hurrian region in 145: Su-wa-rî, Su-u-ri-Yehûdah, "Judah," Yehûd, Yûd). No Jews in the OT).
07. Egypt In Isaiah--Israelite Garrisons and colonies. (A score of valuable passages).
08. Twenty-Fifth Dynasty "Ultra-Nubian"--209, A New Race Makes Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. (Revolutionary discoveries of Reisner at Napata, Steindorff at Anibê, Griffith at Kawa, where Amenophis III's Aton-temple was found: section 136).
10. Shabaka 714-700--"Seb'a" or "So?" (2.K. 17:4, very perplexing. No satisfactory identification).
11. Shabaka--An Egyptian "King Arthur" or "Barbarossa"--Jewish Apocalyptic. (The glamour of legend about the "martyred" Bocchoris of section 205-A "Lamb-Oracle" of the Amon-Priesthood, Section 114. Ezekiel, 120 years later).
12. Shabataka: 700-689, Reisner. (Sennacherib against Hezekiah in this reign?)
13. Taharqa, 689-663: Tirhakah of 2K. 19:9. (Jewish community east of Oxyrhynchus, for 100 years.--Taharqa's prayer wins 4-fold miracle. Libyans ally with Esarhaddon against him).
14. Judaism Not Hamitized--Manasseh's "Young Syrians". (Esarhaddon's rolling back Taharqa's 200,000 Hamitic levies with Palestinian conscripts ranks with Charles Martel, 732 A.D.).
15. Taharqa Counter-plots (Esarhaddon left 20 military garrisons 670 A.D. Massacred by Taharqa--this brought Assurbanipal with levies raised from Manasseh-Philistia-Phoenicia. Compares with the above crisis).

216. Taharqa Passes--Tanut-Amon, 663-650--Destruction of Thebes-(Tanut-Amon at Kawa descends Nile: kills Aššurbanipal's appointee, Necho I, at Memphis--Back comes Aššurbanipal, rolls a huge force up the Nile, and ends forever Hamitic Thebes' dreams of empires. The Red Berber has won).
217. Psamtik I, 663-609 B.C. (Aššurbanipal made him chief of 12 district-kings, with Assyrian garrisons. Psamtik quietly displaces with Greek mercenaries: The Berber allies with "Sea-Peoples" again, as in all Minoan history).
218. Foreign Policy of Psamtik I. (To foster Berber development, and Sea-people's trade; possibly originates Cyrene: hurls back Scythians: uses Jewish colonies and Garrisons. One of the greatest of Egyptian kings).
219. Egypt and Emigrants In Jeremiah (The only extant prophet who lived and plead through such war and siege periods. Consider his comments on Egyptian relations).
220. Emigrants are not prisoners.--"Slaves" May Be "Free"! (Hebrew gôlah does not mean "captive" or "Captivity". The section clarifies the status of emigrants).
221. Necho II, 609-593. Josiah Pro-Scythian? (That is the question raised by the tragedy of Josiah. Why should he attack Necho, returning from four years at Carchemish? Tomb and Seal of Jaazaniah of Jer. 40:8, found at Mizpah, 1932).
222. Psamtik II, 593-588: Confused with his father? (Story of Jewish mercenaries).
223. Uahib-Ra, 588-566: Greek "Apries"; OT "Hophra". (Jer. 44:30: Ezek. 29:17ff, and 30 give him a peculiar interest. There is no record that Nebuchadrezzar ever attacked Egypt. For important successes like Psamtik I, see the section).
224. Hophra-Nebuchadrezzar: Yahwism at a parting of the ways. (Berber-Greek Yahwism culminates in Christianity. Babylonian Yahwism means Judaism and Talmud. Hophra perishes through failure to stand by Berber "citizenship by adoption").
225. Egypt shapes the Christian "Future Judgment" (Jewish Aramaic funerary inscriptions found at Memphis).
226. The Onias Temple. (From Isaiah to 500 AD? Josephus and Maimonides).
227. Early Christian Art. (Was the art of the local Judaism: whether at Alexandria, or Dura-Europos).
228. Christian Liturgies. (Compare those of Babylonia with those of Alexandria).

PART TWO

INFLUENCE OF EGYPT ON ANCIENT PALESTINE

1. This outline is intended to get vividly before the student the fact that Palestine for more than two thousand years was ruled by Egypt, and permeated with some Egyptian ideals. All Israelite development was under the spell of some Egyptian influence; Israelite kings at times being subjects of Egypt. Moses was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," Acts 7:22. Consider first section of Minoan-Philistine outlines.

. Egypt Never Isolated.

A primal necessity for the student is to rid himself of the idea that the ancient populations of the Nile Valley were ever in any sense isolated from the rest of the world. He must rid himself of the idea that there was no ancient commerce with other nations, and no struggle for empire over them. All old books that set forth the idea of Egyptian isolation are to be summarily discarded.

. Sea Contacts.

Incessant trade-relations with all the Mediterranean coasts resulted from the 100 miles seafront of the Delta. The Nile again was a river-road to all Central African trade. The Red Sea opened the way to all the coastal trade of the Indian Ocean, from India to South-Africa. The "Indian" Ocean was the "Erythraean," or "Red" Sea, in the Greek writers, and those of the earlier Christian centuries, and any coast of it might be called "India"; a fact that confuses some modern readers. (For "India", from Indus=Hindu=Sindu="Sea-Land", see LTM index.)

As for Mediterranean contacts, more than 300 Egyptian objects have been found in the Cretan-Aegean area, while more than 1500 have been recovered from Rhodes alone. The Egyptian or Hebrew name for this international emporium is not yet known to us. And these objects range from predynastic to Persian times: through more than 3000 years. Pendlebury, Aegyptiaca, 1930).

. Climatic Changes.

We have next to readjust all our thinking of the ancient world to the fact of great climatic changes. The Sahara, all inland Arabia, Central and Eastern Persia, Turkestan, Central and East-Central Asia, is now one great desert belt. But it had forests, abundant rainfall, and a vast population, when a glacial ice-cap covered Central Europe, crowding it with reindeer, mammoth, and other Arctic animals. We find historic migrations produced by the gradual drying up of these millions of square miles.

(For the recent drying up of the Sahara, where ox-trains once carried the commerce, the student may read Angus Buchanan, "Sand," in Asia, May-August, 1926; Rennell Rodd, Veiled People of the Sahara; Dr. John Ball, "Problems of the Libyan Desert," in Geographical Journal, July, August, Sept., 1927; Harding-King, Mysteries of the Libyan Desert, pp. 88-95, and Appendix; De Prorok, Art and Archaeology, Dec. 1928 and Jan. 1931; Hassanein Bey, The Lost Oases. Dr. Junker reports a large Byzantine city of the fifth century at Kashem El-Gaud in the Egyptian Wady Natrun. Hardy Bedouin cannot live there now. (London Times, 4-2-1932) Petrified forests are in the Sahara; Harding-King, 90; 212) in Egypt between Cairo and Suez (Durbin, 1:93 f). Palaeolithic artifacts lie on the surface, from the Nile to the Atlantic. Ancient towns have been lost in the increasing sand. But palaeoliths are not on the surface all the way from the Sudan to the Mediterranean. See Section 6.

5. Glacial Africa.

But petrification carries us into an immemorial geological past. Read Knight, pp. 18-25; the uncorrelated fragmentary knowledge of ancient man in Egypt and Palestine, before 1920. Then add to this the fact that certain of the glacial periods familiar to the European geologist actually extended into North Africa. Evidence of glaciers in the Atlas Mountains of Morocco-Algiers is abundant, at heights reported from 3000 to 6500 feet (Hugo Obermaier, Revue Archaeologique, 1930; pp. 253-273). And in Palestine also a glacial period is a fact of the Lebanon ranges. See below.

6. Pleistocene Egypt.

Read now Olmstead, chap. 1: pp. 1-15, on Palestinian geologic periods. With the immense antiquity of humanity in Palestine, compare Breasted's recent conclusion, based on Sandford-Arkell surveys (Prehistoric Survey Expedition, Chicago, 1928), that there is evidence of the presence of Pleistocene humanity in the Nile Valley, 500,000 years ago. (Address at opening of the Oriental Institute, Dec. 5, 1931). Pliocene strata of Lower Egypt are now beneath the sea. But worn Chellean and Acheulean artifacts are in beach-terraces of the Nile, 70 to 90 feet above present Nile level. Mousterian (50-150,000 years ago?) are in the terrace only 25 feet above the water level; and are in the Hawara Channel running to the Fayyûm.

The student should have McCurdy's Human Origins within reach, for its pictures of artifacts. Current French terms, "Chellean, Acheulian," etc., so-called from the sites where found, are in general use for particular stages in artifact development. But the terms as used of Egyptian artifacts do not imply any connection with the people of ancient France, nor the same mode of subsistence. France, for illustration, had a long "Reindeer Period." Egypt and Palestine never had.)

7. Two Different Ways of Succession of Palaeolithic Cultures.

Where humanity has dwelt about a lake or stream slowly shrinking or falling, the oldest artifact will be on the highest part of the sloping shores. Where ages of development have taken place on one spot that is being slowly filled up, the oldest cultures are in the lower Strata.

Now around the Fayyûm are a succession of terraces, oldest artifacts on highest terrace,--humanity following the beach down as lake shrunk. Desert conditions around are of modern or neolithic times. (Sandford and Arkell, Nature, 8-22-1931, p. 287.) Sandford also announced before the Congress of Prehistoric and Proto-historic Sciences (London, August 1932) that the drying up of the Sahara began at the northern edge of the Soudan in Middle Paleolithic times: about 35,000 years ago. It had advanced northward to the latitude of Cairo by Neolithic times; about 15,000 years ago. That is, artifacts of the smooth stone age have not yet been found in the Sahara south of the latitude of Cairo.

By contrast with the Fayyûm terraces, super-position from the most ancient times is found at the head of the Delta. The first clear case of succession by super-position of Paleolithic stages was found by Father Bovier-Lapierre at Abbassieh, a suburb of Cairo; Pre-Chellean types of artifacts, followed by Chellean, Acheulean, and Mousterian types, with remains of long-extinct animals (Revue de Deux Mondes, June, 1932, pp. 556 ff.) Such site then shows an equal claim to an age of 500,000 years, with the above, mentioned by Breasted.

8. Pleistocene African Men.

With above facts from the Egyptian area should be compared others from Africa. For inexperienced students and instructors will immediately raise the question suggested by Genesis, in chapters 2, 3, and 10; did man originate, or originally appear, at one only spot in the world? and spread thence through many lands? Or did humanity appear independently, or develop, at several widely separated points: Mongolia? South Africa? Java? China? Palestine? Kenya? Neither student nor instructor can settle this scientific question. Nor can it be debated at length in this course. But both

student and instructor will desire to know where the elementary recent facts may be learned.

Consider the finding of the "Springbok Man" of the Transvaal, fossilized in Pleistocene strata (ILN, 3-26-1929); Pre-Chellean to Aurignac artifacts, but no skeletal, abundant in the Zambezi River, below the Falls: (Lamplugh, 1905, in London Times, 9-9-1930, p. 9). The debated Taungs skull in Rhodesia Pleistocene, "1,000,000 years ago?" (Lit. Digest, 8-8-1925, p. 21; R.A.Dart, Natural History, 26: 315 ff.) Helmei Man (N.Y. Times, 9-15-1932), Rhodesian Man (ILN, 9-8-1928); review of these, R. Broom, (Sci. Am. Aug. 1929); the Limpopo Man, (London Times, 10-2-1929, p. 13); human artifacts in springs-deposited travertine of the Pleistocene period, in the Kharga Oasis (Caton-Thompson Man, 1932, no. 158; SNL, 7-19-1932); the highly fossilized skeleton of the Asselar man found embedded in a very early upper Pleistocene stratum in a cliff in the Western Soudan, near the French post Asselar, in 1927; seeming a link between early man in Europe and early man in South Africa (SNL, 9-24-1932).

9. Early Man in The Rift Valley Pleistocene.

This great cleft in Africa merits a special section because of its direct geological connection with Palestine. The Jordan -- Dead Sea -- Arabah -- Red Sea Cleft continues southward across Somaliland, through Abyssinia -- Lake Rudolph, passing a little east of Lake Victoria, and west of Mt. Kenya, continues including Lake Nyassa: thence south-east to the coast. The close connection of Jordan Valley flora with those of East Africa was partially noticed ere the penetration of Central Africa. (See Appendix C, Tristram's Land of Moab, 1873).

Recent explorations of the Rift between Mt. Kenya and Lake Victoria show that humanity has persisted there, through several successive pluvial periods; which are successive glacial periods of Europe. Dr. L. S. B. Leakey's first expedition collected in two years over 50,000 artifacts, ranging from Chellean to Aurignac types, associated with some remains of a high type of humanity and fossils of extinct mammalia (London Times, 8-1-1928; 3-7-1929, p. 15, 9-8-1930, p. 7; H.J. Fleure, Times 9-3-1929; Nature, 10-24-1931, p. 24). The type seemed like that at El-Bedari, Egypt (See Sections 23 ff.) Later at Oldoway reported skeletal associated with articulated fossil Deino theria, (Times, 12-11-1931); found later the skeletal were modern intrusions (Times, 9-11-1932). But new finds actually from ancient Pleistocene were reported in N.Y. Times, 9-3-1932, p. 1. Then in 1933, at Kanam, on the northeast shores of Lake Victoria, Leakey found in fossil beds fragments of three skulls, part of a lower jaw-bone, and crude stone artifacts of two stages or types, associated with fossil animal bones: two extinct elephants, a deinotherium, a mastodon, and some others, in strata of the middle Pleistocene.

So the Royal Anthropological Institute met at Cambridge to consider the evidence, and decided that the artifacts corresponded to the pre-Chellean and Chellean stages of Europe, and that the associated human fragments showed no characters inconsistent with their inclusion in the most modern type of humanity. (SNL, 4-29-1923; Science, 4-28-1933). Dr. Leakey, in his own account (SNL, 11-4-1933) says the lower jaw found at Kanam was in a stratum 500,000 years old, contemporary with the Ape-man of Java, but wholly different in characteristics, potentially a direct ancestor of some modern types of man.

In Antiquity (March, 1934, p. 96) Leakey points out the special significance of Oldoway. For the first time has a complete series of artifact types, from the oldest to the latest, been found in successive strata at one site. The eleven main divisions of artifacts-evolution are fully exhibited. A second fact is that never before have human remains been found associated with artifacts of Chellean or Acheulean type. What type of humanity made such, no one knew. Now from Kanam we have a jaw of the pre-Chellean stage, and from Tanjera parts of four skulls from the last stages of the Chellean.

Those studying the immemorial past of the African Mediterranean area have realized that the droughts of interpluvial periods drove a fine type of humanity northward into Europe, or eastward into the Nile Valley; the Sahara was a place of some culture origins. (Leakey, Times, 3-7-1929; 7-5-1930) Now, with a Badarian type? Cradled in the Rift Valley, we can see they would move down the valley, down the Nile, along the coasts of Somaliland and South Arabia.

10. Pleistocene Man Outside Africa.

For reference purposes the student will want the facts concerning the early appearance of humanity in other parts of the world. The Talgai petrified skull of early Pleistocene in Australia is to be considered (Sci. Am., 1-29-1916); the "Peking Man" or Sinanthropos, from the Chou-kou-tien caves, forty miles southwest of Peking, China. They show occupation from a Chellean to a flaking-stage of artifact-making, till the accumulated strata of hearth-ashes and rubbish were twenty-three feet deep (1,000,000 years ago? Times, 12-11-1931; Manchester Guardian, 11-27-1931, ILN, 10-19-1929; Times, 7-31-1930; 2-23-1932; Science, 1-27-1933; SNL, 1-28-1933; 8-5-1933; 10-6-1933; N.Y. Sun, 11-11-1933). Artifacts in Mongolian Pleistocene, (ILN, 1-16-1926)--Himalaya Pleistocene Man, (N.Y. American, 3-20-1933; Science, 3-24-1933). Pithecanthropus of Java (SNL 7-16-1932; 8-20-1932; Lit. Digest, 9-22-1923; Science, 6-10-1932; 8-8-1932). Solo Man, (ILN, 6-4-1932). - In Europe, See MacCurdy for Piltown man, Foxhall, Heidelberg, Neanderthal, etc.

More recently, J. Reid Moir has proved that along the coast of Norfolk and in parts of Suffolk the "Red Crag" strata overlies others containing artifacts suggesting a more powerful race than those of later-interglacial epochs; Moir dates these 500,000 years ago in the late Pliocene. That these are certainly artifacts has been accepted. A ruder and much earlier type that he styles "rostracarinales" and "eoliths" are still matters of debate. Moir thinks the "oldest, from the stratum in which they occur, are 1,000,000 years old (Sci. Am., Jan. 1926; editorial, Feb. 1926; Moir, Sept. 1926; Feb. 1927; Dec. 1931; June, 1932).

11. Pleistocene Arabia.

Looking next at Central and Northern Arabia; the Field Museum Expedition travelled thousands of miles there in 1927-1928, finding Palaeolithic artifacts on the surface in abundance from the northern Persian Gulf to the Gulf of Akaba, thence northward to the Euphrates. Strata exposed by erosion showed Chellean artifacts. Whence it is clear that primitive humanity found the conditions of life in ancient Arabia much the same as in North and Central Africa. Vast salt-marshes and lakes still in the depressions tell of ancient seas, as in North Africa. (Buxton, "PreSumerian Man," Dec. 1927; Henry M. Field, Natural History, Jan. Feb. 1929). But thousands of stone houses of an unknown race and culture, in a region where the camel and domestic cattle had not yet come from Central Asia, tell of an ancient settled, non-nomadic population. No trace of their mode of burial has yet been found, putting them in vivid contrast with the cave and megalith folk of Palestine. The remains left by this ancient people tell us that the drying up of this part of Arabia, like that of the Sahara, is an event of the Neolithic or modern period of man. A prominent Roman guard-station east of the Jordan is now 100 miles from any wells, while a line of Bronze-age cities 2000 years older than the Roman runs from Damascus south through ancient Bashan, Ammon, Moab and Edom. (See Minoan Outlines, Section 33, 63.) Compare Palmer, Desert of the Exodus, 120, 185, 256, 271f., 285; the nawamis which the Bedouin believe to be "houses" are beehive-tombs of an ancient agricultural folk, that could not subsist there now. Read Olmstead, 52, 53.

12. Jebel Silsileh Boulders.

Special illustration of this process in Egypt; Sayce 50 years ago found a few miles north of Jebel Silsileh, 30 miles below Assouan, an ancient torrent-bed emptying into Nile from the west. A weathered sandstone boulder, water-worn two-thirds of its height, lay in the dry bed. The upper third had drawings of elephants, ostriches, and giraffes - animals gone from Egypt ere hieroglyphics began. These ancient drawings were weathered to the color of the rest of the stone. And over them an Eleventh Dynasty inscription (about 2100 B.C.) looking as fresh as if cut yesterday! Compare Minoan Outlines, Section 26.

13. Non-Semitic Origins.

Next we have to notice the ancient peoples put in motion by these climatic changes. First of all we have to disabuse ourselves of the notion that any so-called "Semitic" peoples originated culture in either Egypt or Palestine. (We know of no "Semitic" stock or "race" anywhere. See the Sections 7-15 of Minoan-Philistine Outlines.) In each land there still exist folk-customs and superstitions not traceable to any immigrant peoples. (See recent volume, by Winifred S. Blackman, The Fellahin of Upper Egypt; and the long-recognized fact that the hypogean rock-hewn tombs of the Jews in Palestine represent Israelite acceptance of the custom of cave-burial, prevalent among the aboriginal cave-dwellers of Palestine.)

dwellers of Palestine.)

14. Capsian Stage: Mediterranean Stock.

We next observe the prehistoric Capsian-Mediterranean culture. "Capsian" is a term derived from Latin Capsa, modern Gafsa, in Tunis, where vast snail-shell mounds exist. The term describes a stage of culture; not a race or stock. The Beloit College Expedition of 1929-1930 worked in Algeria, in mounds of snail-shells, ashes, vegetable refuse, bone and stone tools. (The region has been worked by French archaeologists for forty years. They call such midden-heaps escargotières, from Escargot, "a snail.") The student should recognize that such accumulations of refuse, sometimes 50 feet deep, mean thousands of years of community or social life, with some established social institutions; without such men cannot live together. The people did not depend upon big game so largely as their contemporaries of southwestern Europe. They had a large vegetarian diet when cold France was furnishing reindeer-meat. Not an ax nor a spear-point was found among the thousands of artifacts recovered. These were of the Aurignac type; the bone tools were poorer. There was no pottery yet. (Mechta-el-Arbi; Excavations of 1926-27; Logan Museum Bulletin No. 2. Can the student tell how big game could be secured without flint-pointed weapons? Does the absence of axe or spear-point mean "no wars"? Can the student tell how boiling would be done by people who had no pottery?) More than one type of humanity appears in the region, through the ages. But the prevalent type at Mechta el-Arbi were a short people (five feet, three inches to five feet, five inches) with long narrow heads; not Cromagnon; long narrow nose; a type still common among the Berbers. There were ceremonial burials by their homes in their mounds, with flint and bone tools, showing definite convictions of a continued existence. (Dr. Collie, N.Y. Times, 7-1-1929. They had ostrich-egg cups or bowls, beads and other ornaments, and engraved eggshells.

15. The Petroglyph Evidence.

All scholars recognize that we have the ancestors of what we call the Libyco-Berber folk, who became a dominant element in the western Delta of the Nile. Fundamental social and religious ideals were being shaped in these pre-historic times. The Capsian area we have seen to represent a Mesolithic or Microlithic stage; and the prominence of agricultural diet, as in Palestine, means that each region missed the interruption of a great ice sheet, that entirely stopped development in Western Europe. Social-agricultural institutions continued to develop.

An immense body of evidence from prehistoric rock-drawings has accumulated within the past few years. In the Berber area the Bubalis antiquus or buffalo, appears most frequently; then the elephant, rhinoceros, lions, ostrich, panther, gazelle, wild goats, wild oxen, hartebeest, Tuareg sheep--the long-legged sheep that ages later was identified with the Egyptian cult of the god Amen or Ammon. The proto-Berber stations extended far south into what is now the dry Sahara (Hugo Obermaier, Revue Archaeologique, 1930, pp. 253-273.)

Hassanein Bey found them on cliff-sides in the 'Owenat Oasis; at the ground-level. He observes that there are no camels. (The camel, native in Central Asia, was brought into North Africa by the Romans.) But there were giraffes, which cannot live in a desert country. The lines in the rock are 1/4 to 1/2 inch deep, weathered by ages. Edges can be rubbed off with the finger in some places. (Lost Oases, p. 229) But the student should know that 'Owenat--better 'Uweinât--means "Little Springs," and is not properly an "oasis," whose water is subterranean or artesian, coming from highlands far away. 'Uweinât is a mountain, rising to a height of 6217 feet; its table-land top extends 25 miles north and south, 30 miles east and west; its own winter rainfall maintains its little springs. It is about 475 miles due west of the Second Cataract of the Nile. (See W.B.K. Shaw, "The Mountain of 'Uweinât," Antiquity, 1934.)

Col. J. C. B. Statham, reporting the like in the Atlas Mountains, South Oran region, observes that some of the buffalo are a species that became extinct in Pleistocene times; suggesting an equal antiquity for such drawings. The wild ass and small elephant, both extinct in this part of Africa, are shown; the Tuareg ram, crowned with the Sun! (the above "Ammon" cult!) is common; cult lasted to mediaeval times. In some cases the whole figure bounded by deep lines is deeply scraped and polished; a work of immense labor. Why? (ILN, 8-13-1927; 2 pp. 8 pictures). Prof. Kuehn finds these Atlas rock-drawings essentially like those of Upper Egypt, with the like tools, indicating a

homogeneous culture in the two regions, at least 10,000 years ago. (AP dispatches, Cologne, 10-19-1927.) Compare those of the 100 caverns of the Slonta basin, Cyrenaica, (ILN, 12-10-1927).

Of outstanding importance is Dr. Leo Frobenius' discovery in Fezzân (Phazania of Herodotus) along the south slope of the Mourzouk; old places of worship with hundreds of such drawings, dating from Aurignac stages down to 3,000 B.C: more than 2,500 pictographs between Ghât and Mourzouk. Designs found later in the art of the Graeco-Roman period are there; notably the whirling "priestess" or "prophetess," with upraised arms and wide-flying skirts (ILN, 11-12-1932; 11-19-1932; 11-26-1932; total, 10 pages, many pictures). Of ten expeditions, Prof. Frobenius counts this the greatest achievement of his life.

An eleventh expedition Dr. Frobenius made in 1933 to the 'Owênât Oasis, (Hassanein Bey, above) finding a large stone-quarry that was probably the source of tool-material for the ancient peoples. Two wholly different cultures were found; one that above described, pushing down from the north, and a hitherto unknown younger one that came from the south, with pottery, 6000 to 4000 B.C. Tracing this new culture southward by 44 "factory sites," he reached its center in the Wady Howr in northern Kordofan, with several hundred rock-pictures of much higher standard than those of Fezzan and far more varied scenes; dances, battles, religious ceremonies, family life: certainly connected with the above art and that of Eastern Spain and South Africa. (London Times, 12-28-1933).

South African Petroglyphs must be remembered, because some of them picture animals that became extinct 25,000 to 50,000 years ago. But as not directly in contact with Egyptian frontiers, this footnote of sources is all that can be allowed here. See Herbert Lang, ILN, 4-6-1929, 4-13-1929, 4-20-1929; Frobenius, ILN, 3-1-1930; 8-25-1929; Pretoria White Rhinoceros, 7-14-1928, 8-31-1929; Egyptian influence in Rhodesia, ILN, 12-10-1927; Van Riet Lowe, ILN, 4-29-1933 (4-1/2 pp. with rock-paintings). Where Europe gives one occasional hand-ax, South Africa offers hundreds, lying on the surface.

16. Merimdê Beni-Salamé.

Thus far we have unquestionably seen paleolithic stages of the culture and religious institutions that were dominant in the Western Delta in historic times. We next notice discoveries of the Neolithic or smooth-stone period beginning about 10,000 B.C. A prominent feature is the appearance of pottery. For some decades the view has been dominant that humanity nowhere made pottery before 4000 B.C. But in recent years some eminent archaeologists conclude that pottery appeared in Egypt as early as 6000 B.C.

Following this North African agriculture into the edge of the Delta, we notice Merimdê Beni-Salamé (The "ash-heaps of the Salamé people"), 40 miles northwest of Cairo on the Rosetta side of the Nile. We have apparently an early town or village stage of the same people, and proof of very long occupation of the site, in several successive strata with thin layers of sand between. There are well-defined streets; individual dwellings show cattleyards, charcoal, bone implements, and pits to hold containers and jars. Grain was stored in reed baskets set in such pits; a proof that these people were farmers long before they were potters. These were placed in the middle of the dwelling, near the fire-place. A like culture in the Fayyûm groups the storepits in one quarter of the village. (Communal stores?) Triticum dicoccum - a species of wheat - was the principal grain. Stores of other foods were in pits plastered with Nile mud. In one such, some hippopotamus bones were found. There were many bones of cattle, sheep and turtles; especially plentiful were the bones of swine. Their pottery and domestic animals remove them considerably from the above more primitive Capsian vegetarians, (Dr. Hans Junker, in F. & F., Feb. 1, 1930).

17. The Vienna Academy of Sciences began the above excavations in 1927-1928. By the spring of 1932 it was clear that the polished stone stage, with very fine pottery was attained by 5000 B.C. There were oval clay huts half sunk in the ground as sleeping places--a practice that links them with the thousands of pit-dwellers still holding the mountain areas in Tripoli. Threshing floors, cornbins, mortars and grinding stones abounded. Human figures of pottery were found. The settlements were large (communal?) farms. The roofed sheds or shelters of the agricultural village were open to the south-east. (Joseph M. Levy, N.Y. Times, 2-13-1932). Thus they faced up their branch of the Nile, with which Osiris was sometimes identified. Consider that the long agricultural

development meant a reliable calendar. And such a calendar was worked out by the Delta culture as early as 4241 B.C. (Breasted, HAE, 34-35). Second, the identification of the Nile with Osiris in some forms of the legend, and the fact that the Osiris-cult originated in, or was imported through the Delta, (HAE, 61) compel the query, Are we not facing an ancient stage of it in these ancient non-Hamitic peoples?

18. Dead as Guardians.

The most important fact of all is that the dead were buried by the huts, with no implements; none were needed in their Hereafter. They continued to be members of the community--members of the family, sharing the family meals. The village itself was a necropole; the ancestor-dead watch over their families. There is no parallel to this burial among the prehistoric Hamitic peoples of the Nile Valley. We find this burial without provision for the future among Aramaic-speaking communities with Osiridean ideas, 4000 years later at Memphis. See Section 163. Is there a definite continuity of the burial custom and a steady development of ideas through the centuries?

19. Not the "Black Land" People.

Little palettes for the spreading of paint show us early stages of the flapper and the lip-stick! There is scholarly agreement that the pottery and artifacts are different from those of Upper Egypt. The student must remember that the Egyptian term Khêmi, "Black Land," which we turn into "Ham" and "Hamitic," meant that lower portion of the Nile Valley which runs through limestone; its decomposition leaves a black alluvium. The Egyptian records always show this Khêmi as distinct from the Delta in people and culture. All Pharaohs were "Lords of the Two Lands"; and "Kings of the South and the North."

It is important that the early agriculture of the Fayyûm alluvium, with its artifact-equipment, as reported by Gertrude Caton-Thompson and Eleanor Gardner (geologists) is in general the same as the Merimdê Beni-Salamê; unlike that of Neolithic Hamitic Egypt. (Maurice Pernot, Revue de Deux Mondes, June 1931, 557 f). The Lybico-Berber agriculture impinged on the Nile Valley along a wide front. The two cultures will never fuse.

20. Pre-Dynastic Maadi--A Cairo Suburb.

Another site showing a later stage of the same culture has been excavated during three years past at Maadi, a suburb of Cairo. Considered with the Palaeolithic strata at the Abbassieh suburb, in Sec. 7, it appears that the Cairo area has been strategically important through many geologic ages. As no copper is reported by the explorers, the finds must be 4000 B.C. and earlier. (Mr. Levy writes "at least 3500 B.C.")

Professor Oswald Menghin and Mustafa Amer, for the Egyptian University, report the first discovery of a square hut foundation, thought to be the original of the rectangle hieroglyph for "house." But no hieroglyphs were unearthed; another proof of early date. Some fragments of sun-dried bricks were found; some well-constructed hearths, a furnace or pottery kiln? (no trace of smelting). No graves found yet, but eleven burials of babies in pots or virgin soil. One burial-pot had eye-holes--the oldest example of furnishing a "coffin" with eyes--common enough in later times. There were hundreds of flints of exquisite workmanship; beads of quartz, limestone alabaster, carnelian, yellow rock crystal, azurite; pierced shells, and snails of different species (cf. Sec. 13). And the first ox-horn comb ever discovered! with many bone implements.

Pottery was surprising. A hoard of seven pots cut out of basalt, with overhanging rims and limestone slab-covers was found in one cellar-pit. Several types supposed to represent different periods were here found to be contemporaneous, and proved commerce. It is the largest find of such hitherto made in Egypt. A fine alabaster vase was found in the same hole; elsewhere two other basalt vases and one of gray limestone colored red to resemble pottery.

One hundred complete pottery vases, many of entirely new types, were found. Their appearance shows at once their non-Egyptian character; some resemble a later Syrian type.

No complete painted pot was recovered, but a large number of painted sherds; these again entirely different from all the painted wares of Egypt. Their origin and connections are as yet unknown.

As a whole, this predynastic, pre-copper settlement was not Hamitic Egyptian and had commercial contacts that we cannot yet name (Joseph M. Levy, N.Y. Times, 9-17-1933).

21. Survival of this Mediterranean Stock.

Of this non-Semitic, non-Hamitic people, developing through tens of thousands of years in the Barbary states and the Delta, Burckhardt 120 years ago observed that the somatic type familiar in the Delta was still to be seen in all western Palestine, particularly among the coast-peoples. Independent of this, Sir Arthur Keith, reviewing the recent archaeological discoveries to the Royal College of Surgeons, said that the excavations on Mt. Carmel showed that "the early Palestinians had short faces and long heads, very different from their tall strong Cromagnon contemporaries in France. Their faces were short and their noses low-bridged and flat (the most common modern "Berber" type, Ratzel, History of Mankind) with a distinct suggestion of African origin, but in no sense negroes. The proportions of their limbs were European, not negroid. Nor in shape of skull were they negroid, only in conformation of nose and face. Nor did there seem to have been, with the succession of cultures in Palestine, any decided change in race. The same small people appear to persist in the later cave-periods. Where the records of Egypt, Mesopotamia and Crete leave off, those of Palestine begin, and carry human history there into a very remote past. In Biblical times Palestine was a pawn of her mighty neighbors; but these recent researches reveal her, even in Pleistocene times, as the scene of contending northern and southern forms of culture." (Pathfinder, 6-7-1930, p. 14, and N.Y. Times, 8-14-1932. On persistence of the Berber, compare Bodley, Algeria from Within, pp. 35-39, 239, 242.)

Since above, preliminary report has been made on the skeletons of fifty persons found in an Algerian cave, evidently trapped by a land-slide that blocked its mouth. The cave, Afalou Bou Rhummel, was excavated in 1928-29. The culture stage proved to Capsian or Aurignac. Long skulls and medium skulls were in about equal numbers, very few broad heads. (About the same proportion in modern Berbers). Short stout limb-bones with muscular attachments strongly marked indicated great strength; height below medium. Orbital ridges much more prominent than in modern men. MM. Boule and Vallois think a new type; yet resemble some skulls found in the snail-heaps at Mechta el-Arbi; and propose the name "Mechta Race." (SNL, 9-3-1932). These cave-people had the same custom of knocking out the front teeth that Miss Garrod found in the Natuf caves in Palestine.

22. Mediterranean Agricultural Rituals.

Here read Olmstead, Chapter II, observing that he has not availed himself of the foregoing information. But he has recognized that certain religious institutions arose among prehistoric "non-Semitic" agriculturists, as suggested in Section 29 of the Minoan-Philistine outlines. All that Olmstead presents is broadly true of Egyptian or old Berber peasant-religion. Greek tradition traces important agricultural rituals like the Thesmophoria to the Delta of Egypt (Herodotus 2:17; Clement of Alexandria, ANF, 2:175, 431; Encyc. Brit.). Lev. 23:43 recognizes an Egyptian Delta origin: "I was making the Beni-Israel lodge in booths, when I brought them out of Egypt." Palestine had Anat as "Queen of Heaven": North-Africa had Tanit; their functions were similar. And both Tanit and Anat were imported into Egypt. Cf. remark of L. E. Binns in Section 7 of Minoan-Philistine Outlines.

23. The Nakada Discoveries.

In this prehistoric Mediterranean Berber stock, from whom rose the historic "Libyan" Dynasties of Egypt, scholars do not recognize any of the predynastic peasantry of the middle Nile, among whom the historic First Dynasty appeared about 3400 B.C. (Breasted). But in 1894-95, Petrie found at Nakada, 30 miles north of Luxor (Thebes), 428 miles from Cairo, what he thought was an invading race that overthrew the 6th Dynasty about 2475 B.C. Petrie thought them cannibalistic because of the cutting of the flesh from the bones of their dead, in some burials, and that they had expelled the Egyptian popula-

tions from 100 miles of the Nile Valley, from Gebelen to Abydos. Their later burial of the dead differed from any found elsewhere in Egypt. They buried in square pits; the corpse was laid on the left side, knees drawn up to chin, head to the south facing west. A regular ceremonial system in these interments shows well-defined ideas concerning the future life.

24. Nakada proves old Hamitic.

But a more extended exploration by M. de Morgan in 1907 showed that Petrie's "new invading race" was the very oldest race in the neolithic culture of the Nile; different in physique, manners and customs and industries from the people who produced the first historic Pharaohs. (This latter people were "a late invading people.") This Nakada site eventually showed three strata; a long-continued development on one site; and the race was in the Nile Valley many thousand years before Menes arose. (Budge, The Nile, 144; Knight, p. 25). Their artifacts proved to be an advanced stage of the paleolithic found in the solidified gravels 70 to 90 feet above the present Nile-level (See Section 6). Breasted has estimated the date of those gravel-beaches at 150,000 years ago. And again the student is reminded that Winifred S. Blackman's Fellahin of Upper Egyptian finds many customs and superstitions not derived from any immigrant culture, but from a prehistoric ancestry.

25. Badarian Earlier than Nakada.

A remarkable early culture was recently found on the middle Nile, about 25 miles above Assiût, 275 miles above Cairo, 125 miles northwest of ancient Thebes. Petrie thought it an invading culture, driven from the Caucasus by the last glacial advance, 10,000-12,000 years ago, because this Badarian people had a northern variety of wheat, unlike that now in Egypt, and still grown in the Caucasus. Then barley was introduced, and the cultivation of this ancient wheat ceased. But "black barley" is proven by the later excavations at Kish to have been native in the ancient Hurrian settlements along the Lower Euphrates. But the Hurri, identified in the cuneiform inscriptions only within the last ten years, are still found in the Caucasus and Kurdish and Armenian mountains. (See LTM, first 4 plates). But no such physical type remains among the numerous people of the Caucasus. The theory of an interchange of populations has no evidence in its favor. (ILN, 7-25-1925; Peasants and Potters, pp. 53-61.)

26. The Tasian a Pre-Badarian.

Then in 1928 Guy Brunton excavated at Mostagedda, near El-Bedari, obtaining a large collection of "sub-Badarian" pottery, (black and red polished ware, with beakers, and incised designs, flint and bone implements; shell, bone, faience and stone beads of various types). The Badari pottery he found like that of early Upper Nubia. The natural inference would be that the same Hamitic culture probably spread all along the Nile, but that it came from the direction of Nubia; for the marvelously beautiful rippled pottery of El-Bedari has no ancestral forms on that site. The first settlers there brought their beautiful pottery with them. Brunton dates the Badarian tentatively at "5000 B.C.--a date rather subsequent to 6000 B.C." (Antiquity, 1929, p. 460) Albright in a private note practically concurs, dating the later Badarian as extending from about 5000 B.C. to 4000 B.C. or a little later. At the head of Section 15 was noted the fact that pottery is believed to have appeared in some places as early as 6000 B.C.; e.g. Duncan, p. 46; or even 7000 B.C., p. 62-65. (Duncan does not separate Badarian from Nakadan. The Tasa finds he pronounced older than Badarian, with very different skulls, approximately Capsian. (British Museum Quarterly, June, 1930).

27. Features of the Badarian Stage: Houses.

From the volume published by Guy Brunton and Miss G. Caton-Thompson (Badarian Civilization, London, 1928) a few important salient facts are presented.

The Badarian strip was about six miles long, 80 to 90 yards wide at the foot of the limestone cliffs; on the detritus elevation produced by the weathering and crumbling of the limestone face, between the cliff and the cultivated ground. A great ceme-

tery for the strip, was found in the third season, searching the strip ten miles south to Gau. Thus the settlers did not have river-villages of the modern type, but lived above the reach of high water, there being no effort yet to canal or to control the Nile. Such effort begins in the subsequent Middle Naqada, or Gerzean period (c. 4000 B.C.?) Much of the land to the main stream was marshy.

No trace of house-walls of any kind was found, nor any house-pits. Clearly a reed wind-screen, or a thatch roof on poles, like East Texas Indians, or shelters of mat screens were their protection. The burial of the dead with screen mats suggests such as the ordinary house. Double skin robes to sleep in (cf. Ex. 22:26 f.) resulted from the lack of tight closed houses. All shows that these people had not come from a house-building region.

But the next stage, at Hemamieh, shows circular mud foundations, probably bases for a wattle-wall; also pit-foundations, 1-1/2 to 2-3/4 feet deep; so common in our Indian ruins in the southwest. These had posts for screens, on the northwest side, while the later predynastic stage at Naqada (Section 22) and Mahasna were builders of wattle-and-daub, well-plastered huts, with log-post doorways. The pit-floors at Hemamieh were concave, mud-plastered; and in some places the edge of the plaster floor was curved up into the beginning of a wall.

28. Badarian Burial Customs.

Badarian graves were all dug in soft sandy gravel or limestone detritus, roughly oval, sides sloping toward bottom, never any shelf or recess made for bodies. Matting on sides, and sticks, suggest a "walled house" in some graves, then covered with earth. Graves vary from 42 to 53 inches long. Bodies generally lay on left side, head to south, facing west. Of fifteen percent with heads to north, these lay on right side so as to still face the west. Now as the Badarian cemetery was east of the settlement, were the ancestor-dead watching and guarding their folk? Or were they facing the western sun?

The later Naqada folks (Section 22) were placed in the same position, but the Naqada cemeteries were south of the settlement. In both periods the thighs were usually drawn up to an angle of sixty degrees with the spine, frequently at right angles--occasionally 145 degrees--with the hands before the face, an attitude of comfortable sleep. But there is no sign of any effort at preservation of the body, or of dismemberment, as at the later Naqada. The comparatively dry soil results in the skin being well preserved in a few instances. Woven material was wrapped around the body--or skins; mattings were outside these. The skins were usually goat, sometimes gazelle--the hairy side next the body. No wrapping was about the head, save in seven cases. Some fine tanned black skins were found; and pieces of sewn skin-robes. There were no coffins, either wood or clay. There were no cases of multiple burial. Men sometimes grouped in an area to themselves, women were not.

29. Badarian Prototypes of Egyptian Gods.

Of profound significance were the burials of animals in certain selected areas in the cemetery, With as much care as human beings. Dogs, jackals, oxen, sheep, and goats were wrapped in matting, or even in linen, and solemnly buried. The same custom is found in later Nubia. It is the prototype of the embalmed animals so familiar in historic Egypt. The "oracle-ox of the Ancestors," still known among African tribes, became the Apis-bull, embalmed as well as buried; and the friendly jackal appears as the jackal-headed Anubis, guide of the souls of the dead; the sacred goat survives as the oracle-goat of Mendes, denounced by the OT prophets and in the Constitutions of the Holy Apostles as one of the pagan institutions accepted by Israel. (Compare the ibex, in Minoan Outlines, Section 111). The dogs may be related to the "dog" repudiated in Deut. 23:19, and the dogs found in Phoenician inscriptions and Cypriote sculptures and in the recently discovered Beth-Shean Stele to have had at least a guardian-place in the temples. Nothing like this has been found in the Mediterranean-Berber areas, either in North Africa or Palestine. At this point the Mediterranean and Hamitic cultures will not fuse.

30. Badarian Physical Type.

The hair varied from brown to black. Ten had straight hair, 33 wavy, six curly; eleven were gray with age. There was no case of beard or moustache found. One woman wore curly "bangs." A few were only five feet tall, some over six. They were usually slender. A strong muscular build was the exception. But a few figurines found portray very different female types. The steatopygous form with wide shallow pubic triangle was known to them.

Miss Brenda Stoessiger, making complete study of sixty Badarian skulls (Biometrika, XIX, pp. 110-150) finds them smooth, fragile, feminine in type, with teeth well preserved, except in case of the aged. The general type is like the modern Upper-Egyptian; it seems a most primitive form of that series. It is more prognathous than the much later Naqada, but is not at all negroid; it is not like the Abyssinians, nor the Sardinians, who most resemble the Naqada stage. In short, not like any Mediterranean or negro type. In length and narrowness, it is very like the Dravidian, of South India. Comparing early historic Egyptians with early Dravidian, the Badarian is as close to one as to the other, suggesting the possibility of a fellow-branch of some Asiatic center. Resemblances in later times to western or southern types must be due to the cultures invading Egypt from the south or west.

31. Badarian Commerce and Spread.

The Badarian did not have the curved flint-edged sickles used by the Palestinian from Mesolithic times. He used a beautiful, straight, saw-edged knife. Nor had he the Palestinian mortars or grain-grinders. It is suspected that he was still eating porridge or boiled grain, like our North American Indians. He had clay grain-bins. His basketry technique survives in many modern Egyptian baskets. The wealth of very beautiful arrow-forms suggests that he depended much upon game; but no bows and fish-hooks have been found yet. (Fish are caught all along the Nile with spears, nets, weirs, and traps.) But they caught the huge Nile perch. For the wealth of pottery and personal ornamentation, the volume upon Badarian Civilization must be read. But beads of carnelian, red or green jasper, pink-and-white banded limestones, white steatite, and glazed bluish green; black and grey soapstones, turquoise; beautifully carved ivories; various shells from the Red Sea; pine, cedar and cypress and juniper woods from the Lebanon coasts--all these show regular contacts with distant points. The graves show an abundance of such provision for the hereafter.

Especially does possession of the ox point to early far-reaching contacts. Our domestic ox came west from central Asia through Asia Minor; the sacred humped ox or Zebu of India, now wide-spread in Africa, came by Indian Ocean coastal routes to the mouth of the Red Sea. We do not know how early, but here in Central Egypt, in the Badarian period, is the Asiatic ox.

32. Badarian Push Westward.

Miss Caton-Thompson, in researches still going on, finds the Badarian culture strewn over the surface of the desert clear to the Kharga Oasis, (175 miles long from north to south, and 125-150 miles west of the Nile, from Karnak to Dendur). It seems to establish the fact of a uniform culture over all the area, in Neolithic times. (cf. JRAS, April 1930, p. 403f) There is no evidence of displacement of this long-developing Badarian culture by any cataclysmic invasion. But political hegemony during this long period we do not know.

33. The Kharga Fossil Springs.

Miss Caton-Thompson found that while the whole oasis area of 1158 square miles has now only 8,000 population, with less than one percent of the land cultivated, yet the whole region, clear to the Nile, had been inhabited in the well-watered Paleolithic times. There are great stretches of Neolithic flint-mine workings along the edge of the Kharga scarp for many miles. The fertile spots are around springs, still flowing after many thousands of years. They have heaped up around themselves deposits of travertine, clays, or silts, in small knolls, after the fashion of geysers. Imbedded

in these are the artifacts of earlier men, clear back to Mousterian types of "Neanderthal Man" times.

It is important that the older artifacts are of the Tunisian-Algerian or "Proto-Berber" type, not of the early Hamitic, found in the terrace-beaches of the Nile. But the surface artifacts show those of Fayyûm agricultural times mixed with Badarian. Miss Caton-Thompson recognizes the early Fayyûm organized agriculture as exotic, but does not mention its Mediterranean coast connections. The sum is that the Hamitic, in its Badarian agricultural stages, is shown spreading western into Kharga, earlier held by the Tunisian-Algerian Mediterranean folk. It means mingling; it may have meant some conquest. (London Times, 4-13-1931; ILN, 5-2-1931; N.Y. American, 11-19-1933).

34. Badarian at Armant.

Since the above discoveries the Egyptian Exploration Fund in 1931-1932 found the same culture at Armant, 200 miles south of Bedari. To the sacred animals in Section 29 should be added the hippopotamus. Stone amulets of it were found, a ring-eyelet on the back, for suspension from a cord. These are the earliest known. There were slate palettes of turtle-outline. And instead of buried bulls there were much-stylized clay models of bulls, parallel to the hippopotamus amulets. Strange, to find these remnants of the "dawn" of a culture within a mile of the last stand of the Bukhê-bull Cult!

There were earlier "stoneware" jars than any yet found; the same beautiful thin rippled pottery; and handbaked clay ware painted to resemble porphyry! and alabaster jars. No copper, but beautiful flint artifacts, including the same type of adzes that Miss Caton-Thompson found in the Kharga oasis. What is beneath the surface is not yet reported.

In later predynastic cemeteries were found woven-twist beds, such as are used by modern peasantry. But the predynastics had linen sheets! And three pieces of linen, stuccoed with white plaster, painted with curious designs, were probably provincial standards. (ILN, 8-12-1933).

The Badarian is thus shown to be spread over a very wide area in several consecutive strata. The succeeding Naqada is also found in earlier and later strata, distinguished by the names of places where explored. The older Naqada I, or "Amratian," shows no outside or foreign influence; Naqada II, or "Gerzean," shows pottery from Palestine, and the beginning of control and distribution of the waters of the Nile. Naqada III, or "Semamean" shows much exchange with Palestine, North Syria, and Mesopotamia.

35. "Dynastic" and "Predynastic"-- Their Meaning.

Manetho, an Egyptian priest of the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus (283-247 B.C.), compiled a list of Egyptian kings, which has been lost. One of the extant versions gives 561 kings who reigned 5,524 years. Another has 361 kings who reigned 4480 (?) years. (Hall, 271). He divided his kings into thirty Dynasties, beginning with "Menes." Then the Royal Papyrus of Turin, compiled about 1500 B.C., 1200 years before Manetho, contained over 300 names, but when bought by the King of Sardinia in 1818, it arrived shattered to pieces; and early efforts to piece it together brought the scathing ridicule of scholars (Knight, 16). In recent years the scholarship and skill of Ibscher have gained respect and approval. A tablet made for Seti I (1313-1292 B.C.) contains 76 names and is known as the Tablet of Abydos. Another Tablet of Abydos was made for Seti's son Rameses II. And the Tablet of Saqqarah contains 50 names.

Now earlier modern historians, knowing only Manetho, have fixed upon us a chronological scheme that dates by dynasties from the accession of Manetho's "Menes." So all earlier kings and cultures discovered by modern research we call "Predynastic." And chief among these new sources of information is the shattered Palermo Stele.

36. What Was the Date of Menes?

The Manetho versions differ by about 1100 years; the longest would put Menes about 5800 B.C. So Egyptologists deal with an Egyptian scheme of chronology; that of dating the new year from the day Sirius, Egyptian Sothis, rose at sun-rise; July 19

or 20. But as they miscalculated the length of the solar year by one-fourth of a day, in four years the rising of Sothis would move one day further from its assumed coincidence with sunrise; to complete the circle of 365 days would take 1460 years--which we call "the Sothic cycle." Edward Meyer near 50 years ago collated Egyptian evidence of dating from a "Sothic sunrise" that occurred in 4241 B.C. There has resulted a "long" and a "short" chronology: one dating the accession of the legendary Menes in 4241 B.C. or even 5800 B.C. The "short" chronology of the Erman-Breasted school dates Menes about 3400 B.C.

But the student should know that "long chronologies" began with Champollion: and ten such were current during seventy-five years preceding Meyer's guess at the beginning of the Sothic cycle. A list of them, with Meyer's data, is in Budge's Book of Kings Vol. 1: pp. xlvii-lv. Meyer himself was not making it a basis for dynastic chronology: he then put Menes at 3315, and later reduced this to 3200. If others put Menes 1460 years earlier, that did not depend upon any guess at the date of the adoption of the Sothic calendar. The Sothic date 4241 is not the datum-line from which any modern scheme of chronology is reckoned: and this date may be changed without changing any existing system of chronology. Scharff has recently reviewed the Sothic question, and adduced many calendric details to show that the Sothic cycle was introduced in 2777 B.C.--a whole cycle later than 4241. Yet the evidence is not universally convincing: and if it were, historical chronology would not be affected by the fact.

For actual dates we are dependent upon the Egyptian statements of dynastic time, and upon the synchronisms we can secure with other ancient records. We have certain evidence from synchronisms with Babylonian records that the XVIIth dynasty which expelled the Hyksos kings, began about 1580 B.C. Before that has been and will be a field of debate. (HAE p. 23ff: Barton, A&B 1933, pp. 25-27: Knight 16-18; Hall, 268-273). For we have not an unbroken succession of Egyptian reigns: there are long gaps in the extant records, where we must make shrewd conjectures. But a new Assyrian historical tablet giving a complete list of 98 Assyrian kings extending back of 2000 B.C. has been recovered. If it provides synchronisms with Egypt in its earlier portion, it may help us.

36-a. Albright Proposes Radical Reduction.

Ten years ago Albright (in AAOS Vol. vi pp. 72f) announced a radical reduction in dynastic chronology necessary, based upon his own new readings of the Palermo Stone; on unexplained new material for the chronology of the Fourth dynasty; on a radical curtailment of a "dark age" between the Middle Kingdom and the Empire; on calendric and astronomical considerations which have not been explained to this day; on Borchardt's ingenious demonstration that a cyclic feast celebrated in the 9th year of Athothis was connected with the Sothic cycle. But in accepting this demonstration Albright announced also that he would put the date of this Sothic feast a whole cycle or 1460 years later, without giving us any reason for this reduction. (Athothis is the second king of Manetho's First Dynasty). Albright allows 371 years for the first three dynasties, 100 years for the fourth, 125 for the Fifth. After all this, he admits that there would still be several uncertain periods. Assuming that Athothis actually celebrated the introduction of the Sothic cycle he puts the accession of Menes at 2815 B.C. In round numbers he assumes 2900 in later publications without making clear in any of them just what his chronology is. He has written criticising these inductive outlines, because they do not use his "universally accepted chronology"--which remains unproven.

36-b. Oversights of Dr. Albright.

All extant "versions" of Manetho are simply garblings by Greek historians. They are fragmentary, and do not agree. Their notorious misreading of Egyptian names is familiar to every Egyptologist. One who can assume the inerrancy and finality and "divine inspiration" of Greek garblers and their copyists gives no promise of ever writing dependable history! As for reducing the scanty time allowed for the first dynasty, it was already well known to Egyptologists that fragmentary monuments now give us the names of several First Dynasty Kings that are not in the Greek fragments of Manetho. Compare these as presented by Budge (Book of Kings), with Hall, pp. 284ff. Because Greek copyists have omitted these names is no reason why a real scholar should omit some more!

Again, it is now known to cuneiform scholars that in Sumerian records a long reign has proved to be a conflation of two or more: e.g. A-anni-padda, and Meš-anni-padda.

Similarly Manetho's "Menes" is now known to be a conflation of three or more; the length of the reign of each is to be determined. Instead of allowing 100 years only for the whole First Dynasty, we may yet have to allow 100 years for "Menes" alone. Instead of reducing the time for the Fourth Dynasty, since Albright announced his thesis Dr. Junker's Expedition of 1928-9, clearing the Necropole around the pyramid of Cheops, discovered a new Fourth Dynasty King Seshem-Nefer, with his son Sehetepu, and half a dozen important court officials. (ILN. 4-6-1929). Since then Prof. Selim Hassan of the Egyptian University, examining some tantalizing blocks of stone projecting from the sand near the pyramid of Cheops in recent centuries, unearthed a great pyramid and surrounding administrative buildings, all hewn out of the solid rock. (ILN 2-27 & 3-5 & 3-12-1932). It was the tomb of a great Egyptian queen of the Fourth Dynasty, Khent-Kawes or Khent-Khûs, daughter of Mykerinus. Utterly unknown to us before, she now stands forth as one of the most remarkable figures in Egyptian history (p. 167, Sect. 65). Then Selim Hassan in May 1936 announced the discovery of the intact tomb and sarcophagus of an hitherto unknown princess of the Fourth Dynasty, between two royal tombs: unnamed in first announcement. She is thought to be a daughter of Khephren: the find heralded as the most important since the discovery of Tut-Ankh-Amen. (ILN 4-11-1936). Disregarding Albrights "universally accepted chronology", Prof. Hassan announced the date of this Fourth Dynasty Princess as 3600 B.C.: about 1100 years earlier than Albright approves. At the same time the Egyptian Department of Antiquities announced the discovery of the tomb of Hemaka, a great Vizier of King Den, or Zer, of the First Dynasty. Its 42 store-chambers with thousands of jars have no parallel in the excavations in Egypt (ILN. 4-25-1936). The find is revolutionary of our cramped ideas of the power and culture that had been attained in the time of the First Dynasty, and will require much time to evaluate.

As for the lack of material to fill up the time hitherto allowed for later dynasties of the Old Kingdom, the French scholar Jequier in 1931 announced the discovery at Sakkarah of a hitherto unknown Pharaoh named Aba, of the Eighth Dynasty: and in dating him at 2450 B.C. shows no knowledge of the Albright Chronology. (Weidner AfO vii, 3-143).

Even more annoying is the Carnarvon seal-cylinder which links the Egyptian King Sahatpu-ab-Riya with Wakin-ilu in characters of the Third Dynasty of Ur. The seal is of lapis-lazuli from N.E. Afghanistan (Dopara in Sumerian, Tafar (t) in Egyptian texts). So Sayce announces that no Assyriologist can accept the shorter chronology for Egypt! (JRS 1933, 147f). For Se-hetep-ab-Ra is the Suten-Bat name of Amen-emhat-I, founder of the Twelfth Dynasty (2000-1970 B.C., Breasted).

It is also the name of the fourth and the eighth kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty (Turin Papyrus). If Amen-emhat I is contemporary with Wakin-ilu, it pushes Breasted's date back about 300 years. If either of the Thirteenth Dynasty Kings is on that seal, it pushes the date back another hundred years or more, eliminating Albright's "Dark Age" between the Old and the Middle Kingdoms. Digging up something to fill a vacancy in chronological records will generally prove more popular than the "counsel of desperation" that discards an era concerning which it has no information. See Sections 60 to 61-g for more.

36-c. Pot-Sherds and Chronology - No Absolute Dates.

Petrie, beginning 45 years ago, has created the whole science of relative dating or "sequence-dates" by studying pot-sherds. Each people, and each era of any people has its own tastes as to the material, form, and decoration of its pottery. The occurrence of sherds of different eras in strata will enable us eventually to tell the exact order of their succession in time. This will enable the student to determine actual sequence of the kinds of pottery, and the relative age of various strata. He will also see that two strata may occur in immediate succession in three or four mounds--then a fifth mound may show several strata between these two pottery-levels. But pot-sherds are not dated. They are not datable, except as they occur in strata with inscriptions or other objects of known date.



But as for absolute dating by pottery, a bit of Missouri college humor of forty years ago is definitely illustrative. "How does the Iowa farmer weigh his pork without scales? Why, he balances a rail across a stump, piles pork on one end and rocks

on the other. Then he guesses the weight of the rocks!" Dr. Albright's chronology involves too much guessing at the absolute age of Palestine sherds, with which he has an intimate acquaintance. And assuming that two different pot-herd--strata are chronologically consecutive, he has suddenly changed his estimated ages as much as four hundred years at a time, and on discovering that several previously unknown strata came between those two at some other sites. Yet such repeated errors have not pushed back his time for beginning of dynastic chronology.

36-d. Chalcolithic and Aeneolithic May be Misleading.

These terms are used by archaeologists to express the time when a little copper begins to appear among a people using bone or stone tools. The fundamental assumption is that such people are getting copper from those who mine it and manufacture it. In northwest Persia copper was being mined as early as 4000 B.C. Similarly "The Iron Age" dates from the time when certain peoples of northern Asia learned how to smelt iron out of ores in their mountains: about 1200 B.C.

But Egypt's earlier use of metals is unique. Chemical analysis has proved her use of a little meteoric iron, perhaps three thousand years before iron smelting was known. The gold-bearing sands of Nubia yield magnetite and a copper ore as well, which are still smelted under the blow pipe. So in the Nakada period (Sections 23, 24) beads of hammered wrought iron were found at El-Gerzeh, about 2600 years before the "Iron Age". Half a dozen other occurrences are known: see Wiedemann, PSBA 1914 p. 59. The most comprehensive survey is by Dr. Heinrich Quiring of the Geological Foundation at Berlin in F. & F. Mar. 20, 1933. So when we are told that Nakada or Badarian are "Chalcolithic" it is necessary to know the amount of copper and its provenance ere pronouncing these periods synchronous with the Chalcolithic of other regions. They may be older than the Albright chronology supposes.

36-e. Relation of Manetho to Non-Glacial North Africa - Atlantis.

There have been centuries of tacit assumption that there was no older Egyptian culture to record than that with which Manetho begins; but the scholarly world now knows better. As shown on pp. 27-28, 68-69, it knows of a long cultural progress in North Africa uninterrupted by glacial interventions. One result is that a given stage of artisan skill could be reached in Northeast Africa 25,000 years earlier than in a glacial area; a fact not generally considered by archaeological chronologists. Hence their current estimates of antiquity are by no means final.

A second result is that such a long non-glacial culture certainly produced its own records; and there is in consequence a direct challenge of the extant Manetho: did he suppress these older records? Or were they suppressed for him? If we conclude that the mutilation of the Palermo stone was a deliberate attempt to falsify history, yet there were other records. Some were in existence in the Berber capital of Saïs in the Western Delta in the days of Amasis (Ahmose II) 569-525 B.C. They included records of deliverance of the Tahenmu ancestors of the Saïtes in time of war with their western Berber foemen; transmitted to us through a second-hand Greek narrator as "Atlantis". Platos account in Timaeus is on the authority of Solon: whether written down by Solon or not we do not know. But the narrator priest says, "The duration of our civilization as set down in our sacred writings is 8000 years." (Of course this Saïte scholar is not boasting of the superior antiquity of their immemorial enemies of the Thebaid!). In Critias it is 9000 years since the war with Atlantis, when "Saïs" was leader in the Eastern Mediterranean: "within the pillars of Herakles"--which the Berber did not say. What he said was, "the pillars of the (Berber) sun-god", which the Greek translates into "Herakles". The sunken coast (= "island") was "larger than Libya (= between Cyrene and the Delta) and Asia" which on pp. 37 and 41 is "the Delta". The sunken Atlantis has left a barrier of impassable mud, "which still prevents sailing out from here!"--the Saïte Delta. That can only mean the sunken Syrtes Coasts. (Loeb Library: Plato vii: pp. 31, 37, 39, 41, 265).

Since the records of this older civilization have been suppressed by or eliminated from Manetho, how much more has been treated in the same way? How many gaps in the extant Manetho are due to the deliberate hostility of various recorders? Who destroyed the records of the Hyksos? There are better reasons for expanding the current Manetho chronologies than for abridging.

36-f. Eighteenth Dynasty Repudiates Red Crown History.

A new Stele of Thothmes III recovered from the Temple of Taharqa (Tirhaka of 2 K. 13:9; Is. 37:9) 689-664 B.C. throws a new light upon the famous elephant-hunt in the land of Mitanni, east of the Middle Euphrates, in which this Pharaoh nearly lost his life. S. Yeivin translating the story in JPOS (1934-3) decides that the hunting-party was a trap carefully laid by Mitanni agents. But in telling of the triumphant escape the Stele reads, "Never was the like done by any king since the time of the gods (= deified Pharaohs) who received the White Crown"--of the southern kingdom. This avoiding reference to the Red Crown predecessors of the Delta and coasts westward seems deliberate repudiation of a great historical past. Imagine a historian of the United States repudiating all historical connection with or derivation from England, even in telling the story of the colonial period! But such is the method and animus of Egyptian records. If certain past achievements cannot be conveniently denied, the present Pharaoh may erase the doers' names and substitute his own. But with Manetho living in such scholastic tradition, and recording only Lords of the White Crown, we have again the question, How many of these were also omitted? Evans emphasizes that the art of the Minoan culture came out of the Delta only, and out of the early Delta only. Consider all that is in the "Pre-Semitic Berber-Minoan" monograph, to realize the historic cultural ancestry that Thebaid Pharaohs would deny.

36-g. Twelfth Dynasty Hatred of the Red Crown.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1932 sent an expedition to Lisht, to continue clearing the pyramid of Senusert I, of the Twelfth Dynasty (1980-1930 B.C.: p. 175, Sec. 88). At a considerable distance east of the pyramid was found the great tomb of Sen-Wosret-Ankh (or Senusert-Ankh), "chief priest at Memphis, Royal Sculptor, chief of the College of Scribes, librarian of Religious Writings". Upon the walls of his tomb were inscribed 295 columns of the pyramid texts that are found on the walls of chambers and passages of a series of Old Kingdom royal pyramids at Sakkarah. The practice of inscribing such ritual texts upon the walls of tombs was begun by Unas of the Fifth Dynasty (2655-2623 B.C.: p. 119:70-71). Such texts became the "coffin texts of the Middle Kingdom: inscribed upon rolls of papyri, they became the "Book of the Dead" of New Kingdom times.

This great priest-librarian then lived some 600 years after Unas began this custom of inscribing the texts upon the walls of tombs: some 1400 years after a revolution had overthrown the rule of the Lords of the Red Crown in the south. But he lives in the region of Old Kingdom pyramids, and is sharply reactionary from the diplomatic practices at Thebes 400 miles up the Nile. His selections follow Old Kingdom models and prejudices. The hatred of predynastic clans of Upper Egypt for their Red Crown masters of the Delta, is still a vivid memory, even as they acknowledge the power and culture that the Nilotic predynasts have gained from the Red Crown rule. Two utterances suffice:

"Sen-Wosret-Ankh has appeared again in glory in heaven, crowned as Lord of the horizon. He has counted the vertebrae, he has seized the hearts of the gods! (Slain kings?). He has swallowed the Red Crown! He has eaten the Green Crown! Sen-Wosret-Ankh is nourished on the organs of knowledge. He is satisfied, living on their hearts and their magic!" (Still expressing the cannibal devouring of the organs of a slain foeman, in order to gain his strength!).

"Sen-Wosret-Ankh is disgusted when he devours the foul secretions that are in the Red Crown! But he is refreshed, for their magic is in his belly! The body of Sen-Wosret-Ankh is not taken from him, for he has swallowed the knowledge of every god!"

And in utterance 271, he has "devoured the Red Crown, is crowned with the great White Crown--has united the two lands," etc. (W.C. Hayes, Jr. in Bulletin Metropolitan Museum of Art, Nov. 1933; pp. 26-30). But these are almost verbatim quotations from the texts of Unas 700 years before. Perhaps there had been some new Berber thrust to inflame anew the immemorial antagonism. See extended quotations from Unas in Peet, p. 67.

Compare the fact that the beloved Osiris is not accorded the Red Crown. The "Papyrus of Ani" hails Osiris as "Lord of the Lofty White Crown"; and in the Papyrus of Nu, the deceased hails Heracleopolis Magna (Hanês of Is. 30:4). "O thou land of the Scepter! O thou White Crown of the divine form! O thou resting place of the boat!"--

(Budge, Book of the Dead 1:19 and Chap. XIII). For the soul's boat see Section 61-c. The 3000 years of hatred that eventually limited Manetho to records of "Lords of the White Crown" is now vividly before us. Again we have to ask, How many White Crown Kings are intentionally omitted? Again we recognize the "counsel of desperation" in discarding any period of time of whose rulers we at present know nothing.

36-h. Proposed Reduction of The Date of Menes Rejected.




The editor of these outlines has frequent communications from eminent scholars and institutions. Dr. Stanley A. Cook of Cambridge University writes that the Cambridge Ancient History is not reconsidering ancient chronology, and no new discussion is known elsewhere. The British Museum has for sometime recognized grave difficulties with the short period allowed for the Hyksos regime and has pushed the date of the Twelfth Dynasty back 200 years (Sec. 78, p. 172). Dr. Sidney Smith writes that no arguments have been adduced that would induce the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities to consider 2900 B.C. for the date of "Menes". It is historically, archaeologically and astronomically improbable. Dr. H.R. Hall's views are expressed in his volume often cited in these outlines; in his Ancient History of the Near East: and in Cambridge Ancient History Vol. I., placing the First Dynasty about 3500 B.C. No vital new facts have been adduced since. Meyer's date of 4241 for the introduction of the Sothic cycle no longer seems probable and all his astronomical calculations need revision. Dr. Albright's date of 2900 B.C. for the accession of Menes is not known to be accepted by any Egyptologist. It is probable that Dr. Albright is construing silence as acceptance. He must produce new facts if he would have discussion.

From the Louvre M. René Dussaud writes that nothing has been adduced to impel himself and his colleagues to lower the date of 3200 B.C. accepted in the Histoire Ancienne of M. Alexandre Moret, "our first authority in Egyptology." The Egyptian University, influenced by the instruction of Newberry, dates the Fourth Dynasty at 3600 B.C., as stated in 36-b above: which would date Menes about 3900 B.C. Borchardt's new book Mittel zur Zeitlichen Festlegung argues for about 4000 B.C.: agreeing with the Egyptian University. In Germany there is no inclination to lower the 3200 of Meyer. Some, like Borchardt, suspect that we have facts not certainly compressible within the present limits. Breasted's History, putting Menes 200 years earlier than Meyer, has been translated into German, and is widely popular.

In America Harvard with Dr. George A. Reisner and The Boston Museum of Fine Arts, with Dr. Dows Dunham, will not consider Albright's proposal of 2900. In 1929 Reisner thought the First Dynasty might be as high as 3700 or even higher: the Fourth at 3050. Today he would place the Fourth about 3000: the First probably 3500 or more. Both Reisner and Dunham recognize Meyer's 3200 as the lowest that has or can have any wide acceptance. Similarly H.E. Winlock, of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, well aware of Albright's proposed 2900, has never used it, Meyer's 3200 being the minimum that the Museum accepts. Some of the Museum's own important discoveries, as in 36-g, have highly suggestive chronological implications.

37. Pre-Dynastic Union of Egypt Shown by The Palermo Stone.

One reason Dr. Albright's announcements concerning his new readings of the Palermo Stone attracted no attention is that expert Egyptologists like Gauthier, Schäfer, Borchardt, and Sethe had reached no agreement: Peet pronounced the wreck hopeless. And Albright was not an expert Egyptologist. His announcement of his own readings, (which he has not made public after ten years) was not calculated to secure like confidence on the part of scholars. And so there is nothing to discuss.

Breasted, without noticing Albright, subjected the Palermo and Cairo fragments to a new scrutiny, with new methods, and a new objective. The results were published in the Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archeologie Orientale, 1930. Omitting technical details, from the fragments of the rows of names he learned that the stone had originally contained three lists: (1) A long list of kings who had been kings of both Lower and Upper Egypt only →  (2) A long list of kings who had been kings of Lower Egypt only →  (3) A long list who had been kings of Upper Egypt only →  That is, before the time of Menes there had been a long dynastic union of Lower and Upper Egypt, expressed by the union of their two crowns. Preceding this union there had been a long period of two parallel contemporary dynasties in the separate regions. So Menes & Co. were not "pioneers in federation", but

rebels against a long established hegemony in the union or empire. They did not revolt against the empire ideal: they sought to gain the hegemony in it for the dark Nilotic Hamites of the regions south of the Delta. The existing empire of the Red Crown people had its capital at Buto near the coast: about 50 miles east by south of the present Alexandria. It is probable that a dislike of shrewdly bargaining coast-peoples was a factor in the rebellion. The Nilotic tribes ended the local rule of the Red Crown people and in time established a White Crown lordship that dominated the Red Crown land. Such economic reversal could not have been the work of one generation.

But again we have clear light upon the prejudices that controlled Manetho and excluded ages of great history from his dynastic records. After the Nilotic Declaration of Independence he would no more have included the Red Crown Kings in his records than we would include the Kings of England in our list of Presidents of the United States.

Breasted's results also corroborate those reached by the independent study presented in the "Pre-Semitic Red Berber Minoan" monograph as to the early date at which high culture and strong social and political organization were attained on the North African coast. That this coast Delta culture far surpassed that of the valley of the Nile in those early days was suggested by Newberry in PSBA. 1906, p. 69. Sethe has pointed out other indications since, and in 1922 in a searching essay pointed out evidence of a pre-dynastic union established by Red Crown people from the Delta, already long in the lead in culture, invading upper Egypt.

38. Early Delta Supremacy Meant Mediterranean Shipping.

The above facts supplement the archaeological evidence already adduced in the "Pre-Semitic Red Berber-Minoan" monograph, showing that a Mediterranean Coast-Culture which included the western Delta developed far earlier than that of Hamitic-Negroid peoples of the marsh-lands of the middle and infra-cataract Nile. Remember the cultural stage of these tribes of those regions today. One result would be an early sea trade of the artisan sea peoples who needed raw materials that the inland hunter peoples could supply. Contrast our English and American fur-manufacturers with the Canadian savages and half-breeds who secure the skins. So we have evidence of Crete exchanging her wares with predynastic savages of the Nile.

38-a. Mediterranean Shipping Was Not Egyptian.

Newberry in 1923 told the British Association that among some 300 Nile boats painted upon pottery of the Nakada (?) predynastic period, 222 bear standards originating in the Western Delta. The Nakada folk who did not build such vessels are impressed by their visitors from the sea-country and paint their mighty (!) vessels on their own pots. But even these are not sea-going vessels. Egyptian vessels never had the ribs and frame that would enable them to withstand the buffeting of the seas. (See W.F. Edgerton, "Ancient Egyptian Ships and Shipping", AJSL 1923, pp. 109-135; and 1927, pp. 255-265) and his volume, pp. 105-a, 105-b), though coasting vessels 174 feet long for carrying lumber are recorded by Sneferu of the Fourth Dynasty. But ships 100 feet long are rare in the dynastic period, and none are known in the pre-dynastic. These Delta vessels that reach the Nakada region must be considered the link with maritime vessels that they met at the coast ports. The Minoan art of that period does not show us any Egyptian vessels.

The Badari Stage in section 27 shows us people who have no plough. It evidently had a domestic ox (Sect. 31) long supposed to have come from Asia. But archaeologists are now satisfied that the wild ox had been domesticated in more than one place in Europe also: and in more than one in Africa. New pictographs have suggested that Abyssinia was one of the earliest domesticating regions. But Breasted (op. Cit.) shrewdly observes that a mass-production of grain was the basis of this profitable trade of the West Delta with the Nilotic Hamitic-Negroid folk. That means that domesticated cattle and the use of the plough had provided the Red Berber coasts with large quantities of a portable, divisible, exchangeable commodity. (For other resources see pp. 59-61). Crete still buys grain and beans from Egypt. The Delta's grain and collected raw materials attracted sea peoples with their wares.

38-b. Did Economic Independence in Grain Produce the Menes Revolts?

But somewhere in the Middle Nakada or Gerzean period the originally plowless

Badari-folk have learned to cultivate grain on a relatively large scale: they have the plow, and are controlling the distribution of the waters of the Nile. That means that "Jacob" from the Delta can no longer get Esau's land for a handful of beans or wheat or gewgaws: compare the white man's deals with the Indians of the United States. The Nilotic Hamite now has grain which he can trade to less fortunate tribes. It is possible also that Red Berber trader farmers from the Delta settled in the Nakada area and raised the grain they would sell locally; saving the expense of transportation. Such economic revolution could end in the political revolution of Menes. And it is known just such a Red Berber settlement on the upper Nile 2000 years later did produce a political dynasty that shook the world from Assyria to Abyssinia. (P. 65, 4th paragraph: p. 237 top).

The origins of writing and intelligent metallurgy belong somewhere in this pre-dynastic "Red Crown Territory": now buried under the mud of the sunken coast. It must have long antedated the rude pictographs of the First Nilotic Dynasty. The Sothic Solar calendar, regulating agriculture, came from the same area: only settled agriculturists need or invent Solar calendars. As already shown, many now believe that Sothic calendar had been worked out as early as 4241. At what time such "weather-priest" calendar became a state-calendar we do not know. Agricultural necessities had probably produced various Nome-calendars before there was a Sothic calendar. South of the equator a Pleiades-calendar is common in Africa. Greece we know never got to a universal

calendar for all Greek states. Some sort of consolidated Delta power then made the Sothic calendar universal. (Breasted, op cit.).

39. How Long the Predynastic Delta Dominance?

Synchronisms have made it impossible to push the traditional Menes back a thousand years or more. But it is not necessary to do that, in order to have a highly organized political Lower Egypt as early as 4500 to 5000 B.C. In the damaged Cairo Stele, the left hand portion of the top row, containing the names of kings of the United Egypt, is long enough to contain over fifty royal names: at fifteen years average there would be 800 years of United Egypt before Menes (3400 B.C.), taking us back to the 43d century B.C. And the right hand would contain a long line of the two earlier separate dynasties of Upper and Lower Egypt, a part of which remains upon the Palermo Stele; these would be contemporary. If the United Egypt sovereigns reached far back to the early Naqada times, then the preceding lines of separate rulers reached far into Badarian times; that it reached back to 5000 B.C. is quite possible. We have for this conclusive inscriptional material from the time of the Fifth Dynasty (2750-2625 B.C.) even though nearly all the names are now lost. (Breasted, op. cit.) Compare the fact that ten city-dynasties ruled in Lower Babylonia during this predynastic period. Three of them had made Kish the greatest city of the ancient world, before the days of Menes.

As for recovering the records by excavations in the Delta, it is now familiar (from the Nilometer) that silt has been deposited along the Middle and Lower Nile--at the rate of six inches per century. At the same rate in the Delta, cultures of 5000 B.C. would now lie beneath 35 feet of alluvium. Some recovery is possible, if the region has not at the same time been sinking below sea level.

40. Menes not a Founder, but a Revolutionist.

It is now familiar that the legendary Menes is a conflation of at least three kings whose revolt gave the hegemony to the Hamitic South. These were Ip, "The Scorpion," and Na'rmer, or Na'rmarza, and 'Ahai, ("Fighter"). For some time Menâ ("Firm") has been regarded as a throne name of 'Ahai, and scholars have written of "Aha-Menâ". But now it is clear that NARMER was the most important of the three, as his monuments, including a famous slate palette, have been found at Hierakonpolis, the modern Kom el-Ahmar, 502 miles above Cairo. 'AHAI'S tomb was found in 1897, at Naqada, and various objects from it are in the British Museum. Third of the revolutionists, he may have been the first actually to rule over Lower Egypt. The conflation here stated is one result of the fact that we now have monuments and inscriptions of more historical First Dynasty kings than are mentioned in Manetho and other lists (Hall, 279).

41. The Pre-Dynastic Commerce of the Delta.

'Ahai's tomb at Naqada contained obsidian vases and portrayals of his ships for maritime commerce. Now the obsidian came from the volcanic isle of Santorin, in the Aegaeon. But graves on Mount Ophel, at Jerusalem, have also yielded pottery like that found in his tomb; showing 'Ahai's succession to a trade both inland and maritime. Then in First Dynasty royal graves of Djer, Den Semte, and Semerkhet at Abydos were vases of the same type that Sahu Ra' of the Fifth Dynasty, 500 years later, announces in his mortuary chapel as being "from Lebanon"--one-handled, of yellowish clay, with a white wash. Then Borchardt shows that the above Djêr, (Atoti, Athothis) invaded Asia; how far we do not yet know. All three have left portrayals of their slaying Asiatics, and Semerkhet lets us know that there were mines in Sinai then, and that he visited them. Hall observes that Den Semti the fifth king of this series, was the first to actually assume the Nsût-Biât or "lily and hornet" insignia announcing him as "king of the South and the North." In this combination the "South" regularly has the precedence.

These data are scanty, but definite. The South was trying to take the control in a political-commercial leadership long held by the Delta, and extending into Palestine.

42. Whence This South-Egypt Hegemony?

Scholars have recognized for a generation that this political awakening among the

Hamites is not of Hamitic origin. Discoveries in the Thebaid and along south Arabian coasts during the last twenty years show us a culture coming from the highlands of Elam, along the Hamite coasts of South Arabia; probably stimulating the early Hamitic development there. Its affinities are with the oldest culture found at Susa and other Persian highland points, and provisionally known as "Susa I." Its art and pottery have been traced all the way (Frankfort, Early Studies). It is to be emphasized that this culture from the Persian Uplands has no connection with anything "Semitic," Sumerian, or "Babylonian." Such old speculations collected by Knight (28-36) are from "Pan-Babylonists," and are to be totally rejected.

The famous Jebel El-Arak flint knife, with carved ivory handle, differs from five others known in portraying scenes of battle and hunt. The invading aggressors, short-haired, nude, shaven-headed recall Sumerian portrayals. Their ships are like those portrayed on pottery from Telloh and Susa; the Susa fragment found at a depth of eighteen feet in a stratum of relatively early pottery. The defending long-haired Egyptians have papyrus boats. The portrayal certainly dates early in predynastic times. (T. G. Allen, AJSL, Oct. 1917, p. 79; Contenau, Revue d'Assyriologie, 1932; "Certainly proto-Elamite").

We can but recognize that while the Mediterranean culture of the Delta was exposed to influences, culture, and settlements coming by sea to its extensive seafront, the Thebaid was exposed to commercial adventurers coming along the South Arabian Coasts to the Red sea port of Koser, five days march across the desert to Kufi, Koptos (whence "Coptic") on the eastern bend of the Nile. To these immigrants the Hamitic Thebaid probably owes its first lessons in brick-making, picture-writing, and the drainage, ditching, and cultivating of the marsh-lands of the Nile. (Hall, 276). The process may have begun as early as 6,000 B.C. We shall yet recover many details.

43. Religious Invasion of the North by Second Dynasty.

Herodotus has Menes as the founder of Memphis (Men-Nofer, "White Wall"; the Noph of the OT). Egyptian tradition made Andjab or Merpeba, sixth king of the First Dynasty its founder. But The White Wall seems predynastic; it appears that political considerations compelled Merpeba to recognize its importance. (Hall, 284) It seems that the powerful predynastic Sun-Cult at Heliopolis (On of the OT) north of Cairo had been recognized as a political necessity; a bequest from the long dominance of the north in a united Egypt. The first king of the Second or Thinite Dynasty calls himself Hetep-Sekhemui, "Satisfaction of the Two Powers." The second one, Ra'-Neb, or Kakau undertook to further satisfaction by planting the cult of the Apis-bull at Memphis and the Mnevis-bull at Heliopolis, and the Goat-cult in Mendes. Then came Sekhem-ib, who had to placate the sensibilities of the northern Set-cult by assuming a name as representative of Set: Peribsen. Then under the shadowy Enneter, Manetho says it was decreed that women could enjoy royal privileges and receive royal honours. But this again seems recognition of the matriarchal principles still familiar among modern Berbers. Of the policy of Send, Kara, Nefer-ka-Ra', Nefer-ka-sokari, and Hetchefâ, we have no information. But the later ones must have lost the north, for the first king of the Third Dynasty, a southerner named Besh, Bebi or Djaidjai, assumes the name Kha-Sekhem, "Appearance of the Power," but when he gains the north he becomes Kha-Sekh-emui, "Appearance of the Two Powers," and establishes himself at Memphis (Hall, 286). The student should not understand his title to mean "Representative of the Two Powers," for Egyptian government was not "representative" in our sense. Rather was the king "manifestation" of or "Embodiment" of the Two Powers, just as he was officially the embodiment of some god.

But this invasion of Delta territory by the Hamitic and negroid animal-cults did not mean their gaining official recognition in the royal titles. To the world at large, the Pharaoh was a sungod, and was so addressed, whether the sungod was called Horus, Ra', Atum, Aten, Amen-Ra. Egyptian official dominance of foreign lands did not necessarily carry the cult of a host of Hamitic animal-godlings. But it carried a cult of the Pharaoh.

44. Second Dynasty Influence Abroad.

Montet's excavations at Gebal-Byblos since 1922 have yielded a succession of stone vases of Kha-Sekhem. Merpeba has left an inscription claiming a raid of Sinai--then

with his enlarged title Kha-Sekhemui left inscriptions at Gebal. A "Scribe of the Royal Carpenters" did also. Then the grave of Kha-Sekhemui yielded "red gold" ornaments. A.R. Burn (p. 73) writes that this means antimoniate of gold. Now the two metals combine only in the presence of tellurium, and all three metals occur only in Transylvania. So Egypt had trade relations with the Middle Danube, probably through her ancient Cretan connections. The trade-posts were on the sea of Marmora and the Black Sea: Odessos, Salmydessos, Perinthos, Apsinthioi, etc.

The dominance of Egyptian motifs in Minoan art from the earliest times is probably explained by Section 117 in Minoan outlines. The Double-Axe people expelled from the Tall Arpachiyah site before 4000 B.C. probably settled along the Delta coasts and Cretan coasts at the same time, taking early lessons in Delta Mediterranean art.

45. Predynastic Contacts with Minoan Culture.

Recent discoveries in Egypt and Crete show that the Minoan-Aegean civilization and that of Crete were exchanging wares as early as 4000 B.C. The above paragraph suggests that the influences should be mutual. The Minoan Double-Axe is found as a symbol in Egypt as early as the First Dynasty, at Kom El-Ahmar, 502 miles above Cairo, some distance south of the Thebaid. Graves of the First Dynasty at Abydos have yielded vases considered Cretan importations, lying immediately upon Neolithic strata. By the time of the Fifth Dynasty there is a "Khet-priest of the Double-Axe" (Newberry). Pendlebury records several predynastic Egyptian horn-blende porphyry bowls found at Knossos in Crete, and also a diorite mace-head. Predynastic ivories and other objects have been found in the Messara Plain in South Crete, near Phaistos. Pendlebury observes that such cultural development certainly appeared in south Crete much earlier than it did in the north. (Aegyptiaca, 1930; pp. XVII, 3, 5, 21, 24, 34, 35.) Predynastic objects appear in the north when Knossos is yet in the Stone Age. These facts would support the above suggestion that the Double-Axe people expelled from the Tall Arpachiyah region eventually reached Crete by way of the Delta coasts, not from any Asia Minor coasts. The coasts of the Mediterranean are dotted with Egyptian trading posts. Commerce with the Caucasus and the regions at the head of the Persian Gulf continues. Plano-convex lenses have been found in Egypt that show the use of magnifying glasses before 3,400 B.C. (AJA, 1928, pp. 116, 502. The earliest found in Crete so far are about 2,000 years later.) Dr. Breasted challenges this. A supposed Assyrian lens has been pronounced impossible. But I have read more than a score of tiny cuneiform tablets, date 2000-2500 B.C., some written sixteen lines to the inch! impossible to read without a magnifier. And the early Bronze period at Kir'yath-sepher of Judg. 1:11 shows beautiful cylinder seals engraved with Egyptian and Babylonian figures so minute that strong magnifying glasses are needed to read them. The engravers must have needed such. (Kyle, N.Y. Times, 8-25-1932).

46. The Predynastic Period in Asia Minor.

In Asia Minor at this early time is a mingling of non-Semitic peoples, provisionally included in the Greek term "Anatolian" ("easterners"). The Mediterranean coast-peoples of 4000 B.C. are dimly seen as yet. In the great bend of the Halys (now Kizil Irmak, "Red River") is a people that we may call proto-Hittite. Excavations at Alishar Hüyük have discovered 23 successive strata, each of a different culture; and reaching back, it is thought, to 12,000 B.C. In the Halys bend developed the political powers later called "Hittite." We are to recognize that this is but a geographical-political term that does not tell us of the race or culture dominant in any period mentioned. Neither is the term "Syrian" so often used by scholars anything more than a regional expression. Georgians and related peoples are along the southern coast of the eastern Black Sea, in the Caucasus, and mountains to the south, considered aboriginal. Along the Aegean coasts, 4000 B.C., the Greek has not yet appeared; he is still 2,000 years in the future. An Indo-Germanic people from Europe will come into the Hittite area far in the future, and establish the empire whose records we are now reading as "Hittite" (2400-1100 B.C.). The founders of the prehistoric settlement that became the Hittite capital may have been the Hurru, whose stations are known at various points in Eastern Asia Minor, Persia, and lower Mesopotamia; in Hyksos times they will become a dominant element in parts of Palestine.

We cannot follow up these. We are merely to recognize that in the long struggle

to dominate Palestine Egypt contended with various cultures to the north.

47. The Sumerian Zenith Predynastic.

The Sumerian culture (succeeding the pre-diluvian Hurrian) was at its zenith; its sea-trade was bringing teak-wood and cotton manufactures from India; its overland trade through Southern Persia brought lapis-lazuli from the Pamirs; copper came from southeast Arabia and the Caucasus; silver from Cilicia and gold from the region of the far later Antioch; other wares from the region of Astrabad, southeast of the Caspian. (Wodley, 45 ff.) Its art was at its zenith, 3500 B.C., showing many centuries of growth and experience. The inscriptions of Gudea, 1,000 years later, show that he had important trade with powerful cities in Bashan; but he shows us no military occupation of the region. The Sumerians had a strong fortress at Katna, south of Aleppo, to protect their trade with their Mediterranean port, Amurru ("Westport"). This was probably their western frontier-post, and their point of exchange with Egypt; for excavations show that the Sumerians never pushed south into Palestine. It is here in the Upper Orontes Valley that their military advance is stopped. Between Katna and the Lebanon - Mediterranean coasts, Egypt was a chief factor in the religious history of the world, giving us eventually the word "Bible" from its papyrus through Byblos.

47-b. Why no Correspondence between Egypt and the Lower Euphrates?

The modern scholar is sure there was. Our long-popular assumption of no cultures and no interchange of cultures in the predynastic days has been our way of trying to sweep our ignorance under the bed. The above paragraph shows the necessity of some well-understood trade-symbols and account-keeping at least as early as 4000 B.C. And Langdon has found at Kish and Jemdet Nasr tablets so old that the writing is completely pictorial; there is no conventionalizing into wedge-lines, which we call cuneiform. The like has been found at Antediluvian Fara. Now Egyptian records begin with the pictorial, yet are considered to have begun with the advent of pictographers from the Lower Euphrates (Section 42). And in Section 39 we saw that the predynastic Egyptian had king-lists reaching back to near 5000 B.C. Comparing with above Sumerian commerce, we can be confident that there was much predynastic diplomatic and commercial correspondence, but that it is lost to us. Egyptian papyri would immediately perish in the Euphrates alluvium.

48. But was Egypt meeting these powerful rivals by controlling Palestine, to maintain her trade with all Asia Minor and the Caucasus?

We have at once to consider the name Kpna (Kupna?) often occurring in the Egyptian records. The OT calls the same town Gebal; the Greeks called it Byblos (whence Biblia, Bible). Egypt reached this coast centuries before any Semitic-speaking people did (Tyrian tradition claims their ancestors arrived on the coast overland, about 2750 B.C.). Hence Kupna must be an old non-Semitic name, which the Egyptians never discarded. Ship-building at Kupna was a leading early industry; so seagoing vessels were kupna in the time of the Old Kingdom, as English speak of an "East-Indiaman." Three thousand years later Greeks had the "Gabal-ship," Gaulos, "galley."

49. Who are the Fenkhu?

The assumption that the "Phoenicians" of classic writers were along the Lebanon coast from the earliest times has impelled some writers to identify them with the Fnhu (Fenkhu?) of Egyptian records. There has been an effort to explain this as the original of the Greek "Phoinik"-ex, our "Phoenician." It is phonetically impossible (contra, Eisler, ZDMG, 1926, p. 154); and since it is in Egyptian records as early as 1500 B.C. (Thothmes III), if it were an ethnic name it should be frequent in the OT, like "Philistine." Further, see Prolegomena, Section 3. Carpenters and shipbuilders were called Fenkhu, in later Egyptian. If the term were anything more than "northern barbarian" (Müller), it expressed the fact that the Gebal region was a carpentering and ship-building coast.

The Egyptian inscriptions relative to such industry, from the Sixth Dynasty onward give us the name Negâ for the Kupna region: rich in pines, firs, resins, etc. The

local god was Khay-tau: his feminine paredra was Ga, or Gat, associated on reliefs with a goddess-lion. Her name is in the term Ne-ga: the adjective negau should be "producer of firs." Egypt sedulously cultivated their favor, so we have a Fir-God and Goddess as the "Lord and Lady of Kupna-Gebal:" (Montet, Syria, IV) possibly the "Baal of the Lebanon." Cf. I Kgs. 7:2, and the "Baal of Hermon," Jud. 3:3.

50. With Fnhu used as an equivalent for "carpenters, shipbuilders," it is clear that Egypt had shipyards on the Gebal coast, building vessels there instead of rafting all timber to Egypt and building there, and then returning to Gebal. And supporting this, we find Unas, 2650 B.C. calling the Mediterranean "The Lake of Pharaoh"; and Thothmes III (1500 B.C.) speaking of the northern invaders as inciting revolt in "all countries on the water of the Egyptians." Egypt counted itself a great naval military power then; the whole eastern Mediterranean was hers! And Rameses II, 200 years later calls it "Great Lake of the North," and boasts that he "rules the sea." From what port did this commercial-naval domination spread?

51. Gebal Egypt's Seaport for Palestine.

In the Minoan-Philistine Outlines the Beth-Eglaim seaport, near Gaza, appeared the greatest ancient emporium, and greatest port, for Palestine; and Hyksos kings had held it as such. Discoveries already made show that Egypt was there commercially, 2500 B.C. But the very scanty extant political records before 2000 B.C. do not tell us of political control. With the silting up of the harbor, Gaza has remained a preëminent caravan town ever since. But Egypt needed metals, and building timber, and such heavy ware could not be dragged through the Palestinian mountains. Timber must be had from Lebanon or Somali land; metals from northern Asia Minor, Cyprus, the Caucasus, South Russia, or North Persia. Palestine had none. Sea-transportation was vital.

52. So Gebal (Byblos) was an Egyptian trading colony as early as 4000 B.C. It was twenty miles north of Beirut, 180 miles north of the later Jerusalem, strongly protected by "The Sacred River" four miles south; now the Nahr Ibrahim, swarming with ancient shrines. "Gebal," Arabic Jebel, means "mountain"; the city was the "mountain port." It had a poor harbor, but had roads to all the Lebanon region. Timber was the chief export; slaves the second; olive oil and wines the third; and some menagerie animals. Metals from the mountains of Asia Minor and from the Caucasus were shipped through Gebal. This northern coast began to be called "Canaan" after 1500 B.C. Palestine was not so called. (Gressman, ZATW, 1925: 225-242. See Minoan Outlines, Sections 83-86.) Further, early Egyptians did not embalm their dead. Early necropolises at Abydos show cutting flesh from bones, and preserving bones. See Section 22. Heat may dry and preserve a body. But to aid the process with gums and resins is learned by peoples who have such. Egypt in time learned to use such Gebal products also.

53. No Bronze Mt. Ephraim.

A further explanation of Egypt's reaching Palestine through Gebal is the fact that Central Palestine - "Mount Ephraim" - was not a mercantile region till Israelite times. No city-sites of the bronze age have been found in those highlands; no cities are there in the Tell el-Amarna letters (1500-1350 B.C.); none are there in the Joshua stories (Josh. 12:7-24). It seems to have been an undisturbed forest till Josh. 17: 14-18, with "coast-landers" holding the adjacent cleared lands.

54. Egypt Dominates Gebal-Cultus-Regalia.

It has been shown that close parallels in the culture of the predynastic cultures of the Delta and the Palestine coast-peasantry must be credited in some measure to identity of stocks and cultural traditions, not simply to Egyptian political overlordship. The mysterious Fnhu of Section 49 may have been related to the Berbers. But Egypt's more rapid advance in some respects makes Gebal ape her assiduously. Though Egypt reverences the local gods, Section 49, these are regularly arrayed in Egyptian regalia. When Semitic-speaking peoples begin to appear along the coast (about 2580 B.C.?) and their language becomes dominant, their divinities are either Egyptian, or must appear to be! Consider 2 Kgs. 17:27 ff; I Sam. 26: 17-19; Deut. 12:30. The Baalat or

"Mistress" of Gebal, (see Section 49) is arrayed like the Egyptian Hathor (Daughter of the Sun-Hawk). In the Tell El-Amarna Letters (No. 102:53), the "Bêlit of Gubla" is called "goddess of my lord the King!" (Pharaoh; about 1350 B.C.) - And more than ten centuries later, in the time of Yehaw-milk, the baalat of Gebal wears Egyptian insignia, including the Hat-Horus and solar disk. And Plutarch (80 A.D.) identifies the Astarte of Byblos (Gebal) of his time with Isis, while Lucian (160 A.D.) declares that feasts in her temple were not in honor of the "Semitic" Adonis, (adoni = "O my lord!") but of the Egyptian Osiris. (Plessis, p. 160). And the King of Gebal long wears Egyptian insignia of royalty. (See plates in Montet.)

55. Beginnings of Metallurgy. "Perizzites" Are "Metal-Workers."

Ere turning to dynastic contacts with Palestine, the rise of metallurgy introduces one more geographical contact. Copper was discovered in North Persia and Caucasus areas about 4000 B.C. (Tubal-Kayin, Gen. 4:5 = Tibar-êné "Smiths?"). Roving metallurgists sought new supplies. It was probably the Minoan-Cypriote copper-workers who from their Gaza-Gerar-Beth-Pélet base discovered the Sinai copper mines, and those of Moab-Edom, and taught natives something of mining and smelting (cf. Olmstead, 53). For no city-culture ever arose in Sinai; and the local methods were so inefficient that Egypt at times preferred to drive the native workers away, and work the mines with her own labor (just as we modern nations do!). But the line of ancient bronze age cities from Damascus south through Edom, with Moab and Edom copper mines, bring before us the Rutennu of the Egyptian inscriptions from the 12th Dynasty (2000 B.C.) onward; depicted as helmeted, slender, bronze-weaponed, with horses and light chariots. (See Wilkinson.) See the Lôtân of North Edom in Gen. 36:20-30; and "Lot" of our AV is everywhere Lôtân in LXX. Retennu for the Egyptian in the earlier records meant Edom, Moab, Ammon, and Bashan of the OT. Ps. 83:10 includes all but Bashan as "children of Lot." Were the occasional Egyptian raids in Rutennu especially for the sake of copper? We must excavate those city-sites. But we see Egypt claimed political control of northern Sinai. Her hundreds of thousands of tons of copper slag tell the story.

Of first importance here is the recent discovery that Parzi is a general Hittite word for "metal"; parzi-ili is "iron"; the barzel of the Hebrew OT. The Perizzî so often paired with Hittites in the Pentateuch, Judges and Joshua are simply "metal-workers." Palestine was a land of "metal-workers" before Israel came in; cf. Judg. 1:19; Judg. 5:8; 1 Sam. 13:19 f.

56. Egyptian Gods.

Here a moment's survey of the gods of historic Egypt may be made. (See Budge, Nile, pp. 255-300 - Knight, p. 23; Hall, 189-204). It will be recognized that by historic times there is a swarm of godlings in Egypt. Some are of the old Hamitic peasantry (see Section 30); some of negro peoples from the south; some of the old Delta-Sahara Libyco-Berber peoples. Others will be imported, by commerce and conquest, in the historic period. Each nome has its preferred godlings. Nearly all are ignored, in the royal inscriptions and insignia! But cults assuring the hereafter, and agriculture, will hold their place; sungod and moongod may change names only, while petty totems and minor cosmic fantasies come and go. (Knight, p. 30). Egypt's ideas of the Hereafter will incessantly pour into Palestine.

And it must be remembered that every Pharaoh is a god! Every royal stele set up in Palestine demands local worship of the royal god or divine king (the "Molech" of our OT). While the king-gods come and go, the Kingdom of God will be clarified.

57. Third Egyptian Dynasty - Stone Buildings Appear.

So far, no stone buildings of the predynastic period, or of the First and Second Dynasties, are known. But Zoser, or Tchoser, "The Holy," son of Kha-Sekhemui of Section 43f bursts upon us with a blaze of architectural achievement in stone, associated with his great step-pyramid at Sakkarah. Hall (BMG 155, 287) argues that there could not have been any long antecedent experience for the fluted columns, reed-columns, lily-columns, shown us for the first time (ILN, 10-4-1924; 10-18-1924; 1-7-1928). That assumes that there never was any stone-architecture in the buried and unexplored Delta

Mediterranean Culture. Others think that the earlier and higher culture of the Berber Coast is now being accepted by Nilotic Egypt: workmen from the Red Crown area of the Western Delta being employed. S.R.K. Glanville points out that the use of stone in building appears in the First Dynasty, the tomb of King Den Semti being paved with gravite, while Kha-Sekhemui, first King of the Third Dynasty (section 43) had a stone chamber built in his tomb. (ILN.3-29-1930). Glanville points out that the Egyptian builders of the time were thinking of stone in terms of brick, which had been long in use. That is, they cut their stone into very small blocks. When they learned that a cube of two feet has 24 square feet of surface to dress, and that the same amount of stone cut into 6-inch blocks has four times as much surface to dress, they moved rapidly in the direction of huge blocks, which required fewer skilled workmen and more brute strength. Zoser's (Djoser's) step-pyramid is 200 ft. high; base 352x396 ft.; the 6 "steps" are 38, 36, 34 $\frac{1}{2}$, 33, 31, 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. respectively. The chief architect Yemhatpe or Imhotep was later deified, or viewed as the "patron saint", of all science. The remarkable statue of Zoser (Djoser) found by the excavator C.M. Firth is the prototype of all later seated royalty. A second tomb-temple or cenotaph found by Garstang north of Abydos in 1901 means that as the Pharaoh-god had to be worshipped in two lands, a shrine was needed in each one (Hall, 287).

57-a. The Unparalleled Stone Tomb of Hemaka

Proper appraisalment of the Djoser stone work requires here consideration of the astounding tomb of Hemaka, the "Vizier of the North" of King Semti-Den, of the First Dynasty (Hall 283), whose granite-floored tomb is mentioned above. In March 1936 W.B. Emery working for the Egyptian Department of Antiquities found at Sakkara the tomb of Hemaka, cut in the solid rock 25 ft. below the surface. Around the tomb chamber were 42 stone-chambers: each intact; each limited to a single article - wine, fruit, meat, vegetables, etc. There were over 2000 jars for wine alone: their mud seals bearing the names of Hemaka and Den. No such complex has been found before at this early date.

There were very large and beautiful sacrificial flint knives, 15 inches long, never before found in the tomb of a Pharaoh: 33-inch wooden sickles set with flint blades: stone dishes and platters with alabaster and colored inlays: handles for big copper (?) adzes. Such advanced art at this date was not dreamed of. It seems clear that such workers could do anything with stone that they wanted to do. It will take much time and many pages to evaluate the whole. (ILN-4-25-1936; Crawford, Antiquity, June 1936, p.230 gives King's name as ZER).

57-b. What Art Did This First Dynasty Art Displace?

Emery's find prompted Dr. M. A. Murray of London University to collate 5 plaques of the predynastic art, publishing them in Sphere (4-25-1936, p.161). They show an art utterly unlike the dynastic, finely carved and with fixed conventions; which means long antecedent experience. It is impossible to derive the historic Egyptian art from them. It has been recognized that immigrants from the highlands beyond the Euphrates brought improved agriculture, draining, ditching, brickmaking and eventually copper-working into the Thebaid Nile (Section 42), but they brought no writing. Now it is probably their art that is giving way to art from the Delta.

57-c. Zoser As An Empire-BUILDER

Zoser portrays himself as smiting Sinai; and he left several inscriptions at the turquoise and malachite mines there, as his successor Sanekt also did. (Knight, p.44: Hall, 287). He is the first Dynastic King to leave a record of pushing up the Nile beyond the First Cataract to Maharraka, 80 miles south of Assouan. Detailed inscriptions are now wanting. But a rock stele on the island of Sahal in the First Cataract tells of seven years of famine produced by low Nile. It was terminated by sacrifices offered to Khnum at Elephantinè, where a Jewish military garrison was placed near 600 B.C. The stele decrees that tithes of everything should be paid to the temple of Khnum there. The Jewish garrison would have said, "to the God Yahu who is in Yeb" - the Egyptian name of the island. The inscription is dated in the 18th year of Zoser. But the stele is a restoration by a Ptolemy, some 3000 years after Zoser's time. Comparisons have been made with the story of Joseph: but the two tales have nothing in common but the number seven, and the fact all gathering of grain into public or temple store-houses are called in Semitic speech by a term which we have translated "tithes", and popularly misconstrued. It is probable that Ptolemy's erection or restoration was the result of complaints from the priests of Khnum that their receipts were falling off. Zoser's "tithes" were probably

the tribute which he exacted for the support of his garrison.

58. Zoser Shows Us That Endowment Lands Are Immemorial

On pages 34-a, 34-b, 206-a, it is shown that lands set apart for the maintenance of a particular secular or sacred institution are as old as well-organized agricultural communities. In Gen. 23:9, 30, we have "land possessed by a cave-tomb", misunderstood by the AV translators. But Zoser has left us the oldest known example of a tomb so endowed to insure regular offerings or sacrifices to the dead-prayers to them rather than for them. Near the Sphinx at Gizeh has been found the tomb of Upem-Nefert (Wepem?), and his wife Meris-ankh, a King's daughter, with Ra-Wer, Dega and wife, Nes-Weser, and other important officials (ILN 6-20-1931: A&V, May-June 1933: London Sunday Times 6-7-1931). He was administrator of a famous vineyard, Dua-Her-Khent-Pet, planted earlier by Zoser! Upem-Nefert's eldest son, the scholar Aba (see Is. 19:11), was in a chamber on the right, with a deed inscribed on the walls by his father, giving the endowment to said eldest son. There are fifteen witnesses, including the royal steward, doctor, oculist, architect and painter. We see Zoser insuring himself plenty of wine hereafter, and that the priestly administration of such endowment was hereditary, (See Godbey, "The Mamre of Abram, Nashville Christian Advocate, 7-28 and 8-4-1931).

Greek tradition credited Zoser with great medical knowledge and with the collection of much literature. Nothing now extant is credited to him. But later, under Huni, the Papyrus Prisse was compiled; nearly 2,000 years before the collection of proverbs attributed to Solomon. The Prisse contains Instructions of Kagemni. Consider the fragment, Knight, p.45.

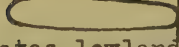
59. Sneferu: First Great Pyramid: But No Israelites!

First King of Fourth Dynasty. The great dismantled pyramid at Meydum (= Mer-Tum in a Hatshepsut inscription) is his. Alan Rowe has been excavating there for some years, (ILN.3-22-1930). The pyramid was originally 302 feet high but has been a quarry for centuries, leaving an unsightly step-pyramid stump 115 ft. high of 3 stages: 70, 20 and 25 ft. high. Mr. Rowe found blocks of stone marked Aperu by workmen: a word which some enthusiasts have tried to explain as "Hebrews" (Treated in Section 167). Mr. Rowe sees merely the "gangs" or "hirelings" doing the work: calls the method a "gang-system". The pyramid is dated 16th and 17th years of Sneferu, some 1500 years before Israelites were building in Egypt. A striking causeway approach was made, hewing it out of the rock, leaving two parallel stone walls with rounded tops; 227 yards long, ten feet apart, and 82 inches high. Visitors from afar came through the ages to see: and the pyramid became a burial place for other peoples down to Roman times. (ILN. 5-17-1930; 4-5-1930; 4-19-1930). The first known portrait of Sneferu was found here: with a peculiar head-dress of two ostrich plumes standing on two spread ram's horns. He is so shown in other places: four such portrayals in Sinai are known. No other early King of Egypt wore such plumes (ILN 4-19-1932). Sneferu also built another pyramid at Dahshur - about 23 miles south of Cairo, 17 miles north of Medum.

59-a. Sneferu As An Empire-BUILDER; 2950 BC?

In his Sinai inscriptions he is represented as clubbing rebellious or opposing natives. A permanent Egyptian garrison does not appear. (Weak successors of Zoser appear to have lost the country above Assuan). He is represented on the Palermo Stele as capturing 7,000 prisoners, and 200,000 oxen, cows, and goats. The captives probably became Aperu for the unskilled labor on his pyramids and other public works. Sneferu probably pushed south of Zoers's limit at Maharraka, but how far we do not know. He also built 60 great ships to go to the Lebanon coast for cedar and other long timber. Egypt trees produce only small and very short planks. Sneferu's vessels were 167 ft. long. He evidently dominated the Eastern Mediterranean. From the coast he made expeditions into the interior-most probably peaceful trading expeditions. His reliefs also show his fleets on the Red Sea, which meant possible trade with all west and south Arabia and Northeast Africa, and possibly India (Hall 287). For Mohenjo Daro and Harappa have shown us that the Indus Valley had great and elegant cities as early as the First Dynasty and their trade was reaching the Persian Gulf. For unknown centuries Hindoo coastal traders have reached the head of the Gulf of Aden once a year, for a month's trade-fair. H. R. Hall says that the civilization in Egypt and Syria at this time was as highly developed as our own. The tomb of Anti at Dashasheh shows Sneferu storming the city of Netia in South Palestine - cf. Olmstead 57.

59-b. Sneferu-Culture and Family

He was the first to place the cartouche  (Egyptian Shenu) about four of the royal titles. This came from the Euphrates lowlands: represented a seal-cylinder rolling over the clay. Besh, or Kha-sekhemui of Section 45 was the first to use the circle to contain the royal name. That the practice should continue and that Sneferu gave it such extension speaks much for the continued influence of Lower Babylonia in the mercantile classes (Hall 288). Sneferu was also first to place this cartouche about his personal name.

A Messianic "prophecy" about Sneferu was current in Egypt. It is the method that we call "apocalyptic": stating impressive current events in the form of a prediction to gain acceptance for them. American politicians do it when they declare that some action they are resolved upon is "Manifest Destiny." A specimen championing Amen-em-hat I, founder of the Twelfth Dynasty, is given by Barton, p.521ff. So bards and literati in Sneferu's domain would proclaim wherever it seemed advisable. Consider Peet, 120ff.

Sneferu's young queen Mertet-tefs, "Beloved of her father", long survived him. She became wife of his successor Khûfû (Cheops: an Abishag case? 1 K.1:13; 2:17). She lived on to hold three important offices under his brother-successor, her nephew Khafra (Khephren). She was "Administrator of the Great Hall of the Palace; Mistress of the Royal Wardrobe; Superintendent of the Chamber of Wigs and Head-dresses". (PFE p.136). Another older queen, Hetep-Heres, was the mother of Khufu. Reisner's discovery of her secret grave is one of the stirring incidents of current Egyptology. Sneferu's mortuary chapel boasts of the wares of the Lebanon, like the First Dynasty Kings in Section 41 (Cf. Knight 46). But his tomb and sarcophagus were plundered in ancient Egyptian days.

Following Sneferu was the ephemeral Shairu, the Soris of the Manetho fragments, who soon disappears and is followed by Khûfû, the Cheops of the Greeks - which every ordinary English reader mispronounces. Sneferu had a son, the Prince Ny-hep, whose existence was not known till Alan Rowe discovered his tomb at Meydum in 1931, with the Mastaba of Ra-hotep, the priest of Heliopolis. Mr. Rowe pronounced this the most important of his long series of Meydum excavations. For 3-page account, 12 photos, see ILN-11-7-1931. The familiar limestone statues of Ra-hotep and wife Nefert were discovered in 1871.

60. Cheops (Khûfû, Egyptian name).

Builder of the Great Pyramid, about 2,900 B.C. Records scanty. But the 100,000 men steadily employed for 20 years in building the pyramid-tomb must have been chiefly captives from Asia. (Cf. Knight, 49-53). Such was the case with later conqueror builders. For his favorite wife, Hetep-Heres, he built the great stone "Boat-Tomb", recently discovered (ILN, 2-7-1925). It shows that magnificent royal vessels, with burial in such a Viking fashion, were a controlling ideal. An inscription of Cheops has been found at Gebel, with several vases of this Fourth Dynasty.

No historical inscriptions of Khûfû remain. The length of his reign is not known. Herodotus credits him with 63 years, which probably includes the three builders of the Great Pyramids at Gizeh. The tradition of the wrecking of his memorials by a maddened populace is credible. For Palestine, the immediate significance is that the 300,000 impressed workmen employed upon his projects certainly included large drafts of foreign laborers; witness the Aperu employed upon Sneferu's pyramid in 59-a, and his boast that he brought 7000 out of Nubia at one raid. "The villany you teach me I will execute; and it shall go hard but I will better the instruction", thought Khufu. A relief on the rocks of Wady Magharah in the Sinaitic Peninsula represents him as clubbing a typical foe in the presence of the god Thoth. (Hall, 291). An inscription of his has been recently found at Gebel, with vases of other Kings of this dynasty. Since he called his pyramid Ikhet, "The Glorious", the controlling passion in its erection is beyond question. He certainly surpassed Sneferu. For the oft-repeated dimensions, etc., see Hall 291.

60-a. The Wreck of The Tomb of Queen-Mother Hetep-heres.

In Section 59 Sneferu's second pyramid at Dahshur was mentioned. Hetep-heres was buried there by her husband's tomb. But this tomb was robbed soon after her entombment. The tomb was found in 1925, and cleared in 1926-1927 by a joint expedition of Harvard and the Boston Museum of Art. Reisner in 1928 pronounced this discovery the most important

in Egypt since the discovery of the Tut-Ankh-Amen tomb. (For details, see ILN, 2-7-1925: 3-12-1927: 3-26-1927: 11-14-1928: Furniture of tomb, 8-24-1929: 5-7-1932: Bed-Canopy, A&A Nov-Dec. 1932). When the officials discovered the tomb had been robbed, they promptly removed the sarcophagus and mummy to a secret tomb at the bottom of a 98-ft. shaft. That the secret tomb was made is proven by an inscription in old hieroglyphics on the back of her carrying-chair. It is written three times in three vertical columns. The size of the chair shows that the queen was a small slender woman. She sat on a cushion, with knees drawn up, and arms resting on the arms of the chair, which rested on poles: she was borne shoulder high by four men.

60-b. Where Are The Records of Cheops? History Changed

Reisner suggests that the robbers actually destroyed the queen's body, and that the officials who removed the sarcophagus to the secret tomb conspired to conceal the fact of destruction from Cheops. Noel F. Wheeler, Field Director of the Harvard-Boston Expedition, tells certain results in a 28-page article in Antiquity, June 1935 (pp. 161-189). The article, "Pyramids and Their Purpose" includes several diagrams and one map, on the Great Pyramid.

Hetep-heres was the daughter of the literature-patron Huni (end Section 58). When Khufu learned that his mother's tomb had been robbed, with great speed he had a shaft 100 ft. deep sunk by the causeway to his own pyramid, with a rock-hewn burial chamber at the bottom. With furniture in place, the shaft was filled with limestone in plaster-paris. Meanwhile Khufu with quizzical eye went on drawing attention to his own mighty tomb, making some confusing changes of detail, all the while having his own secret burial-place prepared somewhere else. The final fact is that the Great Pyramid is unfinished, was never occupied, and during the latter years of its construction was never intended to be more than a cenotaph. It never reached the stage when its walls were to be crammed with inscriptions recounting the deeds of its builder. Had he already inscribed records anywhere, it would not surprise if he removed them to his secret tomb for safety. Curious is the pathological condition that made some old Pharaohs record their boast where none but their own ghosts would ever see them! Should we find that lost tomb of Cheops, we might find him bragging like a Sennacherib.

61. Khefren Becomes "Pharaoh" - 2766-2748 B.C. Second Pyramid

His Egyptian name is Kha'-f-Ra', "Appearance of the Sungod". The political significance of the name is greatly emphasized by recent discoveries. He is thought to have been a son of Khufu, but this remains uncertain. (Or brother? 59-b). It is possible that he changed his name upon becoming King. His only popular fame is as the builder of the Second Pyramid: records of other achievements are lacking. His pyramid is 450 feet high, with base 700 feet square, against an original 480 ft. height with 775 ft. square base of the Great Pyramid: making the Second Pyramid about three-fourths the bulk of the other. A funerary chapel was attached to it, and Rudjek, chief of the priests there, calls himself "friend of the Per-'o" or "Great House": one of the earliest uses of this term for the King. We call it "Pharaoh". A magnificent diorite statue of Khafra' is in the Museum at Cairo.

The mummy chamber was cut in the rock under the center of the pyramid: the whole mass of the pyramid being above it. As with the Great Pyramid, it was not crammed with records. (Hall 292).

61-a. Solving The Riddle of The Sphinx

It is known to modern scholars that Sphinxes were originally portrait statues. Present evidence is that they originated in Hurrian art. A goddess standing on a lion is eventually abbreviated, showing her head and shoulders above the lion's shoulders. Finally the human head is put in the place of the lion's head. Asiatic Sphinxes are female as in Greek legends of the Sphinx. Egyptian Sphinxes are not.

With the cue that the Sphinx should be a portrait, Reisner has recently decided that the Sphinx presented the portrait of Khephren himself, though no other such portrait of a Pharaoh was in the Gizeh area. Clearing away the sand between the fore-paws of the Sphinx in 1926 laid bare a mortuary chapel of Khephren. Thothmes IV claimed that he did so: but he thought the Sphinx represented Khufu (Hall 294). The fine head of the diorite statue in the museum at Cairo then shows what the vandal-battered face of the Sphinx should be.

But Prof. Selim Hassan in 1935 began some revolutionary discoveries. Excavating in the area between the pyramids and the Sphinx, he found a trench leading directly from the Khephren pyramid to the Sphinx. He decided that this trench must continue beyond the Sphinx to Khephren's Valley Temple: a distance of 1950 feet. And the protective brickwall built around the Sphinx has been generally credited to the Ptolemies. But Professor Hassan found bricks in the wall bearing the cartouche of Thothmes IV. (Joseph M. Levy in N.Y. Times 2-10-1935). Prof. Hassan decided that the trench was partly cut away to allow the Sphinx to be hewn out of the rock there: hence the Sphinx was made after Khephren's death. He reigned 18 years and died before his pyramid was finished. (ILN figures).

61-b. Clearing The Causeway Through A Necropolis.

The causeway to the Valley Temple of the Khephren cult, built of huge stones is like a modern paved road. Holes along the margin suggest a covering to protect from the sun. Its one use was probably for carrying the statue of Khephren back and forth between his temples by the priests. Two "side walks", one on either side, were for the general public. The total width of the three was 25 yards. It had been buried from three to 48 feet deep.

Egyptian custom suggested an official Necropolis along the "Holy Road". Several tombs were soon found along the right side: some hewn in the rock, some of built stone. The most important tombs found include that of his daughter Queen Rekht-Ra: "daughter of one King and wife of another". She is not known in Budge's Book of Kings. Her husband may be a new King. The sarcophagus had been robbed and the mummy mutilated. East of her tomb was that of her priest, Ka-em-Nefert: the inscriptions in it were almost all devoted to the Queen. The tomb of another Queen, Mersi-anekh, a daughter of Khephren, was also found: and that of her sister, Hemet-Ra, and of Nep-in-Aght, son of Khephren, and that of In-Ka-If, a noted court painter who painted the portraits of all of them, and autographed his work. All these were unknown before. Also the tomb of Dua-Ka, Khephren's private priest, who had charge of his pyramid. (Joseph M. Levy, N. Y. Times 2-10-1935: ILN 4-6-1935).

61-c. Khephren's Sun-Boats and Smashed Statues

Clearing debris from the eastern side of the Khephren Valley Temple Prof. Selim Hassan found the front part of a miniature Sphinx, about the size of a lion. This opened the way to verify the theory that after building the causeway from the cultus temple at the base of his pyramid to the great Valley Temple beyond the Sphinx, the large Sphinx was placed near the pyramid temple and small ones about the Cultus Temple.

Just south of the Cultus Temple were found two sun-boats, hewn deep in the rock. Every worshipper of the Sun God Ra must after death voyage like the Sun daily from East to West. To be reborn or "resurrected" he must make another voyage at night from West back to East, in a "resurrection boat". This boat for the nocturnal under-world voyage was covered with 22 huge blocks of stone, to make it dark: and as the King was descending to Hades in that night journey the boat was made 39 feet deep! It was 104 feet long, and had two decks, stone slabs representing the wooden seats. The day boat was 94 feet long, open, and single-decked. Smaller boats had been found before (eg. those Khufu made, ILN. 2-7-1925). None near the size of these two: none made as skillfully and with such fine detail. Eventually two more were found; two boats then represented the northern kingdom, two the southern.

About 70 statues of Khephren were found, broken to hundreds of fragments. They were made of diorite, granite, and alabaster. They had been destroyed by the revolutionary elements from the Sixth Dynasty to the Eleventh. Fragments of this vandalism are found in the tombs of the revolutionists. (Joseph M. Levy, N.Y. Times 4-7-1935).

61-d. Tunnel To The Khufu Necropolis. A Later Cross-Tunnel

E.O. Armytage and G.P. Dawson give an official summary of Prof. Hassan's six years' work in Sphere (11-2-1935). In addition to the above, special attention is paid to tunnel found 380 yards from the Valley Temple, connecting the Khephren causeway with the court of the Khufu cemetery on the north. An opening ten feet square had been cut in the causeway: A shaft dropped 32 ft. to the first chamber, to intersect the tunnel, proving that it was blocked when this shaft was thought necessary. Another square shaft was found in this first platform, 14 feet to the left of the first shaft. This went down 50

feet or more to a large tomb-chamber with smaller ones around. Here were two gigantic basalt sarcophagi plundered. Then another square opening went down 42 feet more (total, 124 ft.) to water covering many sarcophagi! It is hoped they are unplundered! This macabre necropole is about the Twenty-fourth Dynasty (700 B.C. ff.).

Two more of Khephren's sons were found: Iwn-Ra', and Ankh-Ma-Ra', besides the daughters Kenet-Ra' and Queen Reket-Ra'. All the names end in Ra', and all sarcophagi faced the East. Khephren was clearly a protagonist of the Ra'-cult! Most important seems the tomb of Ka-Heristef, another priest of Queen Reket-Ra'. Statues of himself, his wife, his brother-in-law, and his child were cut in the solid rock wall of the tomb: left undetached! This is unique.

61-e. More Khephren Finds - Spring 1936

A built tomb found intact, near the Khephren pyramid, 82x49 ft. and 19 high, is believed to be that of another daughter of Khephren: it is between two other royal tombs. A flood had filled it with mud and sand, covering the mortar-sealed limestone sarcophagus in a niche of the Western wall. The flood probably saved it from robbers. On the floor of the 16x14 sarcophagus chamber were 14 ceramics, 23 copper utilia, and the skeleton of a sacrificed bull. On the lid of the sarcophagus were a portrait-head of limestone, and a marvellously executed translucent alabaster head-rest, over the head of the deceased. Upon the mummy which lay like a bride in full regalia, were two necklaces: one of gold threads with steatite beads, one of gold beads: two semicircular clasps: a gold fillet, gold ribbons, 4 gold bracelets, gold anklets: a copper belt plated with a gold layer was around the waist: four gold fingers - others to be found as clearing continues. Her name was not yet found.

Also the bandaged mummy with head exposed of a general, tutor of Khephren's sons. Then the mummy of a woman, wife of Sekhem-Nefer, the highest nobleman in the Kingdom, ranking next to Khephren, and governor of a province. Her mummy was completely wrapped, and is believed to be oldest ever found. For embalming had not begun in the Fourth Dynasty. There may have been some attention to preserving the body in the First Dynasty. Corroded linen bandages in Second, Third and Fourth suggest rubbing the body with natron.

Most important was the finding of the sarcophagus of a son of Khephren named Khnum-Ba-ef. ("A creator is his ba"). His mastaba has been under observation for three years. False doors and false clues abounded. The huge sarcophagus had been let down through a shaft in the core of the mastaba, the room then roofed with slabs of stone, the shaft filled with rubble, and false clues in the anteroom then led searchers south instead of north. Such precautions suggest extraordinary importance and danger of robbers. Upon the lid of the sarcophagus lay four magnificent necklaces, marvellously arranged, with various magnificent jewelry. Everything is being minutely studied in situ, before opening the sarcophagus (ILN. 4-11-1936; 5-2-1936; 5-16-1936: London Times 4-21-1936, Nature 5-2-1936).

61-f. Unequalled Family Vault of RA' -WER

With this sketch of the tremendous increase in our knowledge of a very obscure epoch within a few years, and the certainty of a much greater increase by the continued excavation of the royal cemeteries of Khufu and Khephren, the student may realize more readily the folly of discarding a dark period because we know nothing about it, as pointed out in 36-b. Now consider the most surprising find of all, and that from what we have considered the darkest period of Dynastic history. Because actually linked with the Khufu necropolis, it is properly introduced here.

In January 1930 Professor Selim Hassan announced the opening of an immense mastaba covering a system of subterranean tomb-chambers. The earliest reports announce that this great family vault, (as it proved to be) was 500 feet long by 100 wide, in two stories or floors, with 80 compartments and 30 labyrinths - by far the largest ever found in Egypt. But this reported size was increased as explorations continued. It proved to be the final resting place of Ra'-Wer, "Intimate friend of the King, Master of the Royal Robes, Master of Ceremonies, Barber of the King, Well-beloved of the King" - to quote from thirty-five separate titular dignities eventually found. One spectacular incident was the recovery of a necklace of 4,000 gold and lapislazuli beads: the largest necklace ever found in Egypt. The skeleton of the thief, with hand cut off by the fall of the heavy sarcophagus-lid, was found by the sarcophagus. At the same time the University of Pennsylvania group investigating the pyramid of Sneferu, already considered, had come up-

on one great chamber 320 feet by 160, with 40 individual graves with rectangular coffins.

There were 30 statues of Ra-Wer, each showing him as the recipient of some special dignity or compliment from the King. A limestone stele records that the "King of The Two Lands, Nefer-Ka-Ra", went one day in procession. Ra-Wer approached with a vestment, and was accidentally touched on the thigh by the King's staff. The King said, "You are unharmed. No blow has struck you. You are the greatest man in any dominion." And he ordered a stele so telling to be placed in Ra-Wer's Tomb.

One sand-filled shaft 50 feet deep had a magnificent empty sarcophagus at the bottom. It is thought that the dignitary who prepared it was killed in battle abroad. A child-mummy lay beside it. Was she waiting the return of her father? The mummy of Ra-Wer's father was found. Akht-hetep, a foster-brother of the King Nefer-Ka-Ra. That explains Ra-Wer's entrance into royal favor. The walls of his tomb chamber were covered with inscriptions not yet given to the public. But some of them deal with Khufu and his pyramid. The sarcophagus contained the mummy of Akht-hetep, and the embalming instruments; which is unique. There were sarcophagi of several high priests. That of Fifi contained 16 likenesses of him, in various positions and in different colours. The artistic attainment is high.

The "Ka-house" of Ra-Wer contained 16 Ka-Statues of him, in different functions. Thirty-five titles were eventually found, with a separate figure or separate supply of provisions for each title. The wall-space was jammed with inscriptions: some undecipherable because of abbreviations, or phrases of functional jargon. How many generations of Ra-Wer's family are in this family cemetery is not yet known. The actual connection with Khufu's tomb is not yet known. Ra-Wer's tomb was robbed: his mummy was not found. Scanty finances soon suspended operations. The historical material available in the inscriptions found has not been made public. The burials belong to the Fifth Dynasty. A King Nefer-Ka-Ra does not appear in the known list. Nefer-Ari-Ka-Ra may be meant. (N.Y. Times 2-10-1930; 2-16-1930; 3-10-1930; 3-17, 3-19, 3-21, 3-26-1930; 4-6-1930: London Times 7-25-1930).

61-g. Seshem-Nefer: A New King: Sixth Dynasty?

The Vienna Academy of Sciences sent an expedition to the Khufu necropolis for the season 1928-1929. Khufu's pyramid is surrounded by his family and official necropolis on three sides. A third cemetery was made later on the south: separated from the pyramid precincts by a wide wall. So the Khufu pyramid was surrounded by a court which only priests of the dead might enter. The excavations found that Mykerinus, a successor of Khephren, founded this addition. The customary form of the graves continues to be that of the earlier period: long rectangular massive mastababs with underground tomb-chambers southward at the bottom of a shaft 70 feet deep; granite sarcophagi against the west walls; some plain-walled, some with carved ornamentation. Among the tombs found were a prince Khufu-Dedef: A King Seshem-Nefer; his son Sehetepu, his court physician Niankh-Ra; Timery, chief of the King's linen-chamber; Itef and his family; Kai-em-Nefret; another court-physician, Ptah-hetep with his daughter Tetereb, and his wife Hetep-Heres. (ILN 4-6-1929). No further reports have appeared in ILN.

62. Mycerinus: Men-Kau-Ra: "Son of the Sungod." (Twenty Years).

He has suddenly burst upon us with unparalleled brilliance. His inscriptions announce him "Son of the Sungod" (Ra'); the first appearance of this title, which will persist to the end. The Egyptian king must be addressed as such hereafter, by adulatory subjects, in Palestine or elsewhere. 1500 years later the Tell el-Amarna letters will show the official address, "To the King my lord, my god, my sungod," etc.; and it is certain that like official formulae continued into the days of Israelite kings.

The pre-eminence of Ra' in the official cult from this time is probably reflected in the OT. The Jewish scholar Joshua Bloch (in JSOR, Jan.-Apr. 1932, p. 57) suggests that the curious Ex. 10:10 has been mistranslated in our AV: the word ra'h has been read as Hebrew when it is the Egyptian god. "And (Pharaoh) said to them, 'May Yahu be with you, if I ever let you and your associates go! Look out! for Ra' is against you.'" Dr. Joseph Seliger also recognized RA' in the verse. Rashi recognizes a Ra'h as the name of some star in his time (2500 years after the Exodus). In Ex. 32:12 read, "For Ra' brought them forth to slay them in the mountains, etc." The policy urged in Deut. 12:3, of destroying all old god-names, has obscured many a page of the OT.

63. Splendour of Fourth Dynasty Art

Nothing has been known of Mycerinus from historical records. But Reisner's recent excavations of the area about the Third Pyramid, known as that of Mycerinus, uncovered his unfinished tomb-temple, connected with his valley-temple by a road. It was of extraordinary, unsuspected richness. And the temples of three little pyramids of his queens are south of the great one. The student must remember that wherever Egyptian power is established, there will be the worship of the Pharaoh and his ancestors as guardians of the state, and "sons of God." Such are included in the numerous baalim of OT.

Previously only thirteen statues and statuettes were known, of the entire Fourth Dynasty. There were only five portrait statues; Cheops, Radedey, two of Chephren, and a poor Mycerinus. The new temples have furnished seventeen statues and fifteen statuettes, variously unfinished, because of M.'s sudden death (about 2900 B.C.? Reisner). Seven are of Mycerinus, one of the queen, two of other members of the family. The immense collection of stone jars, ceramics, seals, amulets, faiences, bone and ivory artifacts, though incomplete, are the most astonishing works of Egyptian art. Mycerinus seems to have used the great artists collected by Cheops and Chephren. After the decadent Sixth Dynasty the Renaissance of the Eleventh harked back to the forms and technique of the Fourth. These persist to the end.

As for Mycerinus in Palestine, numerous relics of him have been found at Gebal; much timber was needed for his enterprises, his godship must have been well worshipped! (G. A. Reisner, The Temples of the Fourth Dynasty at Gizeh; Harvard, 1931.)

64. Egyptian Tombs at Gebal.

The excavations at Gebal-Byblos and at the far later Sidon have discovered that the local kings or governors had their own tombs made in Egyptian shaft-tomb style, with stone sarcophagi of Egyptian pattern, and tomb-equipment of Egyptian manufacture, with Egyptian hieroglyph inscriptions. Egyptian ideas of Death and the Hereafter, and Egyptian modes of preparation for it, are dominant. As Egypt was on this coast for a thousand years before the arrival of Sidonian Semites, we must expect the newcomers to "learn the manner of the god of the land" (as in 2 K. 17:26 ff.). Consider again Section 54, and Minoan Outlines, Section 34.

65. Great Fourth Dynasty Queen, Khent-Kawes.

Here we must notice a great Egyptian queen, Khent-Kawes. She had a pyramid at Gizeh; its masonry-top, ever protruding from the sand, had produced no suspicion that a pyramid hewn out of solid rock was beneath. Discovered by Prof. Selim Hassan of the Egyptian University early in 1932, the doorjambs announce "Queen Khent-Kawes, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, daughter of the god, (Pharaoh) of whom all good things she had done are told, Khent-Kawes." She wears the royal vulture. The lack of inscriptions in her chapel-tomb, and her pyramid at Gizeh seem to connect her with the Fourth Dynasty, while indications of a Rising-Sun Cult suggest a Fifth. We have a figure as startling at Hatshepsut: See Sections 110-111. It will take some years to complete the excavations. (N.Y. Times, 2-20-1932, p. 21; London Times, 2-22-1932, p. 11.)

In March, 1934, Prof. Hassan made further inscriptional discoveries, proving that the mysterious Khent-Kawes was the daughter and successor of Mycerinus. This intensifies our curiosity. For the end of Mycerinus was sudden and mysterious, as shown in Section 62, and there seems to have been four rulers following, in about twenty-five years, before the rise of User-Kaf. One of these ruled eighteen years. That must have been Khent-Kawes: the excavated pyramid and pyramid-city required much time. There was a struggle against the rising Ra^c Cult. But Khent-Kawes was one of its protagonists. Yet so was the succeeding founder of the Fifth Dynasty. The names and attitude of three short-lived contemporaries of Khent-Kawes are not known. That her great-uncle Hordedef, son of Khufu, composed certain chapters of the "Book of the Dead" and was renowned for his learning is known (Is. 19:11, b).

Khent-Kawes built the first "pyramid-city" for her priests and temple-servitors. In time it became so crowded that it was abandoned, and private dwellings were provided. She cut a tunnel through the adjoining crag as a private entrance to her temple.

66. Fifth Dynasty: Userkaf: Sahu-Ra : Kakaa.

First king a revolutionary usurper; probably high-priest of Ra^c, at On of Gen. 41:45. The story of how he and his two brothers, Sahu-Ra^c and Kakaa reached the throne, became popular folk-tale (Hall, 297). Men-Kau-Ra^c had announced himself "Son of Ra^c", and there now came an immense expansion of this Sungod cult; and with Kakaa began the custom of the king taking a special personal name, as "Son of Ra^c"; his own was Neferari-ka-Ra^c. These kings erected their large pyramids at Abusir. (For the pyramid temple of Ne-user-Ra^c, see Knight, 5%) Sahu-Ra^c (2743-2731, Breasted) pictures his fleet of great seagoing vessels sent to South Arabian coasts and Somali-land; which meant exchanges with peoples farther east. He pictured Mesopotamian fallow deer, Syrian bears, opens mines in Sinai, and has himself pictured clubbing a native of Sinai. How much fighting he did to maintain those distant contacts we do not know. In his mortuary chapel are some peculiar vases that are announced to be "from Lebanon" - Ra^cen-user, or Ne-user-Ra^c (2721-2691?) continued the mining in Sinai, and claimed conquests in Palestine.

67. Sumerian Advance to Amurru. (Cf. Section 35, Prolegomena.)

Lugal-Zaggisi, the Sumerian King of Ur, Uruk (Erech of Gen. 10:10) Gishban and Larsa, near head of the Persian Gulf, records that he reached the Mediterranean about this time. Discoveries at Katna show it a Sumerian stronghold commanding their Eleutheros Valley road to their Amurru port (modern 'Amrit). An archaic Sumerian seal cy-

linder has been found at the neighboring Hamath by Ingholt. And recent discoveries at Ras Shamra, about 80 miles north of Amurru, show that 1500 years later Sumerian was the scholars' or "all-traders'" language there. Thus Sumerians are in trade-contact with Egypt on that coast, from Sahure's time. But no trace has been found of any Sumerian effort to push south into Palestine. (Knight, p. 129, is to be rejected.) But in the Tell el-Amarna Letters, a king of Cyprus (about 1400 B.C.) writes to the king of Egypt that his land is in the grip of the (Sumerian) god Nergal - that is, it is smitten with a plague or epidemic. We see some Sumerian ideas spread in the Mediterranean. Compare "Tartarus" with Sumerian "Dara-Dara," "dense darkness!" (Dardar of Hos. 10:8?)

68. Advance of Sargon of Akkad.

The long-lost Accad of Gen. 10:10 has been supposed to have been about 80 miles north of Babylon. But Langdon's discovery of a vast number of tablets of Sargon of Akkad, in a little mound four miles southeast of the great ruin of Barghuthiat which is seventeen miles northeast of Kish, made him suspect that Barghuthiat is the long-lost Akkad. "Sargon of Akkad" is the founder of the first Semitic-speaking dynasty in Babylonia, previously Sumerian-ruled. Sargon records that in his western campaign he collected choice trees and plants from Central and Southern Asia Minor. "He crossed the sea of the setting sun, and the third year at the setting sun his (hand) conquered. His mouth one place established: his images at the setting sun (he erected). Their spoil in the land of the sea he brought over." It seems Akkadian trading-posts across the Hittite sphere of influence felt themselves oppressed, and that Sargon spent three years in establishing the rights of such traders across Asia Minor to the Mediterranean in the neighborhood of Sardis (Weidner), insuring also some trade with island peoples. We see Akkadian become a language of trade and diplomacy, as Aramaic did 2,000 years later. The great body of Akkadian commercial tablets from the next 400 years are known to scholars as "the Cappadocian tablets." We see commercial competition for Egypt, and a trade-script that will drive out her hieroglyphics. But we have no trace of an Akkadian political push south into Palestine.

68-b. Egypto-Semito-Sumerian Correspondence.

Comparing Sargon's and Lugal-Zaggisi's records, we find both the Sumerian and the Semite using the cuneiform Akkadian script! as the lingua-franca of their time. And in above-mentioned Cappadocian tablets from Kaneš, in the "Hittite" Asia Minor, we find this Semitic Akkadian written by Sumerian scribes who use Sumerian seals! The Semitic trader has developed no art and literary conventions of his own. But devoting himself largely to trade, he has made a trade-language which even his Sumerian masters and teachers find it convenient to use. We see (1) why we have no Sumerian records from Palestine or Egypt, though Sumerian peoples still had an extensive political and commercial correspondence. (2) We can be confident that the Akkadian lingua-franca was reaching Egypt, just as it was reaching across Asia Minor. Yet we may not recover any remnants of it. Compare 47-b, 87-b.

69. Early Hurrian Cultures.

But Sargon's push to the west is occasioned by the people that will 1000 years later become a dominant element in Palestine; the Hurrian, shown by very recent discoveries to be the oldest culture of Eastern Asia Minor, inventor of the pictographic records from which cuneiform writing was developed. They possibly founded the stronghold that in later times was the capital of various "Hittite" empires. Discoveries at Tell Halaf on the Upper Khabûr, 60 miles east of the Harran of Gen. 11:27 ff, show a mighty Hurrian city, cultus, and statuary, at its zenith about 3000 B.C. Here is a political power with which traders from the Assyro-Babylonian area had to reckon. (See ILN, Oct. 25, and Nov. 1, 1930; Oppenheim, Der Tell Halaf, 1931; Vincent, RB, July 1932, 476 f; Syria, 1932, 3d Quar.). Before Israel enters Palestine this people will be so powerful there that Egyptian chroniclers will be calling Palestine "The Land of the Hurrd" (not "Canaanites!"). Excavations show this ancient culture founded Kish (the ancient predecessor of Babylon), Ashur, Gen. 10:11, and Nineveh -- "Assyria," in short, Cuneiform fragments have the names of Ushpia and Kikia as the legendary founders of Nineveh. But a recently discovered list of 95 Assyrian kings reaches back to about 2400 B.C., and Ushpia is the ninth in the early dynasty (SNL, 6-10-1933). The Hurrian--popularly called "Assyrian" -- Sargon, leader of the Akkadianized culture, finds the unchanged Hurrians in the west a hindrance.

70. Fifth Dynasty Continued: Isesi: 2683-2655.

(Dad-Kara, Assa; Hall 298; Knight 59-63). Next important figure after Ne-user-Ra of Section 66. Of great ethical and literary significance are the "Precepts of Ptah-hotep." (See Knight; Peet 100 ff; Barton 507.) Isesi has again to reconquer all Sinai, so he boasts. He inaugurates the practice of placing the royal cartouche at the mines. As this is in a region now swarming with the tribal claim - marks of many petty peoples who have been in the peninsula through the centuries, we should consider this as parallel to an American miner's inscribing his name on his claim, or to a modern nation hoisting its flag over claimed territory. Dad-kara may have meant to claim the whole peninsula, not simply the mines he worked.

The Predynastic sections, and Gebal, have shown an Egyptian foreign trade 2000 years old, and the Tanis-Zoan area (Num. 13:22; Ps. 78:12; 43: Is. 19:11; 30:4; Ezek. 30:14) twenty miles west of the Suez Canal, had been an immemorial port of entry; a great stone-built city in the early dynasties; a meeting place of cultures, cults, and commercial politicians. Now there comes an overland immigration and settlement; probably hoping to divert the sea traffic through the northern ports of Gebal and Ugarit (Egyptian, "Ekereth") to an overland caravan trade. (Cf. Montet, L'Illustration, 10-25-1930). Petrie, in his excavations at Beth-Eglaim (Minoan Outlines, Section 40), finds there this "Syrian" element pushing south into Egypt. "Syrian" (See Prolegomena 3) is merely a regional term; it does not tell us the race. It is notable for its button-badges, noticed long ago by Wilkinson, not found among any peoples of Palestine.

71. Fifth Dynasty-Unas; last king: (2655-2623).

Holds Gebal with his fleet (against such incursions from "Syria" as above?) Bowl with his cartouche in its Egyptian temple. The Baal of Gebal (Section 49) he claims as his own Sungod, Ra'; calling him "Ra' who is by the Lake of Pharaoh" (the Mediterranean!) or "Ra' of the mountain," or "Ra' of the mountain Land," while a contemporary ruler of Gebal finds himself required to speak of his god in the same way, and to call himself "son of the Lion" (Vassal of Pharaoh?); "son of the sun-god Ra' of the mountain Land, who gives health in Gebal!" (Montet).

72. Book of the Dead Compiled.

But Unas is preëminent for a great liturgic innovation. Read Section 58 again. Unas realizes that the endowment scheme has always failed. Lands may be confiscated, priests embezzle or idle, liturgies cease. So he gathered a great number of priestly formulae or incantations for the dead, some from very old papyri, others perhaps older still, verbally or orally transmitted, and engraved them on the interior of his tomb-vault and its antechamber in his pyramid at Sakkara. These dealt with the destiny of the dead king, his ascent to heaven, his position among the gods, his lordship over the dead. Thus the royal ghost was independent of priests! He could read the liturgies in the proper order as he came forth from the tomb!

The Sixth Dynasty imitated this towards its end. Other persons of distinction and women of royal families did likewise; then came the texts for common people who were not mighty lords but weak and needy folk begging for offerings; these were now freed from priestly exactions! Then came the painting of the texts on sarcophagi; finally writing on rolls of papyri to be buried with the dead. Thus arose "The Book of the Dead." (Kurt Sethe, F. & F., 7-20-1931). Observe that Knight, p. 54, did not know the facts, and misconstrues, But on p. 68 recognizes the lessening of the power of priestcraft.

To the time of Unas also we should probably credit the "Precepts of Ptah-hotep." See Barton, 507.

73. Sixth Dynasty, 2675-2475.

Dominance at Byblos continues. The town and harbor of Zoan enlarged. Sixth Dynasty kings have left their names on their buildings there (Montet, supra). Manufactures from Syria multiply in Egypt. The Palestinian population is still agrarian;

mainly Mediterranean? Their little "castle-settlements" are not "cities" in our sense. The early Bronze strata at Megiddo, Lachish, Gezer, Jericho, etc. are of this period; and are town settlements, whose primitive strongholds are of Egyptian plan. (See Duncan, Garstang.) Egyptian protective garrisons made these strongholds. Probably the southward Syrian push in Section 70 had compelled Egypt to garrison its caravan routes. They show the Palestinian peasant-folk are just coming out of the stone-age: pottery rude, rough, badly burnt, with many stone utensils. All finer ceramics and decorative objects are Egyptian. People who are indebted to Egyptian garrisons and officials for protection would accept some Egyptian cultus-ideas. "Phoenician" coast in the same stage. But the "Phoenicians" are not there yet!

74. Sixth Dynasty: Teti II.

(2625 ff.) is at Gebal and seems to identify himself with the Fir god Khai-taw (Section 49) who is in the midst of Ne-ga, the "Fir-producing" land. (Pharaoh is master of the lumber industry?) Pepi I (2590-2570) left alabaster (calcite) offering-disks in the temple at Gebal. The drying up of Arabia begins to force the immigration of starving agriculturists; and their struggle into south Palestine begins. Pepi sends four expeditions against them without success. In a fifth, he ships his troops to Carmel (Haifa harbor) and comes down from the north upon these new settlers. (HAE, p. 121.) Pepi's captain destroys their figs and their vines. They are not nomad herdsmen. (ARE: 313-5). A picture in a tomb at Deshasheh shows Pepi attacking a Palestinian town. A scarab of his was found at Gezer, and a funerary statue (PEFQ, 1903, p. 36). See new need of garrisons. The early form of Hebrew probably brought in by this migration; it was certainly current by 2500 B.C. (Albright, AJSL, 1925, p. 77).

74-B. New Hebrews Transmit Old Egyptian.

But in this connection it should be stated that the Egyptian language of the Old Kingdom had taken so strong a hold upon the popular speech of Palestine by this time that it was never shaken off. Twelve hundred years later, in the El-Amarna period, we shall see that Egyptian words are a large element in the correspondence. But the form of such words is that of this Old Kingdom period; not that of the XVIIIth Dynasty. It is comparable to the survival of mediaeval Yiddish in modern Germany. The reason for this peculiar fact is not yet clear. But it must be related to the fact that the incoming Hebrew-speakers of the time were without organized literature or literary traditions, and finding themselves in some servile contact with Egyptian overlords picked up many words from their masters and transmitted them to their descendants in the Old Kingdom forms. But that suggests little secluded communities of Hebrew-speakers, like Yiddish communities in Germany.

75. At this point consider the tradition of Phoenician migration, which Eiselin incorporates in his "Sidon." The tradition is that they once dwelt on the coasts of the Erythraean Sea--which means any Indian Ocean or Persian Gulf coast. (See Hastings' DB, iii, p. 858, col. 1). They came thence overland, stopping a while by some salt sea or lake. That would acknowledge that they were not a people of ships, who could have come through the Red Sea, but rather an agrarian folk. The "Salt Lake" could not have been either Lake Van or Lake Urmiah; a mass-migration northward through the powerful kingdoms of the Euphrates and Tigris has left no records. Movement across Arabia would mean past the inland sea of which the Salt lakes and marshes of the Wady Sirhan are a remnant. The failing of this agricultural area would prompt a further move, such as the above.

But Meyer has shown that this migration-story is an invention of late Greek writers. In the Iliad, "Phoenicians" are mentioned only twice: in the Odyssey, five times, as slave-dealers and kidnappers, haunting the coasts of Egypt and Corcyra-Corfu. In neither are there any Phoenician colonies. On Cyprus were the late colonies of Kition and Lapithos. There is no trace of them in Cornwall; and the settlement in Etruria is mythical.

As to art they had none--only a medley of imitations of the art of the peoples with whom they traded. (Read Ezek. 27). The Tyrians could leave their "trade-name" on many of the costly wares they exchanged. (Meyer, 128). "Few people were so beggarly

poor in artistic invention as the Phoenician. We may at most compare the Wends of the "Middle Ages." ... "They degraded all they copied in time." (Review of Meyer, by Max Pieper: OLZ, Apr. 1933, 201-209).

As for any actual notice of Tyre or Sidon in the Egyptian records, there is none till 1280 years after the above wars of Pepi I. Tyre is mentioned by Seti I (1313-1292 B.C.). Sidon appears in Wen-Amon's story, 200 years later still. Both are in Tell el-Amarna Letters (1420-1358 B.C.), but not as preëminent seaports. Note again Prolegomena, Section 3.

Excavation evidence has just come from the epoch-making discoveries made at Ras Shamra, the ancient wealthy capital Ugarit, during five successive seasons. The great Mycenaean palace and necropolis of 1400-1200 B.C. had been injected into a polyglot trading community; nine different languages already have been found. And Egypt seemed politically influential, as at Gebal further south, through five preceding centuries. But an early form of Hebrew or "Phoenician" is the language of the main body of the community. But the culture with which these inscriptions are connected does not appear till 2000 B.C. or later. Beneath that culture is an older, different one with beautiful gray-green pottery painted in geometric designs in brownish-black and red, surprisingly like the same type found on sites in Irak and Persia: (Susa, Tepe Giyan, Tepe Moussian, Eridu, prediluvian Ur, etc.) dating back into the third and fourth millenniums B.C. The same pottery is found in the older strata of Tell Halaf. (See Section 69.) That clarifies Gen. 10:16, in which "Heth" or the Hittite-Hurrian culture is declared to be one of the older elements on the "Phoenician" coast. The Phoenician as we think of him had not reached that coast in 2000 B.C. And Dr. Schaeffer, commenting on a beautiful golden plate and bowl just discovered, observes that these objects of the fourteenth century B.C. are among the oldest and most beautiful specimens of "Phoenician" art. But the beautiful repousse designs are composite, borrowing from Cyprus, Mycenae, Egypt, Assyria: creditably copied by the "Syrian" artists. This corroborates the above criticism of Meyer. (ILN, 3-3-1934).

But for our immediate connection with the reign of Pepi I, excavations have shown that no such artists were settling in Palestine in his day.

76. Pepi II: Nefer-Ka-Ra, (2566-2470).

Tradition records that he lived to the age of 100, reigning 96 years; probably the longest in history (Hall, 302). The garrisoning of caravan-roads and the sending of powerful convoys, noted in Section 70, goes further. Harkhur, a great caravan-conductor of his time, records that he made four caravan-trips into the Soudan with great success. (HAE, p. 124). His family were great lords at Elephantine. His achievements he carved on the rocks there, and caravan-conductors today stop before the hieroglyphs and pray for a successful journey. Fleets sent along the Palestine-Lebanon coasts, to Cyprus and Crete and to Punt; South Arabia? Somaliland. (Cf. Knight, 66, 67 is astray.) In the Aegean, fragments of Egyptian stoneware have been found at Mochlos, Knossos, Pefira: diorite and syenite: Egyptian pearls at Mochlos. Empire expands through "Syria."

Zoan grows greater, Memphis declines. At Gebal a stele represents Pepi? kneeling before the Lord and Lady of Gebal. (Section 49), seated and equipped with Egyptian regalia, each accompanied by the inscription, "Beloved of Hathor, Lord of Gebal." The "House of Horus" is the real "Lord of Gebal!" Again the "Lady of Gebal" is arrayed as a Hat-Hor embracing the Egyptian King; and every more prominent Egyptian emblem is in the temple (Olmstead 69). There is no bowing of Egypt to local cults! Egyptian writing still dominates the Gebal vicinity. But in Asia Minor, the Hurrian-Akkadian ("Assyrian") trading posts, with their cuneiform script on clay tablets (the so-called "Cappadocian" tablets) appear in the "Hittite" area, as colonies permitted by and tributary to the local lords (Landsberger, Der Alte Orient). So Egyptian writing does not seem popularly adopted in Asia Minor. It is not possible to draw good pictures on mud with a sharp stick. And Asia Minor had no papyrus, or "paper," for writing with a pen.

77. Seventh to Tenth Dynasty: 27 Kings, 146 years (Manetho).

The tremendous commercial impulsion of the Sixth Dynasty ends with a crash; was it not logical? Hall writes, "The monuments prove that between the Third and Sixth Dynasties the Egyptians lived in a state of serfdom, and that they regarded their king

as the owner of both their souls and their bodies. He was the very essence of divinity in human form upon earth, and his power was absolute; even in the Other World his authority was held to be equal to that of the great gods of the dead." (Hall, 303).

But how could such servility be expected of or enforced upon a host of enterprising foreign merchants, daring all hardships and perils from Egypt to the Black Sea, Caspian, Turkestan, Farther Arabia or the Soudan? We may remember that trade-guilds of the Middle Ages discomfited barons and kings, and scoffed at divine pretensions and divine rights. Pepi II had not excluded the adventurers flocking into the Delta; he had fostered Zoan, not Memphis. The commercial interests prefer leadership of their own. Zoan is anything but Hamitic! So local dynasties develop. A jasper cylinder of one Seventh Dynasty Pharaoh shows him as a "Syrian" with Syrian attendants (Wilkinson). But he wears Pharaoh regalia. The attendant officers are in Egyptian official robes. Egypt is not being thoroughly "Syrianized"; but she will influence Syria all the more when Syrians themselves are the representatives of the Egyptian culture. Discoveries at Beth-Eglaim (See Minoan Outlines) have made clearer to us this racial invasion from Asia Minor. Nor are relations of the Delta culture with the Mediterranean and Palestine-Lebanon world suddenly terminated. We cannot secure records of such relations from the feeble Nile Valley princelings; that is all. (Not grasped by Knight, 68-70. Caution: child-sacrifice is not peculiarly "Semitic," nor peculiarly "Palestinian!"). The pyramid of a hitherto unknown Eighth Dynasty king named Aba was discovered at Saklara by Jequier in 1931. Was he of this foreign dynasty? The Ninth and Tenth Dynasty kinglets also tell us nothing of contact with the Mediterranean world. But Egyptian temple and cultus-symbols of the period found at Gebal.

78. Chronological Anarchy—Beginning of Hyksos?

With a few shadowy names, and no certain dates, either in Manetho or the Turin Papyrus, we can do nothing as yet. The probability is that we deal with kinglets of provincial areas, more or less contemporary with each other. Second, the mysterious Hyksos or "Foreign Chieftain" domination of Manetho may begin with the fall of the Sixth Dynasty. Duncan and others take that position, dating from 2375 B.C. The British Museum, recognizing grave difficulties with the current short chronology of Erman-Breasted, has for some time rejected 2000-1788 B.C. as the time of the Twelfth Dynasty, and has made it end with 2000 B.C.

Now Manetho, says Josephus (Against Apion, 1:14) makes the Hyksos domination last 511 years. (From its known fall in 1580 ff. this would reach back to a beginning in 2091. Josephus in Apion 1:31 and 1:26 uses the number 518 in a way we can not explain, unless he means the same thing.) And Josephus' 400 years of Israelite oppression in Egypt (Ant. 11, 8, 9) may have been obtained by deducting Joseph's 110 years of life under Hyksos favor from Manetho's 511. Current modern historians, assuming that Manetho's Hyksos meant only the recently proven Iranian irruption of 150-200 years now find themselves in chronological difficulties, which disappear if we recognize that Manetho's "Foreign Prince" domination was much more inclusive.

79. Middle Kingdom—Eleventh Dynasty, 2160 ff. (Breasted).

Out of the welter of conflict among rival Delta powers emerges a struggle between princes of Memphis and those of Herakleopolis, about 60 miles south of Cairo; those of the Thebaid warring with both. Thebes finally wins, and a local chief named Antefâ, "Hereditary Prince" and "Great Prince of the nome of the Thebaid, satisfier of the heart of the king, controller of the Gates of the Cataract, the support of the South, making the two banks of the Nile to live, Chief of the priests, the loyal servant of the Great God, The Lord of Heaven" seems to have become the founder of a new dynasty. Thus he does not claim sovereignty of the north; the princes of Herakleopolis ruling the Delta, with possibly a rival shadow-king at Memphis (Hall 305). He is credited with 50 years rule in the South. A successor announces himself as "Horus" (The Rising Sun-god) and the next announces himself as Nsût Biât, "Lord of the South and the North"; and he is followed by the one we know as Menthu-hetep I. It was probably an idle boast, for his successor, Menthu-hetep II announces himself as Neb-taui-Ra, "Lord of the Two Lands of Ra", yet this claim again is discounted by the fact that his own successor, Menthu-hetep III began his reign with the Horus-title Neter-hedget, "Divine is the White Crown," (of Upper Egypt) but changed it in the middle of his reign to Sam-taui, "Uniting the Two Lands."

80. Eleventh Dynasty: Menthu-hetep III.

His triumph is purely personal; only part of his 46 years does he claim to rule both North and South. Of the whole 160 years allotted to this dynasty, probably less than one-fourth saw one monarch ruling both regions. Viewed as a struggle between the Hamitic culture of the Thebaid and the Northern cultures that had been crowding southward into Palestine and the Delta, through 250 years before Menthu-hetep III, nothing was accomplished by the Thebans. The new-comers have become an integral part of the local populations, yet inevitably with non-Egyptian points of view. Zoan continues to be the great maritime port. Inscriptions on royal tombs at Gebel continued to be in Egyptian hieroglyphics. Egyptian shipbuilding upon that coast still flourishes. A change of rulers far up the Nile does not interrupt the coastland activities. Menthu-hetep III sent a highly organized expedition of 3000 men to the Red Sea to make voyages to Punt; he reconquered Nubia; he pushed into Palestine-Syria—perchance making contact with the early Hittite kingdoms? But all this is a purely personal military achievement; the mighty cultural trends of the northern lands are not affected.

81. Eleventh Dynasty weakens: Asiatic Revolt.

The feeble successors of Menthu-hetep III launch a long string of curses at rebels in Asia: about 2000 B.C. "All the Āamu of Gebel" are included. Zebulun is one of the accursed places; 800 years before there were Israelites in Zebulun. Three Anak princes are named: Elem? Akram? and Abima-Ammu? (Compare Joshua 15:13). An Egyptian official near this time mentions the Kheta ("Hittite") in southwest Palestine. Compare Genesis 23. Perhaps the Hittite advance had produced the revolt from Egypt. (Albright, JPOS, 1928, 223 ff.). Sir Percy Sykes (History of Persia) says the Aryan-Iranian people later known as Medes and Persians have been leaving the area east of the Caspian (drought-driven?) and pressing into Persia. Jirku observes that all Asia Minor is overrun by the immigrant fugitives. In time they dominate Syria and Palestine. When they conquer a corner of Egypt, they will be the Hyksos kings. Cf. Section 57.

82. Jerusalem 2000 B.C.

Especially important in the above "cursing-texts" is the mention of Jerusalem grouped with the Minoan Askalon. It had been a dependency of Egypt. It lay on the little east hill later called "Ophel" and "City of David." Its importance was not due to religious considerations, but to the fact that the strong hill was at the intersection of commercial highways from Shechem to Hebron, from Philistia to East Jordan via Jericho; from the Tyrian coast to the Gulf of Akabah (Maisler, JPOS, 1930; 2-3).

83. EA of Eridu.

In connection with above Aryan-Iranian advance consider the Sumerian city of Eridu, on a lagoon at the head of the Persian Gulf; famous for its god EA, "Lord of wisdom, Lord of healing, Lord of all mankind" in the cuneiform "theological" aggregations. Recent explorations prove it to have been founded in prediluvian times by the Hurru of Section 49. Cuneiform scholars have long known its older name Kha-Bûr (a folk or clan-name?). The Khabirû, so variously guessed by writers may have been its Hurru founders. And there are two Khabûr Rivers, with Hurru people on each. Were the town and the rivers named for the Khabirû people? EA is believed by some good scholars to be original of the Hebrew Yahu. How long will it take above Iranian migration to push Hurrian Khabirû and EA into Palestine and Egypt?

84. Ya-sar of Akkadian-speaking traders.

For we have to recognize that the name Ya or Ia had been established in Southern Asia Minor, in Akkadian-speaking trading posts at least, since the Sixth Egyptian Dynasty. Scholars speak of these records as "The Cappadocian tablets." The god Ea-Sar-ru, "Ea is king" is a chief god in Mitanni royal treaties 2000 years before Joshua's Israel was in Palestine. But in the Cappadocian tablets Ferris J. Stephens reports a dozen times the spelling Ia-Sar, or Ya-Sar. Is this the "Jasher" of Josh. 10:13; 2 Sam. 1:18? In 1 Sam. 12:12 Yahu had been "King." It is plain that the same agencies

that spread the name Yashar north of Syria 2500 B.C. could also have brought it south into Palestine. (JAOS, vol. 46, p. 180) Dr. Henry Englander, Hebrew Union College, specializing on Rabbinical exegesis, reports no light from Talmudic sources upon the early "Book of Yasher."

85. Twelfth Dynasty: Amen-em-hat I, 2000-1970 B.C.

Probably the instigator of the revolt, against which the dying Menthu-hotep IV hurled his curses. (Read Knight, 74, and Olmstead, 83-85, and Hall, 312). If so, was he "proforeign" in his policy? For while the dynasty is called Theban, the new king identifies himself rather with the North, seizing a spot near Memphis, erecting his palace there, and calling it Ith-tau, "Seizing the Two Lands." The Sphinxes of this dynasty were long thought to be Hyksos. Is it not probable that immigrant adventurers who accepted fully Egyptian culture and cults actually became acceptable Egyptian Pharaohs?

86. The New Policy of Amen-em-hat I.

Amen-em-hat I does not hurl volleys of curses at the restless Palestinians and Syrians. A recently recovered inscription of his son shows that the new dynasty revived the Third Dynasty pretensions, posing as lords of the future destinies of souls. See Section 77 and compare Ahaziah's consulting the Philistine Lord of Ekron, 2 Kings 5: 1-ff. Diplomatic gifts assuring the future happiness of the recipient, and accompanied by honorary official titles are more potent than armies and threats. It is no more pretension to power than the cursing predecessors made, but it is using it in a different way. Assurances of future happiness are mightier than threats of present damnation. At Ugarit Schaeffer found in 1934 the seated statue of Senusert-ankh, ("The man of Isis lives forever!" Hall, 182). He was the minister or ambassador of Amenem-hat I at the Ugarit court. He may be the same great priest Senusert-ankh whose tomb has just been recovered near Lisht. Chiselled in fine limestone on the walls of the tomb are the lines:

"He lives! He lives! Senusert-ankh lives!
He is not dead! Senusert-ankh is not dead!
He has not perished! Senusert-ankh has not perished!"

(Lansing in N.Y. Herald-Tribune, 10-28-1933)

To send such a representative to the court of Ugarit or Gebal was a perpetual sermon, and enough to make local kinglets desire Egyptian sarcophagi and other mortuary equipment. Amen-em-hat compliments Gebal rulers with Egyptian official titles; his gifts keep them aping Egyptian ways. Schaeffer observes that his policy is to mould the petty Palestine-Syria kinglets into a powerful allied buffer-state, to hold back hostile powers beyond. The native Egyptian lords are Amen-em-hat's great opponents. Force seems the only agency for conquest that they can appreciate (Cf. Knight 76-79). His own death occurred during an expedition to the Soudan, and he was buried in Nubia with a heca-tomb of slaves (Hall, 314).

When firmly seated on the throne, he is glorified at Gebal, where Egyptian art and royal gifts and regalia mark the local kings (Olmstead, 86). It is very important that any native kinglet of Gebal in an Egyptian inscription, is always given the title which Egypt gives to the governor of a province or nome; but in a Phoenician inscription, for native readers, he is always melek or "King." Thus Gebal, in distinction from other coast-cities, always had her own king, but was a "province" of Egypt itself. And the pottery in the tombs of the Gebal kings is not Egyptian, but fine "Syrian" pottery. Letters from Egyptian officials show that "Hittites" are appearing in Southwest Palestine. No objection is on record.

(Read Tale of Sinuhé, who fled from Egypt at death Amen-emhat I, Peet, 33-38: Barton 371).

87. Twelfth Dynasty in Asia Minor.

In the Hittite country - Egyptian statuettes of this period were found at Kûrigin

Kaleh, 36 miles east of Angora, (AJSL, July 1926). This shows trading-posts there, 500 miles northwest of Gebal. A black granite statue of "the nurse, Sat-Sneferu" has been found at Adana, 25 miles west of the Gulf of Issus, 290 miles south-southeast of Kùrigin Kaleh. (Palace of Minos, II, 221). The Egyptian who could afford a black granite statue of a favorite nurse must have been a man of importance. Twelfth Dynasty Egypt must have had ports of entry on the Gulf of Issus, or on the Cilician bay. Dunand in 1926 found a large collection of bronze figurines of this period, in two baked earthen jars at Gebal. The larger jar, with old geometric decoration, seems to be the work of the old Hurrian peoples of Asia Minor. The figurines usually represent a soldier armed with a dagger or lance. Egypt is thus shown in contact with the bronze-manufacturers of northern Armenia and the Caucasus. A royal tomb and sarcophagus, found by Montet at Byblos had vessels with Twelfth Dynasty inscriptions, and others with Cretan, Hittite, Akkadian, and Elamite inscriptions; showing the wide range of the Egyptian-Palestinian trade through the port of Gebal.

The Egypt port was still Zoan. Twelfth Dynasty monarchs enlarged and beautified it. As a "treaty-port," Zoan culture was probably as much mixed as Gebal or Ugarit or New York.

87-b. Akkadian Correspondence with Egypt.

Of the greatest interest and importance is the fact that in an Egyptian literary work from the beginning of this dynasty, the discussion is about the clay tablets which Pharaohs' messengers have carried to and from Asia--inevitably written in the cuneiform Akkadian. The fact, first published by W. Max Müller in his Egyptological Researches, p. 11, is used by Weber in his notes on Knudtzon's El-Amarna Tafeln, p. 1009, which tablets are 600 years later. Now the above Kùrigin Kaleh finds are right in the line of the Akkadian using trading stations of 68-b, and show the line of communication that the Twelfth Dynasty used. And the kings in the later El-Amarna Letters refer to earlier correspondence in their archives.

88. Sesostris I, 1980-1930, Master of Palestine.

His scarabs found at Gezer, Beth-Shean, and elsewhere. Shechem captured. Stele of Sesostris found in northern Syria. Intercourse with the Libyan oases; mines in Sinai. The bard Ipuwer, at this time, chants a Messianic prediction (Barton, 582; Breasted, HAE, 168). Compare Isaiah 9:1-16; 11:1-8. This, like that under Sneferu, 800 years earlier, shows the influence creating Messianic prediction in Palestine, 1300 years before Isaiah's time. Stele found at Gezer. (See Knight, 79-80). His long-lost mortuary chapel recently found at Karnak shows him as greatest of all the Gods! The others humbly visit his cold uncondescending majesty! He is "lord of births," again and again; those desiring children should pray to him. This tremendous inscription stands unrivalled in its expression of the pretensions stated in Sections 77, 86. Who in all Palestine dared disbelieve?—"Heretic!"—Anathema sit!

89. Yahu in Palestine?

The divine name EA (= Ya'u, Ya?) mentioned in Section 83 above is known in Palestine at this time. A seal of the type in use about 1900 B.C. was recently found at Beth-Shean, in the stratum of Amenhotep III (Section 152) who lived five hundred years later. The seal reads "Manum the diviner, servant of EN.KI." We know no more about him and his work. But En.KI ("Lord of the Universe") is a regular title of EA. And besides the temple at Eridu, long famous in liturgies recovered, the excavations now going on at Ur have recovered a great temple of EN.KI, placed at the city wall, and forming part of a water-front. It stimulates speculation about Abram and Ur.

90. Amen-em-hat II, 1930-1895.

By diplomacy greatly extends Egyptian influence in Asia. He continues the mining in Sinai. He seizes the old Sumerian fortress of Katna (mentioned in No. 67 above). The old Anatolian population once worshipped a "Great Mistress" at a mighty sacred cedar there; and the Sumerians from Ur, about 2400 B.C. introduced their NIN.E.GAL, "Mistress of the Great House": apparently identifying her with the goddess of the sacred cedar. Amen-em-hat II ingratiates himself with the local cult by placing the sphinx of his daughter Ata there.—Was she to be worshipped as "The Great Mistress"? Pharaoh

steles presented them to the populace as Gods. - (Excavations of Comte Du Mesnil du Buisson).

Amen-em-hat's occupation of Katna means that he had direct communication with the metallurgists of northern Armenia and the Caucasus, with no Sumerian intermediary. It is important to remember that the Sumerians called this region Amurru, or "West-land," which Amurru the Egyptian inscriptions later report as Amor, whence the mistaken "Amorites" in the Old Testament. There was no such tribe, nation, or race: merely "west-land" peoples.

Amen-em-hat's son, Senusert II, is credited with nineteen prosperous years, with no wars. Thus the policy inaugurated by Amen-em-hat I in Syria and Palestine seems to have continued through 130 years.

91. Sesostris III, 1887-1848.

(The great king of Greek legend). Extends Egyptian empire in Syria, pushing into Asia Minor and into the Hittite country. Merely repelling aggression? Herodotus (440 B.C.) tells of seeing his steles of triumph at different points. Beneath pavement of the Egyptian temple at Gebal Montet in 1922 found 100 bronze tongues, 100 pins, many spirals, some girdles; all this choice bronze work is of the type recently found at Kuban, north of the Black Sea; probably belonged to slaves from there. It proves trade between the Mediterranean coast and south Russia under Egyptian control, between 2000-1800 B.C. (AJA, 1928, 184. For his outstanding career as a conqueror see Knight, 82-85.) Griffith recognizes that Southwest Palestine is now largely Egyptian. But raids beyond Palestine are not of record.

Macalister, excavating Gezer, found a stele of Osiris of this reign, while scarabs of Senusert III were abundant there. An entire cemetery was unearthed there, every burial being thoroughly Egyptian in style. But there was no embalming. Griffith wrote in 1906 (PEFQ, 122) that an Egyptian statuette found, with the stele of Didi-Amen, and the Egyptian cave-burials gave best proof of an entirely new view: "that at the time of the Twelfth Dynasty Southern Palestine, about the coast road to Syria, comprised a settled Egyptian colony or population with Egyptian officials, and keeping up Egyptian customs." But with the new information from Gebal, Ugarit, Katna, and the interior of Palestine, he could say that such trade-posts could be found all along the route, and that at each some of the local population accepted Egyptian burial-customs and gods, as a result of the new policy of Amen-em-hat I.

Senusert III records an attack upon the northern Menthyu-Stht? in the Skmm district, together with the wretched Rutennu. This now seems to be the Shechem district, invaded by nomad herdsmen from the Ammon area (see Section 55), seeking better pasturage for their cattle. (Pepi I, 700 years before, Section 74, did not encounter such cattlemen.) Senusert and his general Sebek-Khu drive large numbers of the ravaging cattle into Egypt. Shechem had the experience which later Israel records, Judg. 6:1-6. Of course such cattlemen were an abomination unto the Egyptians (Gen. 43:32), as to our early Western farmer-settlers. Senusert's stern defensive is one effect of the increasing desiccation of Arabia. Hall (p. 321) comments upon "the almost terrifying severity, even ferocity," of Senusert's face. One who is pushed to swift and terrible decisions may come to look the part. Did Gideon do so? Or his son Abimelech?

Herodotus found a legend that made him a world-conqueror. Robert Eisler (JRAS, 1923, 176-186) showed that this resulted from popular confusion of him with the later Hyksos King Khian whose royal insignia have been found in Crete and Babylonia as well as Egypt. Sesostris was Sen-wsrt: Khian, Swsr-n-Ra' ("made mighty by the sungod"). Sesostris had Khian's domains added to his own, by folk-blundering. The like confusion was made for Sesostris II.

92. Amen-em-hat III, IV: 1849-1792. (See Knight, 85-94)

Præminent as a mighty builder. His sway in Palestine and Lebanon seems undisputed; so also his control of the North Phoenician coasts. He provides magnificent sarcophagi and funerary gifts for Gebal kings. (For details see Olmstead 94-98, and Montet plates. Against Olmstead's "Count of Kupna, see Section 86 and Montet.) Fine Syrian pottery there not found in Egypt till 500 years later. Fine moulded bronze axe

of the Syro-Armenian metallurgists, found in Egypt, far superior to Egyptian copper axes. Syrian settlements in Delta increase. Egypt stays at Byblos, not for Syrian pottery and art, but to keep up direct trade with iron and copper-workers. Serabit inscriptions at Sinai: suspected ancestor of the Phoenician alphabet: made of Egyptian hieratic characters: See Olmstead, 91-93. Heavily discounted by wide differences among scholars, and by the more recent discovery of Hebrew-Phoenician written in a cuneiform alphabet, at Ugarit.

93. Minoan Labyrinth--"The Golden Calf."

Hall remarks upon the benignity and wisdom of the face of Amen-em-hat III. His great energy spent itself in beneficence. Art, industry, trade, international amity, sculpture, great agricultural public works, filled his time. The great irrigation works that he originated in connection with the natural reservoir in the Fayyûm, Mai-wer, made a grateful people eventually think the lake called by his name: Mai-Wer = "Waters of Amen-em-hat III": confusing wer with his prae-nomen (Ne)-ma (at)-Ra': so that Herodotus calls him "king Moiris." The Greeks usually turned his prae-nomen into "Lamares." And here he built the famous Labyrinth and his pyramid tomb. Modern research finds that the building of his labyrinth was nearly contemporary with the building of the great Minoan labyrinths of Phaestos and Knossos. But the exact political and religious interrelation we do not know. (Cf. Hall, 321 f; Pendlebury, Aegyptiaca.) Hall calls him the most original king before Ikhn-Aton.

The policy of conferring Egyptian sacred insignia upon petty kinglets as marks of royal favor continues. Among the Egyptian divinities was Hat-Hor, "House of Horus" (the sun): i.e. the sky: the sky-mother. She was conceived as a cow at times, supporting all with her milk: at times identified with Isis, the "All-Mother."

In this connection, the golden pectoral of some Palestinian kinglet is of first importance. It shows figures of Amen-em-hat III caressing the sacred Hat-Hor Cow, and also suckled by her. Parts of a golden statue of this Hat-Hor Cow were also found in the tomb of this unknown Palestinian vassal king: all now in the Oriental Institute, Chicago. It shows one of the ways in which "calf" figures were introduced into Palestinian cultus. But the "riding-ox" storm-cherub (Ps. 18:9f; 80:1; 99:1) is certainly the bull on which Teshup, the Hurrian storm-god stood.

94. Ascanian Migration From The Balkans.

About the close of the reign of Amen-em-hat III there was a great new migration of Indo-European folk from South Europe across the Bosphorus, into northwestern Asia Minor. They called themselves Askæ, or Askên people (Greek, Askênos: The Ashkenaz of Gen. 10:3. Cf. LTM.) The divisions were the later Trojans, Phrygians, Bithynians, Pisidians, Mysians or Moschi (the Meshech of the OT). Spreading eastward during the next 1200 years, they were, at times, the real "kings of the Hittites" and of the "Amorites" of the northern Lebanon and of Armenia. Egypt has a powerful new enemy to face in Asia Minor. This element does not soon make itself felt in Palestine. But when it begins to use the stores of iron in northern Asia Minor, Egypt's power will be broken.

95. Fall of the Middle Kingdom: No Orderly Records.

Almost nothing remains of Amen-em-hat IV and his sister-successor. (Knight, 92f. is to be rejected.) Then comes obscurity. Of a long list of kings in the Turin papyrus we know nothing. From the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Dynasty, scarcely any king was strong enough to rule both north and south. One fact emerges in the Joseph-stories: the power that held the Eastern Delta governed Palestine, too; and apparently rid both regions of some oppressive proprietors (Gen. 47:13-26). But very recent excavations in south Palestine have swept away all the speculations about the identity of the Hyksos gathered by Knight, pp. 97-101. (See Minoan Outlines, Beth Pelet.) Swarms of Iranian horsemen and "horse-herders" came from central Asia into Asia Minor and south through Palestine.

This Asiatic invasion seems related to the contemporary "Hittite" invasion of Babylonia. It was a "horde-movement," comprising Hebrews and Indo-Iranians, as well as Hittites (Hurrû) and others. (Albright and Dougherty BASOR, Feb. 1926, p. 7.

Also Meyer, earlier. Compare above, Section 87.) Is this a second Hyksos tidal wave? For we now know two Hyksos strata in Palestine, with ashes between them, at some of the points excavated. The Babylonian record of a Hittite invasion at this time could result from the earlier Iranians, absorbed in the Hittite area, descending upon Babylonia from that region. A Hyksos king of Babylonia, Khian, is possible: a granite lion with his praenomen cut upon it was purchased in Bagdad.

96. Hyksos Avaris = Zoan = Tanis = Pi-Rameses

Josephus gives the Hyksos capital as Avaris: which in Egyptian is Het-Uart--so-named in the Egyptian narratives of the expulsion of the Hyksos. Josephus does not suspect its identity with the Zoan of the OT, the Tanis of his own day: the splendid harbor-metropolis which has been before us in these Outlines from predynastic times. Identified with the ruin of Sân el-Hajar, 20 miles west of the Suez Canal, Mariette Bey made a splendid beginning of excavation there; after that the site was abandoned for 50 years. It is now being excavated by Pierre Montet (L'Illustration, 10-25-1930). His view was that Zoan was the older name; that the Hyksos named it Het-Uart; that Ramesses II, renovating it centuries later, gave it his own name (Ex. 1:8; 37; Num. 33:3, 4). A. H. Gardiner, accepting Montet's identification with the "City of Rameses" in his "Retractation" (JEA, Nov. 1933), points out that Het-Uart was the older name.

97. Hyksos Build Babylonian Ziggurat at Zoan.

Montet's fourth campaign has revealed a great brick pyramid, built in stages in Babylonia style, in the great temple-enclosure of Ramesses II. It seems that Ramesses included it in his mighty works. There is no other such in Egypt. And the foundation-sacrifices found at the corners, like those at Beth-Pelet, and Beth-Eglaim, show the builders to have been Hyksos. Taken with the lion of Khian found at Bagdad, Section 95, it forces the question, How long had these builders been under Babylonian influence? Their temple to the Palestinian goddess Anat Ramesses rebuilt. Then south-west of the great temple-tower was a hitherto unknown sanctuary with columns bearing dedications "to the gods of the city of Rameses." Gardiner (above) finds that the regularly recurring phrase used in connection with objects made for or dedicated to the gods is that used only when such are made for the city where placed; and in consequence concludes that the excavated ruin is the long-lost "Hebrew-oppression City of Rameses."

98. Zoan Secondary to Tell Fara? Chariots Iranian?

Referring to the Minoan Outlines, Sections 39-52, the main capital and necropolis of the Iranian Hyksos was probably at Tell Fara, where 25 royal tombs have been found. Here they controlled a metallurgical district, and the Minoan route to the Red Sea, and horseless and "metal-less" Palestine. Excavations at Ur show that Sumerian royalty there used ox-chariots; ox-wagons are in use in Palestine in Gen. 45:19, 21, 27; 46:5, 6. But Joseph, a Hyksos prime minister has a chariot, (46:29) and in 47:13-17, he takes particular care to get any horses that Egyptians and Palestinians may have secured.

Rosellini had an Egyptian chariot in the Florence Museum analyzed. The woods were stone-oak (Quercus tinctoria), ash (Fraxinus excelsior), and horn-beam (Carpinus orientalis); bindings of white birch bark. Later, elm in place of stone-oak.

Now the tomb of Ken-Amun, chief steward of Amenophis II, has proved to be one of the great tombs of Egypt (SNL, 1-16-1932, 2 pp.). Ken-Amun was one of the most boastful of Egypt's great men. In this tomb, 160 years after the expulsion of the Hyksos, Schäfer points to the statement that woods for the royal chariot were brought from the "Divine Land" - from "the hill-country of Naharin" ("Two Rivers" -- the Naharaim of the OT). That means the highlands country reached by passing beyond the Euphrates-Tigris. Peet observes that the horn-beam, ash, and birch are not found south of latitude 40, which is about the latitude of Erzerûm; and that the birch is not found west of Erzerûm; while Schaeffer points out that the chariot was invented in the flat country north of the Caucasus; in the Iranian area called "Scythian" by classic writers. As the analysis of the Egyptian chariot-woods proves that they came from the province south of the Caucasus, which we call Transcaucasia, we have unquestionable evidence as to the earlier relations

and possible provenance of the Hyksos. It is interesting that long after the Hyksos were gone, Egypt got some chariot-woods from the same region. (Peet, OLZ, 1933, cols. 33, 34).

99. Hyksos Dynasty Chronology--Sapor?

Manetho's statement that the Hyksos domination lasted 511 or 510 years, according to Josephus and Julius Africanus, has been rejected. But with 35 Hyksos royal names or tombs already known, reconsideration is imperative. Consider Section 78 again.

In addition to the strongholds noticed in Minoan Outlines consider Kirjath-sepher of Josh. 15:15. It is provisionally identified with Tell Beit-Mirsim, now well-excavated. The old speculation that the name was Semitic and meant "book-town" was rejected long ago. "Sopher" - "officer's town," was more plausible. But Hastings' DB article concludes some foreign name is probable. It now seems possible that the name may have been the Iranian Shapur, Latinized "Sapor." The long Hyksos occupation, divided by a stratum of ashes, suggests a point of strategic importance, with possibly two dynasties. The abundance of peculiar black polished pear-shaped juglets indicate a much longer occupation there than at some other points.

But it remains clear (1) that the Hyksos brought about a great Hurru settlement in Palestine: Thothmes III finds them there, and reports some (ARE II:420). They were not there earlier: their unique painted pottery of the early time has never been found in Palestine. (2) Since Rameses II centuries later recognized Anat, the Palestinian Queen of Heaven (Jer. 44) as the goddess of Zoan, and one Hyksos governor is Anat-hrty, "Anat is content," it is certain that the Hyksos period brought new gods into Egypt, and that Manetho's portrayal of their contempt and discredit of old Egyptian gods is based on fact.

99-B. No Hyksos "Jacob is God".

One Hyksos king whose name is written with the hieroglyphs Yqb-hr was enthusiastically turned into "Jacob-el" - "Jacob is god," ignoring the guttural h. It is familiar to modern Egyptologists that the name means "(the god) Hr protects." A king Yqb-mu is also familiar. Albright reports a scarab of his from the current excavations at Tell Beit-Mirsim (BASOR, 47). How the mu or nnn is to be translated is not determined. An Iranian name is suspected: or Yqb Ninni, "my Lady protects."

In the post-Hyksos conquests of Thothmes III, two captured towns in Palestine have been speculatively read as "Jacob-el," supposed to be near Hebron, and "Joseph-el," in the mountains of Ephraim. These also are passé. (Cf. Tomkins, TSBA, IX, 269, 275). The "Jacob-el" might be "Baal protects." (On the whole see Ges.-Buhl, 308-b.)

100. Hyksos Strategic Position - What "Two Strongholds"?

This is the exact translation of Mitsraim, which our AV always translates "Egypt"; scholars have supposed it equivalent to the Egyptian phrase "Two Lands" - the Delta and Upper Egypt; but passages like Is. 11:11, Jer. 44:1 specifying Pathros, "South-land" separately, are against that. The student may overlook the fact that Egypt considered her political area as extending clear across Sinai to Edom; and the great wady that drains Sinai was nahal Mutsri (Josh. 15:4, 47; I Kgs. 8:65; Gen. 15:18). This eastern Mutsri compare with Griffith's recognition that this Southwestern Palestine had become a second Egypt: (Section 91) cf. Gen. 12:10-20. The Hyksos accepted the Minoan commercial strategy: held this agricultural plain for its grain and as a direct route to Red Sea--Indian Ocean trade. Minoan Cretans were in communication with Egypt from predynastic times. (Section 45). From their port of Komo they sailed directly south 180 miles to Derna on the Cyrenian Coast: thence they coasted to Egypt. (Palace of Minos, II, 71, 89, and 1, map). "Cretans" of I Sam. 30:14 were colonists in the Beth-Pelet region from the earliest times. But the particular Cretans known as Philistines came much later.

101. Josephus-Manetho on Hyksos Expulsion.

Read Josephus, "Against Apion" 1:14, 15, 26-29, 34; and 11:2; and Antiquities II: 9, 10. Observe that his account begins after Ahmose I, with the succeeding Amenophis I, continues with the Thothmes Pharaohs, and includes Seti I and Rameses II. Is this the "four hundred years" of Gen. 15:13, Acts 7:6? Should several independent groups of refugees from Egypt have settled in Palestine in that time, each with its own tradition of oppression? (2) Is it probable that all Yahu-worshippers left Egypt in a body, at one time? With Hyksos governing both Egypt and Palestine from a base between, were they not an agency for promoting the commingling and fusion of ideals?

102. Egyptian Account of Expulsion.

Aāhmes I (Son of the Moon), Greek - Amosis, 1580-1557 B.C. seems "the king who knew not Joseph," Ex. 1:8. His capture of Het-Uart (Avaris) and Sharuhēn are attested by his naval officer Aāhmes, in the sketch of his own achievements. It took six years to capture Sharuhēn (Budge 241-254). But of all the other efforts of this Pharaoh in Palestine, the naval officer tells nothing. The Pharaoh records a raid through Zahi. In the nature of the case, the loss of one fortress would not mean the retirement of the Hyksos or of their Hurrian subjects from Palestine. The country would remain much as it was. The account of far more extensive military operations preserved by Josephus-Manetho must certainly be based upon substantial facts. Aāhmes I records that after his subjugation of Nubia he had to repel a Hyksos invasion led by Aata.

103. Indo-Iranian-Hurrian Palestine.

The actual population of Palestine as affected by the Hyksos period is shown by the Tell el-Amarna Letters, which cover a period from Thothmes III (1500 B.C.) to Amenophis IV's death about 1358 B.C. In the letters are 482 personal and gentilic and geographical names. Not more than one-sixth of those connected with Palestine are Semitic (of Hebrew-Arab type). We see over two hundred years (1580-1358) of Egypt's struggle with non-Semitic peoples for the control of Palestine. The Indo-Aryan and Indo-Iranic element is large. The Hurrians are prominent invaders; or more exactly, mercenary troops, selling their services to anyone who will pay them, and consequently becoming actual masters of the town they defend. Careless writers have identified them with "Israelite" Hebrews, overlooking the actual spelling Hurri. Hittite documents show that in Mitanni they had Iranian rulers, with Mithra, Varuna, Indra, Nasatya as gods of the court. The Palestine into which Joshua's Israel came was predominantly non-Semitic.

104. Egyptian element in Language.

How the Akkadian used in diplomatic and commercial correspondence has been affected is also of interest. Of 1574 words in Ebeling's El-Amarna glossary, he lists 10 as "Canaanite" (Old Hebrew); 74 as Egyptian; 90 as "Mitanni-Hittite" (Hurrian?). And 174 more words he marks as "unknown." How many are Minoan-Cretan no one can say at present. A total of 448 words in the official international Akkadian are local Palestinian terms: almost 30 per cent. We may be certain that the percentage of foreign words in the popular Hebrew of the land would be larger, and that there were groups that spoke only one of the various languages in question: probably some who spoke none of them. And Egyptian idiom in official correspondence is in every Palestinian El-Amarna letter. Miss Freda Behnk (1930) has made a special study of this point. Intending to show how many New-Egyptian grammatical features appeared in this diplomatic Akkadian, she actually shows also elements of ancient Egyptian grammar; and here and there, the proportions of ancient and Neo-Egyptian elements. But that Old Egyptian grammatical features (earlier than 2400 B.C.--see Section 74-b) should persist in Palestinian Akkadian in New Egyptian times means a strong early Egyptian influence on Palestinian speech. (Changed syntax Dr. Behnk does not consider--R.O. Faulkner, JEA, Nov. 1932, p.192). Again, a man with a long staff is the Egyptian hieroglyph for a "Village Chief"; the "great man" of any community. And every city-governor in the Letters is referred to as "The Man of Kinza," the Man of Hazor," etc. So Gen. 42:30:33; 43:3,6,7,11,13,14, Joseph is "the man, the lord of the land." And the Jewish scholar Israel Eitan has recently pointed out that the official term Sar, occurring more than 100 times in the OT for a chief official of any kind is simply the Egyptian official term sr (Minoan Outlines, 76-77). Egypt is stamped in Hebrew official terminology. And Egyptian measures persist in the OT. (Knight, 172-3).

105. Hebrews and Israel Not Aramaean!

An outstanding feature of the above is the total absence of any Aramaic elements. The Hebrew spoken in Palestine 2500 B.C. could not have been of Aramaean origin. The Akkadian traders whose language had become a commercial and diplomatic lingua franca had brought in no Aramaic word in the hundreds from Asia Minor contacts. The later Khabirû immigrants in the El-Amarna Letters furnish no trace of Aramaic. The Akkadian scholar of today knows that Ur (Gen. 11:28-31) was not a "Kaldû" town in patriarchal times. No more does Padan-Aram in Gen. 25:20, 28:2-7, prove that the patriarchs were Aramaeans. We have merely the name of the region in the time of Genesis-compilation--as in the case of "Ur of the Chaldees." (We can't write about "Indians from Missouri" or Ontario and use the names those regions bore 2000 years ago!).

106. Abram Not Aramaean.

Thirty years ago Hebrew scholars often said that any traces of Aramaic in the Old Testament could be of very early date, and from Northern Palestine. But the above facts and the recent discoveries in North Palestine and at Katna, Hamath, Ugarit, etc. do not find any Aramaean in the region 500 years after the supposed Abraham-Hyksos period. Then the recent excavations in the Harrân-Tell Halâf area find a great Hurrian culture there around 2000-1500 B.C.: Not Aramaean. But an Abram in that area might have been annoyed by Aramaean nomads or brigands.

Now Deut. 26:5 in AV says "an Aramaean ready to perish (or rover, vagabond, roust-about) was my father." But the LXX reads the verb 'Ābad as transitive! "My father re-jected the Aramaean!" And Jewish passover-liturgy to this day reads, The Aramaean was destroying my father! (Popular interpretation explains that Laban was destroying Jacob.) Referring the question of the antiquity of the passover liturgy-tradition to Dr. Henry Englander of Hebrew Union College, he sent me the following notes.

"The Targum of Onkelos renders Deut. 26:5, "The Aramaean Sought to destroy my father"--(Ibn Ezra objects: if this were correct, how would you interpret, "And he went down to Egypt"?)--Also the Pre-Talmudic Sifrê and the Aborath Pesikta read the verb 'Ābad as transitive." (So Palestine in Jesus' time understood the Aramaean as a historic enemy.

"Wolf Heidenheim, a distinguished Exegete and grammarian, in his commentary Habbanath Hammeqêra holds 'Ābad to be transitive, and that the MT 'Ābêd is not a participle, but an intensive perfect, patterned after the quadriliterals, like Sôbêb, and cites such forms as Shôphêtah, (Judg. 4:4); Yôdêati (I Sam. 21:2); Zôrêmu, (Ps. 77:17); Yesôêr (Hos. 13:3). This last is very good as it cannot possibly be confused with a possible participle.)" Heidenheim then understands, "The Aramaean was utterly destroying my father." -- "You have then the support of tradition for your views of the proper interpretation of 'Ābêd."

Again, Hosea 12:12 and Amos 9:7 (Kir = Mukayyâr = Ur?) contrast Israel and Aram. Whom the Aramaeans were expelling, and at what period, then remain the historic questions.

107. Hebrew-Phoenician Writing.

At Bethshemesh a clay tablet, written in same "ink" used in decorating the pottery, was recently found. It is 31 inches by 27; nearly all defaced! Only ten clear letters left: very archaic. It dates from the last years of the Hyksos regime, about 1600 B.C. Its value is, it proves that the pre-Israelite "Hebrews" had a script of their own: using neither Egyptian nor cuneiform of the official Tell El-Amarna letters (beginning about 1500 B.C.). And this was near 400 years before Joshua's "Israel." What local literature existed in that ancient script is as yet unknown. Compare with Section 74: early forms of the Hebrew language were apparent in proper names 1000 years earlier. Now add Dr. Schaeffer's recent discovery at Ugarit; a tablet of accounts of a wool-merchant, about 1400 B.C. The enumeration is made in talents of 3000 shekels. Now the Babylonian talent is 3600 shekels, and Akkadian-speaking traders would naturally use that. But here on the "Phoenician" coast, long before Israel's entrance into Palestine, the 3000-shekel talent of the Tabernacle accounts in Exodus is the standard. We see how deeply rooted in a pre-Israelite past are the institutions of the OT (ILN, 3-3-1934).

108. Resuming Pharaoh Succession: Amenophis I.

After Nāhmes I expelled the Hyksos came Amen-hotep I and Thothmes I, 1557-1501 B.C. (Amen-hotep I is the Amenophis of Manetho, in paragraph 101 above.) They claim the conquest of all Syria-Palestine, which the Hyksos had ruled; which is not extending Egypt's Palestinian domain. Amen-hotep I reaches the Euphrates: detailed records lost. He is master of Sinai and Palestine, but begins the long struggle with the Hittite states whose stronghold is the Kadesh and Katna region on the Orontes. Palestine is a great manufacturing district under Egyptian control. (The manufacturing the Hyksos fostered from their Minoan-Philistine base.) See Knight, 128, 143, and 99-B.

109. Thothmes I (1539-1514 B.C.) Reached the Euphrates also.

He set up his royal steles there. (See Knight, 129-131.) We see a new foreign policy. The great Twelfth Dynasty policy of peaceful penetration (see Amen-em-hat I again) will not avail in the new age. Powerful and aggressive peoples--Hittites, Hurrians, Iranians--are pushing into Palestine, and Egypt's only defense is a strong counter-offensive. The situation resembles Rome's struggle with remote Germans, Goths, and Vandals. Palestine henceforth will be much in the position of Belgium in Europe: simply the highway for opposing armies. Thothmes I fortifies the great fortress-hill of Beth-Shean, controlling the caravan-ford across the Jordan, south of the Sea of Galilee. He paid no attention to the site of Beth-yērah, on the east side of the Jordan, where the Hyksos had destroyed a great commercial city. The site was too vulnerable. Beth-Shean is held by Egypt till the Philistines seize it about 350 years later. (See I Sam. 31:8 ff.)

109-B. Mitanni: A New Rival For Egypt.

The great career of the Egyptian Thothmes III and of some successors has been in some respects inexplicable. Now it is known that a new and powerful political organization appeared when Thothmes III came to the throne. Up to this time there has been no large coordinating political power in Asia Minor, since the rise of the Middle Kingdom. Egypt's commercial enterprises and pioneers in Asia Minor had only to deal with petty states individually; there was no coalition.

But an Iranian adventurer named Saush-shatar shortly after 1500 B.C. makes himself king of the Hurri peoples from the mountains of Assyria to Cilicia, establishing his capital in the strong central area of the Hurrû: the Harrân region. His capital is built at Waššuganni, on the western headwaters of the Khabûr. Assyria is only a vassal-state. Decrees of his are among the new finds at Nuzi. There is no hint of a new conqueror from Persia. He seems a Napoleon arising among Hyksos Iranians long-established in Asia Minor.

In his decisions he calls himself king of the Maitēni - which may be related to the Madai or "Medes" of Assyrian records 700 years later. But the name of his kingdom remains unchanged for the Assyrian King Ashuruballit, a contemporary of Saush-shatar's great-grandson Dushratta. He twice calls the "Maitēni" king the "king of Hani-gal-bat"--the "Hani-great-land" or great land of the Hani people (EA Letters, 16:21-28). But the gal-bat is of Sumerian dialectic form, and suggests that in earlier times the Sumerians knew the Hurrû by the name Hani. A code of laws of the Hani is known in the times of the kings of Nisin in southern Babylonia, about a thousand years before the time of the above Ashur-uballit. But Saush-shatar ignores the Hurrû and the age-old name of the land. In his official titles he is simply "king of the Maitēni." (Speiser, JAOS, 1929, 269-275).

The student may recognize that the weakness of the new empire is like the weakness of Austria under Francis Joseph, with different peoples and seventeen languages under one ruling family. Without a homogeneous culture, and unified political aspirations, the new empire cannot long cohere. The Hurrû will remain the larger element in its population, and always seriously to be reckoned with. But for the Thothmes line, a new conqueror has thrust his way across Northern Syria to the Mediterranean. If not stopped these Iranian Hyksos will push into Egypt again.

110. Hatshepsut, 1514-1479. The Elizabeth of Egypt?

Thothmes I in the last years associated his daughter Hatshepsut with him; then about fifteen years of age? She married her half-brother, a physical weakling, known to us as Thothmes II. (See HAE, 214-216) After the death of her husband, the son of an obscure concubine had a claim to the succession, by reason of having married Hatshepsut's daughter. We know him as Thothmes III. His exact relation to Hatshepsut has been debated. Hall (BMG, 338) is hostile. Miss Edwards (Pharaohs, Fellahs and Explorers) admires. So does Knight, 132-137. Very recent discoveries inject a new element into the debate. Sen-mut, a magnificent architect, was tutor of her daughter, Nafrura, and builder of her great mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri, which she called "Holy of Holies." Sen-mut was her chief supporter, and engineer also: was he more? H. E. Winlock tells the story of the excavation of Sen-mut's own mortuary temple by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Hatshepsut's daughter had no claim to the succession so long as her mother was alive! So Thothmes III had none till Hatshepsut died. And she chose to act as regent with her son-in-law as agent.

Now all the time that Sen-mut was building her mortuary temple, he was building his own splendid one, 100 feet underground, planned like hers, and with his name linked with hers on the magnificent ceiling! But he died first; and orders at once went out to close up the tomb, and to obliterate his face wherever it appeared in the magnificent decorated chamber. Workmen started to wall up the entrance of the tomb--then satisfied themselves with piling rubbish against the door. What does all this mean? Was Sen-mut Hatshepsut's "Leicester"? (Sci. Am., Jan. 1929; ILN, 1-5-1929).

For the study of the Israelite Exodus, Hatshepsut is a supreme interrogation-point. Manetho's account, with Josephus (Ant. II:IX,X) and some Rabbinic legends, and their garbled Moslem adaptation, would make her the queen that adopted Moses. The flight of Moses would then result from the death of Hatshepsut and the immediate revolutionary policy of Thothmes III. Aaron evidently was a refugee with an Edomite clan at Mt. Hor; annexing the Calebites to the Exodus movement: Ex. 4:14, 27; 32:1 ff. Num. 20:22 ff.

It should be said that this view is very old; see Knight, p. 135 ff. It is embodied in the Egyptian names given in rabbinic legends of the story of Moses: a fact not considered in any publication by a modern scholar. The notion that the city called by the name of "Rameses," (Gen. 47:11; Ex. 1; 8; 11:37; Num. 33:3,4) was entirely an Israelite construction has made some modern scholars advocate an exodus in the reign of Rameses II, 1292-1225 B.C. Egyptologists, familiar with the Egyptian royal habit of putting one's own name on some old town, declare the deduction worthless. See Section 68 again.

111. Thothmes III - Hatshepsut, 1501-1447 B.C.

Began with an empire reaching northward through Palestine and Lebanon to the Euphrates. The Hittite king of Kadesh incites a revolt of the Palestinian and Syrian states. The campaign against Megiddo says the king of Kadesh has incited revolt among peoples "on the water of Egypt," and Kedu (Cataonia? northeastern Cilicia) is a Kadesh ally. The factitious kingdom of Mitanni encourages. Twenty years' war conquers all, including the so-called Phoenician coast north to the Gulf of Issus, on which Kedu or Kode lay. The inland strongholds of Katna and Aleppo are seized. He pushes across the Euphrates into Mitanni; sets up a stele there. He claims conquest of Damascus, and of at least nine of the rich cities of the Bashan region. (Maisler, JPOS, 1929, no. 2). A stele in this region and a broken stele found recently on the hill above Capernaum shows him in control of the trade-route from central Palestine to Damascus. His fortress, steles, and temple found at Beth-Shean, commanding the fords of the Jordan, make the fact clearer. Excavations at Gerar (Gen. 20: 1; 26:1) show him in possession of the old Hyksos-Cretan foundries and arsenals (AJA, 1928: 119; ILN, 7-2-1927). Dr. Badé in 1932 found seven of his scarabs at Mizpah, with hundreds of elegant lamps, bowls, oil-flasks, vases, and varied jewelry, showing high culture, great wealth, and Cypriote and Mycenaean commerce. (Neue Züricher Zeitung, 7-31-1932). Northern Hittites court him; he controls the eastern Mediterranean. The Nile swarms with the trade-vessels of the Mediterranean and Black Sea peoples. But Thothmes III has to use the cuneiform script in his diplomatic correspondence with Asiatic powers. That bequest from the Hurrian-Hyksos domination he cannot get rid of. Egypt's artistic hieroglyphs could not be drawn

on the clay tablets generally used in Asia Minor.

12. The Divine King, Thothmes III.

He carved on a pylon at Karnak in ten rows the names of 270 towns: that he captured (See Tomkins, TSBA IX, 227-229; and Knight, 140-154, who includes many speculations no longer tenable.) It should be remembered that wherever a royal stele is set up, there the Pharaoh must be recognized as a god. It will be a test of loyalty. Other gods may or may not be recognized: the king is one baal that must be. Illiterate Jews migrating into the British mandate of Palestine have been reported as praying at an official notice by the roadside. It is immemorial. And in the El-Amarna Letters a subject must always address the king as a god; a sungod; my divine sun. Such is one dominant religious element of the land in which the Israel of Joshua must settle.

13. Pharaoh Temples and Images.

Especially important are the cases where a Pharaoh founds a town and temple for himself and some Egyptian god, and calls the place by his own name. There are several such mentioned in inscriptions: not certainly identifiable as yet. But Josh. 15:9 has been recognized as "Fountain of Merneptah." Merneptah must have had a shrine and stele here. Thothmes III built one near the south end of Lebanon, and called it by his personal name, "Men-Khepe-Ra, Binder of Barbarians." He is a war-god, for his subjects. Another was built in Zahi (Coele-Syria?) with a temple to Amun, by his fathers. He recaptured it and restored the Amun temple and worship. Of course his own cultus-stele proclaimed the fact (ARE, II:548 f, 457 f.). He also restored cultus at Gebal. In Na-arin he established his cultus at Ikathi near Nii; it was restored by Amen-hotep II. (ARE, II: 787). Spiegelberg (OLZ, Nov. 1931, 1001) holds that the term ntrw ("gods") in connection with Pharaoh-names really means their images, reliefs, or likenesses. They were considered magical, living things, distinct from a man through their eternal life. Such images were credited with Palladium powers even in Ptolemaic times (See RHR, 1931, 471). Habakkuk 2:19 laughs at this fancy.

14. Yahu and Amun.

Since Amun, Amen, an obscure local god of Thebes, becomes the supreme god with the rise of this Theban Dynasty, it is no trifle that outstanding Egyptologists now believe him identifiable with the Hebrew Yahu. Amun, "The Hidden One," is painted blue: the unseen One of the blue of the skies, the waters, the horizon. Sethe thinks of him as "the creative air-breath; later, "The Invisible One". So Sethe would see Egyptian influence in Gen. 1:1,2, and 2:7. (Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis: Berlin, 1929). Gallang does not recognize such a god in primitive times, but that such god was popular before the Genesis-thinking was shaped (Amun und der Gott des Alten Testament; neol. Bbl., May 1930; 103-105). Neither view will explain the name Yahu. But it is important that Amun and Yahu are thought to have much in common.

But how does the Blue Infinite become identified with the Sungod Ra', as Amen-ot, with the long-legged Libyan sheep as his sacred animal? In Section 15 we saw that the sun-crowned ram was very old: Palaeolithic? and can recognize him as the horned Jupiter Ammon of the Libyan Oasis of Siwa, in Graeco-Roman times. Frobenius in his History of Africa (1913: Vol. I, 204-227) devotes a chapter to the cult of this long-legged African sheep. He is both Storm-god and Sungod. The ram-headed god of the Siwa Oasis was a Sungod. Large rock-paintings south of Oran in Algeria show the ram with necklet insignia, and sundisk, with uraeus-like additions on each side of it. Bertholon found this ram a god in Tunis in pre-Carthage times. The tradition of this ram as a Storm and Sungod still survives in Fezzan; and Frobenius finds traces of its spread southwest through African tribes to the Yorubas of the West-Niger coasts. He also notes tradition that the Egyptian god came in Dynastic times from Siwa.

Now was the ancient Libyan or Berber name for their Sungod similar to the Egyptian name "Amen"? In modern Berber "Amanay" is the general term for "God" (Barth, Vol. 3, p. 100). That has facilitated syncretism with the Hamitic "Amen;" the steps we cannot yet trace. From Ex. 8:26 and Josephus Against Apion, 1:26, the sacred sheep might not be unten.

115. Hurrian Culture - Mediterranean Guards.

The excavations at Beth-Shean show that Mediterranean mercenaries were being employed by Thothmes III: perhaps Hittite-Hurrian (Khabirû) also. For Syro-Hittite (Hurrian) seals were found in the Mekal temple of Thothmes III, with basalt Nergal-lion panels that show Hurrian artistic influence. Hurrians have trained Palestinian artists. (Cf. Minoan Outlines, Section 83.) And the El-Amarna letters show Thothmes III in correspondence with the Iranian king of the Hurrians of Mitanni, again reminding us that this Iranian Dynasty must have been a Hyksos remnant. Their lost capital of Washshuganni may be that recently discovered at Tell Halaf, Section 69: Barton, p. 62. It is clear that more Hurrian officials and traders are being settled in Palestine. A little later we shall see their Khabirû pioneers wresting the country from Egypt. (Museum Journal, March 1929). Thothmes III says that he presented 1578 Hurrû at different times to the temple of Amon, in Egypt. (ARE, II, 555). This may have carried some more Yahu-worship to Egyptian shrine-centers. (Cf. Sections 83, 89.) The Pharaoh certainly knew that it meant fusion with some foreign cultus-ideas; he had illustrations of such fact in almost every nome in Egypt. In his 22nd year the old Hyksos stronghold of Sharuhennu makes a lone effort to shake off the Egyptian yoke. The "King that knew not Joseph" is counted an oppressor in this center of Hyksos power. Hyksos leaders must have been among the citizens reacting against Egypt: cf. Josephus, Apion, 1:33.

116. Minoan Sea Trade.

The tombs of Men-Kheper-Ra-Senb and of Rekhmara show that the Minoans and Mycenaeans of Thothmes III's time had profited by Egypt's naval weakness in the Hyksos period. They now control the Mediterranean carrying trade. The frescoes on the aforesaid tombs group the Minoans with the people of Kadesh, Gebal-Byblos, the Cilician Coasts, and the Hittites: actually they present the products of those regions, in some cases. Minoan rhytons of the same period have been found on the Pontus coast of the Black Sea. So the Minoans and Mycenaeans are now handling all the coastal trade of Asia Minor, reaching Egypt by that route (Palace of Minos, II: 651, 654 ff. For the term "Mycenaean" see Minoan Outlines, Section 82.)

117. The Rekhmara Inscription.

Describes the mingled Minoan group: "the coming in peace of the Great ones of Keftiyû, and of the isles in the midst of the Sea." The earlier tomb of Senmut, Section 110, shows a like embassy. But it is notable that no Egyptian art of the period has been found at Knossos. The royal tomb at Isopata, two miles north, had a dozen objects of the Late XVIIIth Dynasty. Half a dozen more from South Crete. But nothing of the first 150 years of the Dynasty. There is a diplomatic break! Egyptian royal gifts probably go to Mycenaean mercenaries. The Minoans came for wheat, and beans. Evans found in the stores at Knossos perfectly good beans, 3300 years old: the same sort that the Nile still exports to Crete. Textiles also were surely purchased by Minoans. But these have decayed.

118. Mycenaeans Not Greek.

The long debate as to the racial identity of the Mycenaeans was partially settled by excavations in the island of Lemnos during 1930-31 (ILN, 3-7-1931). The art proved to perpetuate Minoan traditions of Double Axe and architecture and tomb. The warriors were equipped with double battle-axe and other pre-Hellenic armor. There were later Greek burials, with characteristic Greek equipment of sword and spear. These Mycenaeans did not use the Greek language or alphabet. The non-Greek character of the Lemnians is asserted in Homer's Odyssey, 8:294; "Lemnos, land of the Sintians, men of a barbarous speech." Cf. Iliad, 1:594. Greek punning etymology asserts that Sinties means "destroyers, pirates." (Cf. Liddell and Scott, Lexicon). These Lemnos Mycenaeans had their own mysterious script, and continued to use it down to Persian times. More than 1000 years of Hellenic contacts had not displaced it.

119. Egypt Reaches Mycenae.

Only one Late Minoan II sherd has even been found at Tell El-Amarna. There was a

complete diplomatic break with Crete at least as early as the reign of Thothmes III, with a corresponding influx of Mycenaean-Aegean. Besides many Mycenaean sherds, excavators in 1930-31 cleared one very important estate, the magazines of which proved a very prosperous Mycenaean baker, confectioner and grocer. (Pendlebury, JEA, Nov. 1931, p. 235).

On the other hand, no Egyptian art or wares have been found at Mycenae and the neighboring Argive Heraeum, before the early XVIIIth Dynasty. But a score of objects of that period are known, some bearing the names of Thothmes III, Amenophis II, Amenophis III, when there are none in Crete. (See Pendlebury). Does this mean sudden supremacy in Mycenaean sea-power? Or only that Egyptian ships did not care to go beyond Crete in earlier times? Or, since more than 1500 Egyptian objects have been recovered from Rhodes alone, from every Egyptian period (Pendlebury), had Egypt usually depended upon Rhodes as her point of Mycenaean exchanges? Time will bring the answer. We do not yet know the Egyptian name for Rhodes.

120. Mycenaean Port of Entry at Ugarit.

Then the mysterious appearance of abundance of Mycenaean ware in Palestine during the reign of Thothmes III has light thrown upon it by the discovery of a great Mycenaean port, palace, and necropolis at Minet el-Béida, nine miles north of Latakiah, 185 miles north of Tyre, 45 miles south of the later Antioch. (L'Illustration, 10-12-1929: ILN, 11-2-1929). Minet el-Béida, "The White Harbor," is a translation of the old Greek name Leukos Limén. The enclosing headland is known as Ras Shamra. The finest Mycenaean art ever discovered has been found there. The great temple is purely Egyptian, with hieroglyphic inscriptions on the walls. The divinity was Baal Şapouna (Cf. Baal-Zephon, Ex. 14:9), but is Egyptian in all details. (Cf. Sections 54, 76). The Egyptian donor is "Mami, Royal Scribe and Overseer of the Treasury." The temple had a school for scribes, with nine languages! Akkadian: Sumerian (for priests and scholars): Egyptian hieroglyphs: Hittite: a new unknown language in a bilingual dictionary--(Sumerian + New - May it prove Minoan! or Mycenaean). The prominence of Sumerian in this "trade-school" suggests that Ugarit was as important to the ancient Sumerians of 2800 B.C. as their "Amurrû" or "Westport" (Arabic Amrit; Amor on Olmstead's map: near Arvad. See Minoan Outlines, Section 35b). It was about 80 miles farther north, and the very nearest point to the "finger tip" of Cyprus, the one great source of copper. That explains Ugarit's commercial importance, and the tradition of untold wealth that lingers about the site (ILN, 3-3-1934). There is a great Mycenaean necropolis: beneath that, one of mixed ethnic elements, and before 2000 B.C. a culture related to the early Hurrian? as noticed in Sections 69, 75. In the new Mycenaean times the rival merchant peoples there were hardly at peace among themselves. A suppliant liturgy recovered three times entreats "Chase away the Didimi! chase away the Hurri! chase away the Hatti! (Hittites) chase away the Alasi! chase away the Subar! (high-landers beyond Armenia); chase away your despoiler!" (Dhorme, RB, 1931, p. 37, 41). The Semitic petitioners were in general disfavor.

UGARIT ADDENDA - AUGUST, 1936

120-a. Cross-Section of The Ugarit Site.

Section 120 sketches some assured results of the first five seasons at Ras Shamra-Minet El-Béida. No vertical cross-section was attempted at first: all interest centered in the Mycenaean stratum discovered at the surface at one point. As the area of excavations was extended it became clear that the site was occupied 1000 years after Mycenaean times, and also that there was occupation before 2000 B.C. As a result Dr. Schaeffer's interpretative reports were modified each season by unexpected discoveries. But the 6th and 7th seasons, 1934 and 1935, made special efforts to determine the antiquity of human occupation of the site.

Beneath the Mycenaean level and its predecessor, which reached back to the 12th Dynasty Pharaohs, about 2000 B.C. was a thick stratum with rough pottery, synchronous with later old kingdom times. At a depth of 16 ft. was found a painted pottery level, with ware like that at Tall Arpachiyah (p. 136, section 117): proving that an extensive North Mesopotamian culture of that time here reached the Mediterranean. This stratum was 12 ft. thick.--Beneath that was "Level IV", 14 to 16 ft. thick, with extensive use of stone and flint tools and a very fine ceramic painted in a hitherto unknown style, in red and black: synchronous with the pottery of early Niniveh and Susa I?

Fifth Level, reached at a depth of 41 ft. was 13 ft. thick: terminating at 54 ft. It seems purely Neolithic. It had unpainted monochrome pottery; rough dark grey or blackish, with burnished bands, or "peck" decorations. The earth in the lower stratum was brownish. At depth of 48 ft. were three thin layers of yellowish-white calcareous earth, lightly tinted, with finely polished surface-coat: layers of brownish earth and charcoal were between. These were either plaster floors or the wall-coating of burned buildings. At 52 ft. depth the brownish earth became black or reddish, damp, mixed with stone, gravel, or marl; sherds vanishing.

Finally at 54½ ft. the earth was black, wet, boggy, mucky, with flint scraps and ashes, charcoal, and no sherds. It was evidently alluvial. The shaft went down 7 ft. through this pre-pottery stratum, without reaching bottom; stopping at a depth of 61 ft. 34 inches above the level of the plain. (ILN. 4-24-1935; 2-29-1936; Syria 1935, No. 2: p. 135). So Dr. Schaeffer concludes that Ugarit can rival in antiquity anything yet reported from Egypt or Babylonia. It will be observed that an unbroken sequence of occupation is not claimed.

120-b. Extent of the Mycenaean Occupation.

Near the Mycenaean tombs of the 13th century B.C. of section 120, Schaeffer found others with a modification of the corbelled vault. The wall-stones were finely hewn. Then one course of thick stones was bevel-cut, and on this was laid the slab-roof:



These reached into the Iron Age, as Mycenaean does not, and must be recognized as a local improvement upon the departed Mycenaean. More Mycenaean houses were found, of about 1300 B.C.: some had as many as 20 rooms, in two floors, around a central court and well, with water-troughs; bread-oven, stair-case, bathroom with stone orterra-cotta tubs, sink and central drain: all in sharp contrast with the local coast-cultures. More surprising was the funerary vault found under every house, with Cypriote, Aegean or Mycenaean equipment. The skulls were "Mediterranean". These foreigners were not allowed to use the local necropoles--or would not! Their family vaults suggest some cult of the "fathers"--like Pius Aeneas. Each had a system of subterranean pipes, supplying water for the dead.

Then the lower part of the north slope of the upper town (the Ras Shamra hill) had been occupied by these foreigners. They had terraced it; had narrow streets intersecting at right angles. These latest Mycenaean houses (about 1300 B.C.) indicated that the owners were wealthy--long tenure of the hill was proven. One family vault contained 44 bodies with over 200 unbroken vases, Cypriote and Mycenaean: the latest being of the El-Amarna period; the more ancient dated back to the end of the Middle Kingdom, which is the beginning of the Hyksos period. There is some political connection between the Hyksos irruption and the advent of the Mycenaean on this coast. (ILN 2-22-1936: 2-29-1936).

120-c. The Mycenaean Port-Quarter at Minet El-Beida.

The Ras Shamra residence and temple-hill of section 120 is 3/4 of a mile from the harbor known as Leukos Limen by the Greeks; translated Minet El-Beida by the Arabs. In the city there is abundant evidence of Egyptian occupation back to the days of the Middle Kingdom, including a statuette of Khnumit-Nofre, the queen of Senusert II, (1903-1887 B.C.). But there is no trace of Hyksos occupation, though Mediterranean peoples are on the lower slopes of the hill, and not very welcome.

But at Minet El-Beida is a foreign harbor-town; with no trace of settlement prior to 1500 B.C. Two or three residences have been found with funerary vaults in them, as above. But the Mycenaeans soon availed themselves of the freedom the new site permitted and developed a great necropolis and cultus-place with typical corbelled tomb-vaults with stair or ramp-entrances, votive deposits, Mycenaean and Cretan-Mycenaean libation-hydria, Rhodian cups, high-relief heads of the Knossos Bull, octopus-painted vases, baetyls and horned altars, basins, waterjars of various patterns, heaps of "killed" pottery, wells vaulted or slab-covered, votive fountains, conduits and great cisterns hewed in the soil and plastered with waterproof clay--all for their thirsty dead, (Illustration 11-21-1931).

The residence district by the sea was the home of sailors, fishers, dyers, merchants, agents, warehouse men--of all who lived by the sea. Heaps of murex-shells told of a "Tyrian purple" trade when Tyre was begging Amenophis III for drinking-water

and fodder. There were copper-foundries and slag-heaps. Some of the seaside structures were evidently those of merchants who lived by their wharfwages or warehouses: perhaps residing in one end with a storehouse in the other, in some cases. (ILN. 4-27-1935: Syria, 1935, pp. 168-171). On the fact of no settlement prior to 1500 B.C., Schaeffer thinks that the legend of King Kasos, reported by Malalas, presents the recollection of it (Syria, 1929, p. 301).

Relative to the final disappearance of this Mycenaean port, Schaeffer has varied, year by year, not knowing the cultural continuity of Pelasgian-Mycenaean-Geometric, as proven at Athens and Aegean sites. He thinks the Mycenaeans had "no literary traditions" and destroyed other people's literature": which is antipodal to M.P. Nilsson's Mycenaean Elements in Greek Religion. He has an old fancy that the presence of Mycenaeans at Ugarit was due to the weakness of Ikhn-Aton-ignoring the fact that his own dates put them there with the rise of Thothmes III: and he concludes that the final blow was dealt them by sea-rovers in the time of Rameses III--nearly 200 years too late! (ILN. 4-27-1935). But in his final appraisal he emphasizes the antagonism between these enterprising foreigners and the natives of the coast: the hustling traders hated by indolent locals--"all as in the present time!" (ILN. 2-22-1936). That suggests the final fact. The unwelcome Mycenaeans must have been driven off the coast by some outburst of Oriental antipathy, as Egyptian, Persian, Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Crusader have been driven away in their turn. See pages 126-130. For Schaeffer found a text: leaders of the native population saying these foreigners ought to be driven away!

120-d. Contenau on Pre-Dynastic Ugarit.

Considering Stratum IV in 120-a, which goes down to a depth of 41 feet, Contenau compares its red and black polychrome ware with the lower strata found at Niniveh, Samarra, Moussian, and Susa I. This stratum Schaeffer reports as over 22 feet thick, which means a long period; beginning before 4000 B.C.? and he compares the discoveries at Yumus, Karkemish, Sakje-Geuzi. Contenau adds the two lower levels found by Ingholt at Hamath at a depth of 60 feet which he thinks comparable to the lowest at Megiddo and Beth-Shean, and proposes to call the whole group "Proto-Iranian" (Revue Archeologique, Ap.-June 1935: p. 187, 174). As expressing the earliest region of our acquaintance with these ceramics, this may be accepted like "Magdalenian, Mousterian", etc.: but we are not prepared as yet for any ethnological implications. Schaeffer in Syria, 1934 (pp. 104-131) uses the same term, and includes like ceramics found by Parrot at Tellah. Contenau synchronizes with predynastic Egypt, which is not very definite: as shown on pp. 158-158-e of this work, that might be from 3500 to 5500 B.C. And the preceding pre-pottery flint-scrap and ashes-bog of unknown depth is in an immemorial past.

120-e. Post-Mycenaean Ugarit.

Following the wreck of the Mycenaean colony came a smaller town: Sarcophagi with fairly rich furniture appeared, with iron weapons and bronze fibulae. There was wrecking and lotting of old Mycenaean tombs, when found. But there is some continuance of the Mycenaean architectural tradition, as in 120-b. A beautiful conical Neo-Babylonian seal of sapphirine chalcedony is among the finds. Near the "modified Mycenaean" tombs was a "box-tomb" of slabs on edge, with alabaster ointment vessels like those of Tell El-Yahudiyyeh of Saite Egypt-time of Psamtik I. Schaeffer infers descendants of the "sea-peoples" whom he supposes expelled the Mycenaeans: but he does not show us these peoples occupying the site for 700 years before such tombs. He does not suspect such Greek-Carian rovers as Psamtik I employed.--Then on a slightly higher level were several monolithic sarcophagi, with slab-covers, but most had been robbed. But one contained a rich collar with various amulets: pendants and coulant of gold: scarabs, a conical seal of lapis lazuli; a beautiful cuplet with shining black polish of the 4th century: two silver oboli with image of the Baal of Arvad: a superb campaniform cast bronze cup, with rosette base and rim of lotus-petals in basket-form. Two sarcophagi near by had Greek remnants of the 4th century B.C. So while commercial preëminence had passed to the neighboring Laodikea (Latakfeh) a smaller Ugarit had some important people down to Seleucid times. (L'illustration 4-27-1935).

120-f. No Hebrew or Phoenician Language at Ugarit.

In the unscholarly religious press there have been occasional claims that the OT was "historically vindicated" by its language being found in the Ugarit cuneiform

liturgical epic. Just how the veracity or credibility of the OT would be helped by proving its language identical with that of a non-Israelite pagan people in another land some centuries before Israel entered Palestine has never been explained. But there is no "Hebrew" in the Ugarit liturgies. That fact was recognized by their translator in the beginning: see Section 123. Nor is this Ugarit speech any more the direct ancestor of the "Phoenician" that we have known from Tyre and Sidon and Carthage for more than 100 years.

The whole case was thoroughly reviewed by Prof. Johannes Friedrich in Der Alte Orient 1933 (38 pp; 8 plates: Bibliography: new translation). He emphasizes that it is neither Aramaic nor Hebrew, nor Akkadian: it has some features of each. Its phonetics differ. It has a proto-Semitic t, preserved in Arabic but turned into s in Hebrew, and t in Aramaic. It has the Hebrew š = Arabic, but ʿ or q Aramaic. It has Aramaic d = Hebrew z, Arabic ḏ. It has two h's = ḥ, ḥ, in Arabic: but these are merged in Hebrew and Aramaic. It has a plural in m, like Hebrew, where Arabic and Aramaic have n. It has long a, but no long o, as Hebrew and East Aramaic have. It uses the imperfect without w-consecutive as an aorist, like the Akkadian preterite: a fact which Albright has not recognized: and the less common perfect is used as a present perfect: all of which is not Hebrew. (AJA July-Sept. 1934, p. 450). Prof. Friedrich proposes Northwest Semitic as the name for the new language.

120-g. No Hebrew Psalmody at Ugarit.

A notable disregard of the above facts appears in a statement circulated in January 1936 (AP despatches) attributed to Prof. Julian, J. Obermann of Yale University. He finds that this oral liturgy has an antiphonal response for each phrase, and that the recital and response parallel each other in expression. The liturgy in question appeals to El. Prof. Obermann is quoted as recognizing that such antiphonal parallelism may have been already established in the literature of which it is a part. Yet, such antiphonal parallelism may have been as old as the pre-pottery bog-culture at the bottom of the Ugarit site (120-a). It can be heard in impromptu "Chanteys" of simple people in many lands. As above shown with regard to the two languages, there are grounds for asserting a common ancestry for Hebrew and Ugarit antiphonal parallelism: but not for deriving one far from the other. And one who talks of "the language of the Canaanites" and the "National religion of the Hebrews" (SNL 3-28-1936) is far passé in his knowledge of the terms "Hebrew" and "Canaanite".

120-h. Dr. Schaeffer's Use of the Terms "Phoenician" and "Canaanite".

Dr. Schaeffer's invaluable services as the excavator of Ugarit are not balanced by equal precision in the use of historical terms. He seems unfamiliar with important critical-archaeological literature. The student has no other source of information than his reports in Syria, ILN & L'Illustration. But when he speaks of "Canaanite pottery" no modern Palestinian archaeologist can tell just what he means. And his repeated use of the term "Phoenicians" for the Ugarit folk who did not use the Phoenician language is peculiarly confusing to the constructively inclined student. Read section 75 again; and the following much later statement from Dr. Stanley Casson, condensed from the Fortnightly Review, May 1935, pp. 558f:

"The Phoenician has been credited with everything; the evidence for it is nothing. There is no evidence of any Phoenician enterprise in the Mediterranean away from their immediate coasts earlier than 850 B.C.: and that date is perhaps too early. The Mycenaean world fell 1150 B.C. (?). Any ships in the Mediterranean thereafter till 850 were not Phoenician [sea-peoples: Cretan emigrants]. The Phoenician could not have known the Mediterranean when Minoan and Mycenaean ruled the seas.... Of the supposed Phoenician visit to Britain, the famous Strabo passage says Roman sailors followed a Phoenician ship to the Cassiterides or "Tin Islands"--and the Phoenician captain deliberately shoaled his ship!--This "fairy tale" is the only evidence. No object of Phoenician manufacture has ever been found in Britain: yet volumes upon volumes have been written to prove Phoenician place-names in England, and to prove that "bale-fires" are "Baal-fires". Of archaeological evidence there is none: of literature, not one scrap. We do know that the Greek captain Pytheas in the 4th century B.C. circumnavigated England from Land's End north around Scotland, and back south through the North Sea to Land's end, thence to Marseilles."

120-k. Origin Ugarit Cuneiform Alphabet Debated.

Since the discovery at the turquoise mines of Serabit El-Khadim in the Sinaitic Peninsula of a pictographic writing that uses a few Egyptian hieratic characters as an alphabet, there have been repeated efforts to decipher it, and to derive the early Phoenician characters from it. The English student can find a full treatment by Dr. Romain F. Butin in the Harvard Theological Review for 1928 and 1932. The discovery of the Ugarit alphabet prompted immediate comparison with the Serabit or Proto-Sinaitic characters. Sprengling and Olmstead of the University of Chicago (1931) made the first "derivation." T. Gaster in Ancient Egypt (1934, p. 341) approved this: in July 1935, feeling that the dissimilarity was too great, he concluded that the Ugarit characters were derived from a "Phoenician" derivative of the Sinaitic characters (PEFQ 135ff). This intermediate "Phoenician" stage, like the legendary Phoenicians themselves, remains wholly imaginary--J.G. Fevrier in June 1934 made another attempt, considering South Semitic relations. (Revue Etudes Semitiques, xiii-xvi). The cuneiform scholar Erich Ebeling in March 1934 discarded all these and presented evidence that the Ugarit alphabet consisted of abbreviations of long familiar cuneiform (SPAW 1934: III, p. 10ff). In Forschungen und Fortschritte, May 20, 1934 he again presented his thesis, with the conclusion that only the Old Babylonian cursive characters of about 2000 B.C. met the requirements. Hence the Ugarit alphabet was invented about that time.--Then Eric Burrows, inclining to the Sinaitic origin, and feeling the necessity of some intermediate stage, tabulates all the characters found on monuments and sherds since Serabit El-Khadim, to determine which show most resemblance to the Ugarit alphabet; and he presents the whole in JRAS, April, 1936, pp. 271-277.

All these efforts ignore mathematical probabilities and the human equation. To suppose that Serabit characters used by various Palestinian scribes of different stocks and languages through the centuries all eventually approximated the Ugarit cuneiform is like supposing that a sufficiently prolonged use of ancient Chinese pictographs would result in cuneiform. As for the human equation, every cuneiform scholar knows that the Persian cuneiform alphabet was not produced by Medes or Persians. These had no written records or literature at the time of Cyrus. An accepted script with a body of literature would have blocked the way to their using any other mode of recording. But Babylonian scribes in Persian service, long familiar with the alphabet idea through contact with Aramaic correspondence, saw their opportunity. They immediately invented a simple cuneiform alphabet for Persian official records: and they did not "adapt" it from some stage of the cursive Aramaic. So that is what happened at Ugarit. Sumero-Akkadian scribes about 2000 B.C. were in contact with local peoples who had no written records or liturgy: and the cumbrous Egyptian hieroglyphic alphabet could not be written on clay. So these Sumero-Akkadian scribes anticipated the days of Cyrus and adapted their simpler cuneiform characters into an alphabet for peoples of that region. Some of their own linguistic peculiarities got into their written product. These may not have existed in popular speech.

There are modern parallels. There lies at hand a volume containing 198 versions or translations of the Lord's Prayer. Seventy-five of these are in languages of peoples who had no written language before the arrival of Christian missionaries. They are from all parts of the world: North America, Polynesia, Australasia, Africa, India, China. They begin with French Jesuit Missionaries in Canada, and John Eliot in Massachusetts, Hans Egede in Greenland, and continue to the present. And every missionary, whether Catholic or Protestant, whether English, French, Danish, Dutch, German, American, or Spanish has independently adapted the Roman alphabet, that he used daily to the needs of the unlettered people that he would reach. It will always be so. And so it was at Ugarit 4000 years ago.

120-l. Alphabetical Experiments at Byblos.

At Byblos in 1924, M. Dunand in clearing the surroundings of a palace-enclosure, extended his area considerably and found two bronze tablets with writing in pseudo-hieroglyphs: these must be considered together with a stone tablet similarly inscribed found a few years ago. The number of different characters being few excludes the idea of a syllabary. Byblos was about 125 miles down the coast, famous as a permanent Egyptian market for papyrus 1500 years after Mycenaean Ugarit perished: and writings on Byblos papyrus were called Biblia: whence our "Bible". But Egypt could not popularize her hieroglyph pictures along with her papyri: they could be used by artists in stone or bronze, but not by those who wrote on mud with a pointed stick. Dunand's

tablets certainly illustrate the fact that experiments with hieroglyph alphabets were being tried at various points along the coast. The age of the stratum in which these bronze tablets were found has not yet been announced (Rev. Arche, Apr.-June 1935, 185f).

120-m. Akkadian Influence in the Battle of the Elements.

It is plain that a long influence of Akkadian scholarship infused into the liturgic language the Akkadian elements emphasized by Friedrich in 120f. The fact does not seem separable from an Akkadian invention of the cuneiform alphabet, and an Akkadian phonology in some proper names, like Sps for Shamash or Shawash; Dpd for Dwd (= "David" or Dôd). And some Akkadian influence must be conceded in the picturing of the perpetual battle of the Elements in the liturgic epic. That each wind or spring or stream may be considered a distinct personality in many lands, ancient and modern, is familiar to all anthropologists or comparative religionists. But the valley of the Lower Nile did not present these physical phenomena. An Egyptian authorship of these conflict-sketches is out of the question.

A single ethnic origin for such "folk-science" is equally absurd. It is not peculiarly "Semitic": least of all to be credited to the purely mythical "Phoenicians" of Greek invention. American Indian lore pictures battles of winds. But it takes a sea-coast people to picture the daily battles of land breeze and sea-breeze: the assault of tides and storms upon the shore, and their regular repulsion. Consider in the OT Yahu in conflict with all elemental elim, Ps. 29:1: thundering at them 7 times. Read Habakkuk 3:Yahu raging at mountains, rivers, rivulets, seas, tidal waves - rushing a horse-drawn chariot through raging seas. Job. 38:8ff pictures the sea rushing out of a dark cloud but stopped by an impassable boundary. But this is the elemental fact presented in the long-familiar "Battle of Marduk and Tiamat". Hightide at the head of the Persian Gulf occurs near sunrise and the rise of the northwest land-breeze. So the saga of folk-science explains that the rising-sun-god hurls a wind into the jaws of the raging sea and splits her!--with long ridges of sand bar, as she retires" (See Godbey The House of Yahu). See how largely this folk-science of a battle with assailing seas bulks in OT poetry: Ps. 4:13-15; 89:9, 10; 65:7; 93:3,4; 104:3-9; IS. 27:1; 51:9,10,13. With the Hab. 3 picture compare Ps. 18:7-15 = 2 Sam. 22:8-16. Will bad science make bad theology? If each wind or stream is a different personality, is anything but polytheism possible?

Consider parallel portrayals in the Ugarit liturgy. Aleyan-Baal of section 126 is portrayed as gathering sea-breeze powers to assail the Eternal Boundary of the Sea. Opposing are Ashtart and Bod-Baal, leader of the land gales of Mt. Casius. Quotations are amendments from Dussaud (Syria 1935:196ff), who has not understood some points. Kûsor-we-Hasis, of Aleyan's party, speaks: "When with his mouth he spoke; when with his lips he uttered his word--then he raised his voice to shout, "Let them attack the Throne of the Abode (= boundary) of the sea!"

"Then Kûsor-we-Hasis took the word: Verily I tell you, Abode of Baal (cf. Ps. 18:11): I repeat, O Rider of the Clouds! There are thy enemies, the baalim! Lo, thou shalt smite thine enemies! Lo, thou shalt slaughter thine enemies! Thou shalt receive the kingdom forever! The sovereignty forever!" (Ps. 29:1 calls the opposing forces elim instead of baalim. What matters it?) "So Kûsor assembled his steeds! He called them by their names! "Thou, whose name is Hurler, Hurler! hurl the sea--hurl the sea against his throne! The billow against the seat of his power!"

Ashtart addresses the opposing leader: "Thou shalt clutch, O Bod-Baal, as an eagle, who seizes with his talons a shoulder (head-land) of the Boundary of the Sea! The sides of a Judge (Shophet) of a river!" (A crag that divides, diverts or bars a stream. Compare "Zu, the storm bird": American Indian "Thunder Bird"). "So the yoke (team) of Bod-Baal clutched like an eagle, that masters with his talons a shoulder of the Boundary of the sea; the sides of a Judge of a stream! Surely he mastered the power of the sea! The crests of the billows subsided! Its depths flowed away!"

"Kûsor then gathered his steeds: he called them by name: Thou, whose name is Roller, Roller! Roll the sea, roll the sea against this throne! The tide against the seat of his power!"--And Ashtart addresses Bod-Baal again as above, naming the "head" instead "shoulder", and "eyes" instead of "sides" of the crag. Bod-Baal responds, and again the sea is quieted!

Then Ashtart roars at Aleyán Baal! "shame to Aleyan-Baal! Shame to the rider of the clouds! For we have captured the boundary of the sea! We have captured the Judge of the Stream! Surely the word of Baal is no more in his mouth!"--Aleyan is ashamed, and acknowledges the Baalim have killed the sea! And the cycle must begin anew. (For some critical discussions of the fragmentary texts see also Virolleaud Syria 1935: 29-50 and Dussaud Syria 1936, p. 102; and RHR 1935: Montgomery JAOS 1935, p. 274. These are concerned only with the question of exact translation. They do not clearly present the simple folk-science which is our main concern).

The use of horses, chariots, etc. in these liturgical fragments indicates a post-Hyksos editing or adaptation, since the horse and war-chariot did not appear on the Mediterranean coast till brought by Hyksos.

120-n. How a Crooked River Became "Lot" and "Sodom": "Leviathan" and "Rutenmu".

The student will recognize that where every spring is thought a living thing, and every stream a huge serpent or dragon, the sea will be called a larger dragon. Streams like the Orontes or the Jordan, which has 200 miles of curves or loops in an air-line distance of 60 miles, will be famous as peculiarly twisting or crooked serpents. The mistaken folk-science that sees storm-gods battling with everything else imagines that they are angry with river-floods, instead of being the cause of them. For Ugarit, the Orontes would be the preeminent "crooked serpent" river. Strabo 16-2-7 says the Orontes was originally called "Typhon". It is the trail of a crooked serpent creeping away from thunderbolts. John of Malalas in the 6th century says that when the Orontes dragon was swollen by a great storm, Perseus (the storm-god) called the people to prayer and liturgy. Then a ball of "thunder fire" stopped the river. So thought Ugarit 2000 years earlier. Virolleaud translates some fragments of its liturgic epic, beginning: "when thou has smitten Lôtân the swift serpent: when thou hast finished the crooked serpent, the mighty one with seven heads" (Syria 1934, 4th Fascicule). As for the Orontes being identified with the Egyptian Seth or "Typhon" the fact survives in its Arabic name El-'Asy "the rebellious".

Virolleaud compares Is. 27:1 and recognizes that leviathan is a Masoretic mispointing of lôtân. (Note also the "seven streams" of Is. 11:15). He recognizes two streams in the Ugarit text, and two in Is. 27:1. The second stream should then be the Leontes of the Greeks, Litany of the Arabic. But these names are certainly adaptations of Lôtân or Lûtân, which appears a derivative of a verb meaning "to bind, enwrap, encircle". Lôtân then originally meant the "Crooked River Country". But Lôtân is the name everywhere in the Lxx where our English translations have "Lot". It puts before us the fact that the Jordan Valley was preeminently a "Crooked River" country: that "Lot" is not an ethnological term but a topographical one, meaning any people of the "Jordan=wiggling" region. With Lôtân applied both to the Orontes-Leontes gorge and to the Jordan-Ghor, we understand what Egyptian records mean by "Upper Rutenmu", and "Lower Rutenmu".

The OT uses another also, for the Jordan-gorge: Kikkar. While recognizing that the root means "encircle", translators everywhere totally miss the point, and give us the word "plain". In Gen. 13:10, 11, 12, "Lot" or Lôtân is explained as "the whole Kikkar of the Jordan". In Gen. 19:17, 25, 28, 29, thunder-bolts are hurled at the whole Kikkar, as in the Orontes-tradition. Was there ever anything more of the original story? In Deut. 34:3, Moses can see the Kikkar or "cleft" of Jericho to Zoar in Moab: a distance of 60 miles (See D.B. s.v. "Zoar"). In 1K. 7:46, bronze casting is done in the Kikkar near Zarthan, at the Adamah ford, 20 miles north of Jericho (about the mouth of the Jabbok; see DB. s.v. "Zarethán"). In 2 Sam. 18:23 Ahimaaz runs by some Kikkar or "bend" in the Ephraimite plateau, some 20 miles north of Zarethán. In Neh. 3:22 and 12:28 are priests and singers who live in the Kikkar. The north and south extremes in these passages are some 80 miles apart. "Plain" is impossible. The whole Ghor, as the Arabs call it, is meant.

How poetic liturgies are twisted by strangers into fictitious histories appears in the Greek legends of Perseus, of whom the average college boy knows only that he appeared suddenly at Joppa and slew a sea-dragon that was about to devour Andromeda, chained to a rock. But G.A. Wainright, in a study of the Egyptian god Min of Panopolis or Akhmim, finds him eventually identified with "Perseus" (JEA, Dec. 1935). But "Perseus", probably originating in Philistine or Minoan Joppa, becomes the popular name of the storm-god who assails and quiets raging rivers and seas, as in above cited

case of the Orontes. His Eikôn at the Hittite Kuwanna, the Phrygian Kawania, made it Iconium of Acts 13:51. And the Cilician cities of Iotape, Coropissos, Carallia, Anemurium, Tarsus and Aegaeae, put Perseus on their coins: Tarsus maintained he founded the city. (Was original chief god?). Also Perseus was chief storm-god at Akê-Ptolemais of the Phoenician coast (Accho-Acre). Is all this Aleyân-baal with a Hellenized proper name?

In the Ugarit liturgy, Gpn-w-'Ugr is an ally of Aleyân against the "Lôtân, the fleeing serpent, the crooked serpent, the serpent with seven heads". This seems "Jungle and Flat Land", and suggests the strangling of the Jordan heads by the reedy marshlands about Lake Huleh--Relative to OT word leviathan, the LXX has regularly drakôn, "a big serpent", as all Greek scholars know.

120-o. Judah Ties His Donkey to His Grapevine - Gen. 49:11.

In Syria xiii p. 134 Virolleaud published a curious fragment of Ugarit liturgy, which he considered "instructions about cultivating the vine and field". Jirku in JPOS 1935, 12-13 thinks this impossible: it is the continuation of line 14 of the fragment, where the Bamôt or "tomb-shrine" of this Ass is in question. Some cultus-procedure is prescribed. Virolleaud and Jirku are both right. The discussed passage is as follows:

"Asherah of the sea [saddle the ass]
Prepare the male ass
[Make ready the grapevine, the silvery
The golden (?) flower of the field!]
Turn hither the grapevine of thy she-ass
It belongs to Kadesh-Amurru!"
He has saddled the ass
He has prepared the male ass
He has made ready the grapevine, the silvery
The golden (?) flower of the field
He has turned hither the grapevine of his she-ass"

Neither Virolleaud nor Jirku seems to know the wide-spread Oriental custom of sacrificing an ass at the planting of a vineyard. With the horse and camel coming westward and in some measure displacing the ass, some variations are to be expected.

"Horse-skulls on poles as a protection against 'the evil eye' may be seen in Palestine in vineyards; probably one of the many borrowed charms that are continually rooting in that meeting-place of nations" (Van Lennep, 119). "Another common sight in the Aurès, especially in the Abdi Valley, is the skull of a horse or a mule placed in a fig or other kind of fruit tree. Sometimes they are in the vines from which raisins are prepared. Sometimes they will be placed on a beehive.... The reason invariably given for this strange practice was pour bonheur--(for good luck): to keep the fruit from falling, the bees from disaster, the house from fire or dilapidation. Possibly we may trace in this custom a survival of the widely spread superstition that a sacrifice must be made wherever nature is in any way interfered with! (Wilkin, Among the Berbers of Algeria, p.126: also among the Shawia, pp. 127, 149)--"Skulls on stakes in vineyards to ward off 'the evil eye' are still found in Rhodes, Cos, and Samos; and the sacred tree is also found, with a chapel beside. Sick persons are brought to it, and after prayer some rags of the sick persons clothes are hung on the tree". (W.H.D. Rouse, Folk Lore X, 181), O'Donovan in Persian Turkestan often saw the skull of a horse or a camel tied to the end of a vine that hung over the wall. He supposed that it was to keep the vine in place! (Merv Oasis, 1:391). Not to multiply instances, the custom is found in southeastern Europe, in parts of Asia Minor: with variations in Central Asia: and in Kentucky there are people who know that if a horse-skull or mule-skull be placed on a stake in the garden it will keep away various pests, crows, rabbits, ground hogs, etc.

As for saddling the ass in the above liturgy, some Orientals who vow an ass to some shrine will not kill the animal but tie it by the makām and leave it to starve. Perhaps the ass ready saddled for a journey to Ghostland was so dealt with. We remember that old Silenus always rode such an ass.

121. Mycenaeen Alliance of Thothmes III.

It is clear then that Thothmes III allied himself with the Mycenaeen naval power and began introducing their garrisons as well as trade-colonies into Palestine. The Achaians, Hittite Akhkhiyawa, Latin Achivi, Hebrew Khivi, AV "Hivites" of the OT, were prominent among these colonists a little later. This movement continued for about 200 years. It introduced people that are prominent in the Joshua stories, and that became an important element in the political aggregation made by "Israel." Macalister has recognized that certain tombs and structures he found at Gezer were Mycenaeen: a gateway found recently at Jerusalem in Mycenaeen: and Mycenaeen influence seems apparent at Beth-Shean. The Mycenaeans are surely in Egyptian and Hebrew records, if we could only identify them.

But as in Section 107 we noticed that Ugarit traders used a talent of 3000 shekels long before the Exodus tabernacle, we must consider Thothmes III a providential agent in turning some currents of Ugarit culture 300 miles southward into Palestine.

122. No Tyre and Sidon Yet!

It is timely here to review Section 75. Tyre and Sidon are not yet in Egyptian

inscriptions, after 2000 years of Dynastic records. The ascendancy of these "Phoenicians" will follow the fall of Knossos, near 1200 B.C. and Tyre itself gives the reason. Within 50 years after Thothmes III, Abi-milki, king of Tyre, writes to his overlord, the king of Egypt: "May the king my Lord turn his face to his servants, and give water for his servants to drink, and lumber. For the king my Lord knows that we are situated on the shore of the sea; we have neither water nor timber." (EA Letters 151:37 ff.) Again, "May the king reach his mighty hand to me, to give me water to drink, and wood to warm me!" - - Or, "May the king my Lord turn his face to his servant and give Uzu (village) to his servant, a vessel for food and a cruise for drinking! . . . Let him give Uzu as a drinking vessel to his servant; a place to get wood and straw and clay!" - - "Zimrida (of Sidon) has taken Uzu from thy servant, and we have neither water nor wood, nor a place to lay our dead!" -- So Uzu, the earlier settlement whose people finally took refuge on "the Rock" - (Tsôr = "Tyre") - is necessary to the existence of those on "the Rock," but is exposed to every enemy. Contrast with shipbuilding Gebal where timber could be secured on the coast down to 1850. And Tyre's tiny strip of land could feed but a small population.

It was noticed in Minoan Outlines, Section 83, that the term Kinah-he appears at this time in the Egyptian records, and speculation has connected it with the Greek plural Mu-kenai (Mycenae). But this does not account for the guttural. Rutennu is a favorite term for trans-Jordan Palestine at this time: Hurrû (Kharû in ARE) for part; Kinah-hi, as stated, has a Hurrian suffix, and applies to a coast people from Gebal northward. And Hrozný has identified a Hurrian votive tablet at Ugarit (AfO, Apr. 1932, 118-129), wrongly announced as "Adam and Eve" by Marston.

123. The Ugarit Cuneiform Semitic Alphabet.

That was the most surprising discovery at Ugarit. No such alphabet was known to us before. At present the supposition is that it must have been worked out by local scholars: for the idea of an alphabet was never reached by Sumerian or Akkadian scribes. All their cuneiform characters are syllables and ideograms. But these Ugarit scribes had more characters for sounds than Hebrew has: a more perfect vocalization. Where that more perfect alphabet-idea came from we do not know yet. The vocabulary is that of the Old Testament. The sixty Hebrew verbs most used are all in these tablets.

But there are outstanding grammatical differences. The article, regular in Hebrew and Arabic, and rare in all Phoenician texts hitherto known, is not in the Ugarit Hebrew at all! The plural construct, familiar to all readers of the Hebrew OT, does not occur. These features are like Akkadian, and the causative form of the verb is shaphel, not Hiphil, as in OT. The Akkadian optative, and li with the imperative, are regular. It is not possible to make the Ugarit Hebrew the direct ancestor of the OT, or vice versa. (Virolleaud, Syria, 1931, pp. 20-23).

124. The Religious Epic - Littafôn the Dreamer.

The religious texts are in the form of a dialogue between the gods and goddesses, and of them with Littafôn ("The Bountiful"?). He consults them when sick, and they answer direct, or by dreams. So he announces when the heavens will rain fatness, and dried valleys grow green. Agricultural interests predominate.

The first ten tablets found were in three columns on each side: total sixty columns. All beginnings being broken, the order of succession can not be determined. More have been found since. (Was the whole intended for dramatic presentation?)

Of the host of gods and goddesses, some have compound attribute-names, like "Right-and-wise." The names El, Allah (Eloah, Elohîm) Elîm, Ilahat (Allat) feminine of Eloah: Ištar, Astart, Dagan, Yêrah (moon); Šapaš (sun) Môt, Ashirat, Baal, Baalat, Yam (sea), Malkum are familiar to OT students. There are many more, of different peoples.

125. Resurrection of 'Aleyân-Baal by 'Anat.

The gods of central interest are 'Anat of Judges 3:31 (plural 'Anathoth, Jer. 1:1;

1 Kings 21:26; Josh. 21:18, etc.) and 'Aleyân-Baal, who repeatedly dies for men, and is regularly recalled from his tomb by the intervention of his sister. He is slain by Môt, "Death," who seems lord of the harvest-time, and upon whom 'Anat takes dire vengeance. Dried vegetation is chopped up and burned! While 'Aleyân is dead, El notifies the Lady A-shirat of the Sea to appoint a king. She nominates Ištar-arits to sit on the throne of the north. (A*Frost-Lady*or Winter-cloud on Mt. Casius).

'Aleyân (read Alēyn, Alēin at first) is regularly addressed as 'Aleyân Baal = "Aleyân the Lord," or "Lord 'Aleyân." He is also ba'al 'erets, "lord of the earth," in some passages. He is also Zebûl "Abode" (of waters). Dussaud concludes that 'Aleyân represented the subterranean waters whose springs dry up in the hot summer, (Syria, 1932, p. 96).

126. 'Aleyân is 'Elyôn: Baal of Carmel.

Philo of Byblos has Elioun a chief divinity in the cosmology of Sanchun-Yathon. That name is supposed to be in the compounds Pygmalion, Idalion, Deucalion. Albright also concludes that 'Aleyân is Philo's 'Elyûn, the 'Elyôn of our Hebrew Bible ("Most High" in our AV). He observes that 'Aleyân has paredra - a goddess-comrade called Bêrût, "fountains, freshwater springs." (Cf. the modern city Beirut.) Also that 'Anat is like paredra - which makes her really 'Enât, "fountains." Dussaud's idea, with these, needs the supplementary fact that in the ancient Oriental cosmology subterranean fresh waters and those above the "firmament" are the same! Gen. 1:6 f.

So 'Aleyân-'Elyôn is simply the storm-cloud! A few lines from Albright will suffice.

"Hearken to me, O 'Aleyân Bâal!

Give heed to me, O Rider on the Clouds!"

(Compare 2 Sam. 22: 11 f; 'Elyôn in v. 14.)

"And Ba'al shall utter his voice in the clouds,
His glance in the land of lightning."

(Cf. the "Seven Voices" of Ps. 29.)

"And thou, 'Aleyân, take thy clouds, thy winds, thy snow, thy rain," etc.

And the messenger of 'Aleyân is RKb rpt = (Rekûb 'arapôt, "Rider of the nimbus-clouds," as in 2 Sam. 22:11. Observe that "cherub" - Kerûb, - is only a metathesis of Rekûb!

Also, Right-and-Wise urges 'Aleyân-Baal to make a lattice in his sanctuaries, a window in his temples. 'Aleyân-Baal refuses. Right-and-Wise, who is a son of the Sea, urges till 'Aleyân-Baal consents to a window in the sanctuaries, a lattice in the temples, a rift in the clouds: cf. 2 Kings 7:21. (JPOS, 1932, 195-208: BASOR, April 1933, 13-20). 'Aleyân-Baal always rises from the dead - where? whence? The raincloud rises from the Sea! Such is the myth. Compare Shelley's "Cloud."

"I am the daughter of earth and water
And the nursling of the sky;
I pass through the pores of the ocean and shores,
I change, but I cannot die
For after the rain, when with never a stain
The pavilion of heaven is bare
And the winds and sunbeams with their convex gleams
Build up the blue dome of air.
I silently laugh at my own cenotaph,
And out of the Caverns of rain,
Like a child from the womb, like a ghost from the tomb,
I arise and unbuild it again!

Concluding: Right-and-Wise above urges 'Aleyân-Baal to make windows in his heaven-pavilion. But to induce Right-and-Wise to do this, a bull-Sacrifice is offered before him, as he sits at the right hand of 'Aleyân-Baal. We now see the whole of Elijah's competition at Mt. Carmel to induce the storm-cloud to rise out of the sea! But we do not know why the name Elyôn is in low repute with him. Or has the name Yahu been substituted in the narrative for an original "Elyôn"? or was 'Elyôn not yet popular?

127. El, Elohim and Yahu at Ugarit.

The noun El is repeatedly used as a term for the principal god. But as long ago pointed out by Meyer and others, there is no trace of monotheism about this. The same mode of reference occurs in other towns, when speaking of their principal god, whose name may be Resheph, or Eshmun, or Dagan, etc. A monotheistic "Elohistic" document "would be impossible in such a land. Each town would interpret "El" or "Elohim" to refer to its own chief god. The chief god at Ugarit was probably Baal-Šapuna (Hebrew, Baal-Zephon: Lord of the North). At first Schaefer thought this the name of the town. But no Šapuna is known in any Egyptian list. The tablets repeatedly speak of the "King of Egrt" -- the Ugarit of the El-Amarna Letters. But since "Baal-Šapuna" occurs in the Egyptian records, in those of the Assyrian Tiglath-Pileser III, and of Esarhaddon, 800 years after Thothmes III, it is probably the name of the temple suburb of the capital city. (Schaefer, Syria, 1932, 24-27). The great Storm-god Baal-Zapunu, along with the baal of the heavens and the baal of sailors is invoked in a treaty between the Assyrian Esarhaddon and king Baal of Tyre, to send an evil wind upon the ships of the one who shall break this treaty. So Baal-Zapunu is a Boreas; the Euroklydon or Euraquilo of Acts 27:14 (ARA, II, p. 231; AfO, 1932, p. 33). Baal-Zephon is the Storm-god of Mt. Casius (JPOS, 1932, p. 192; BASOR, no. 49, p. 29).

Second. In recent years we have learned that l is a common ending of Hittite and Hurrian names--e.g. Murshil, Sephel, Barzel, etc. It throws some names ending in el in the OT into question. They may not contain a word for "god" at all.

Third. At Samaria near 30 years ago sherds were recovered with personal names like Gaddi-Yau, Egel-Yau, etc. The finders preferred Gaddi-Yo. Now there is reported from Ugarit a god Yo. It at once throws into question OT names like Yo-hanan, Yo-el, etc. in which Yo was assumed to be a late shortened form of Yahu. Now we find it centuries earlier. Was it the same god as the OT Yo? And is it the same that is shown us 1000 years earlier in the Cappadocian tablets as Yâ-sar? (See Section 84.) The question is open. (Bauer, ZATW, 1933, 81-101).

128. Sanchun-Yathon Vindicated.

It is impossible here to wade the tangle of ritual, myth, cosmology and cosmogony presented in these tablets. But Philo of Byblos and his account of Sanchun-Yathon's Phoenician cosmology are vindicated. Modern scholars have generally discredited it (See ERE xi, 178). But it is plain that this coast had a highly developed cosmology and liturgic myth and drama centuries before Israel was in Palestine. Determining their interrelations will take years. For reports from Ugarit see L'Illustration, 10-12-1929; 11-21-1931; Dec. 1931: Revue Biblique, Jan. 1931; Antiquity, Dec. 1931, 405-414; Gaster, JRAS, Oct. 1932, 857-896; Albright, JPOS, 1932, 185-208; BASOR, Apr. 1933; Schaefer, Syria, 1932, 24-27; 1933, 128-151; Nat. Geog. Mag. 1933; ILN, 2-11-1933; 3-12-1932; Gaster, AfO, May, 1933).

129. Farewell to Thothmes III.

It will be recognized that we know no such epochal departure in the interrelations of Egypt and Palestine as Thothmes III's alliance with Mycenaeans to hold back Asia Minor enemies, and the establishment of an overland traffic from Ugarit to Central Palestine. Egypt's sea-traffic with Gebal had not involved that. The Mycenaean-Ugarit traffic lasted about 150 years. The exact stage of development of above ideas in Thothmes III's time we cannot determine. But he contributed much to the cultural background of the OT. And as we shall find his grandson Amenophis III putting to the front the goddess Ma'at, "Justice," "Truth," in a way never done before (Hall, 346), we shall wonder if the fact is connected with the Ugarit god "Right-and-Wise" in Section 126, who makes the cosmic powers yield to his insistence. Hall observes that Amenophis III lays stress upon her, The Abstract Truth, in his inscriptions "almost in the style of a Darius denouncing "the Lie"; and he wonders if this was learned from the Iranian rulers of Mitanni. The Ugarit texts had not then been recovered. How much influence will the Cult of the "Right-and-Wise" gain in Palestine? Or: "Mistress-and-Merciful"? Or "Dawn-and-peace"? (Ps. 30:5).

130. The Issue Between Egypt and Mitanni - Hurrian Jews.

Upon the death of Thothmes III there is a general but rather short-lived revolt in Asia. The inciting agent is not the Hittite power to the north of Syria, but the factitious kingdom of Mitanni to the east. The ancient Hurrian people (see Section 69) from the Mediterranean to the Assyrian frontier are under the domination of an Iranian Dynasty, whose capital is about 60 miles east of Harran. The district from Harran west to the Euphrates is "the land of the Hurru" in Mitannian royal letters to be quoted later: and Thothmes III's expeditions across the Euphrates were into the "Land of the Hurru." The Mitannian Dynasty had pushed across Egypt's trade-route to Northern Asia Minor. Thothmes III has cut across Mitanni's trade-route to the Mediterranean.

The hypsiccephalic Hurrian somatic type is like no other. Von Luschan portrays it JRAI, 1911; Smithsonian Annual, 1913; it was then supposed to be "Hittite." See first three plates in Godbey "Lost Tribes A Myth" (Olmstead, HSP, 130 f, seems to think this the type of the ruling Iranians instead of the subject Hurrians). But the fact of primal interest for the readers is, that this peculiar Somatic type is supposed, by many ethnologically uninformed people to be "pure Jewish type" - "the Semitic type." Modern ethnologists - particularly Jewish ethnologists - know better. See Chapter VII of Godbey's Lost Tribes a Myth. Only a small minority of modern Jews are of that type. But that this type is coming into Pre-Israelite Palestine to influence thinking and institutions, is of first importance.

131. Amen-hotep (1448-1420) and Mitanni.

In the situation described above it will be recognized: (1) That each little state will align itself with Egypt or with Mitanni, in accordance with supposed commercial interest; (2) As commercial interests to the north of the contested trade-route are much more numerous and varied than those to the south, in the long run the north must win; (3) Any coalition or agreement between Egypt and Mitanni will bring the northern powers down upon both of them. Palestine is the "bottle-neck" for all this trade.

Amen-hotep II finds Mitanni moving at once. Every petty city-state influenced by her, revolts. Amen-hotep promptly sweeps northward through the Orontes Valley, Hurru-land (Central Palestine), Upper and Lower Rutennu, (Trans-Jordan). Kadesh on the Orontes, Aleppo, Niy on the Euphrates (a Hurru city), Senzar, Thnu, and Katna are in his list of victories: 24 in all. Some probably submitted without a fight. He crossed the Euphrates at Niy into the Hurru-land of Mitanni, going farther, so he says, than Thothmes III had done. He compelled the royal dynasty of Mitanni to accept his terms. His boasts are substantiated by the fact that Mitanni later negotiates for the return of some captured territory. Renan long ago found Amen-hotep's temple at Gebal-Byblos. Another fortress-temple and relics has been found at Beth-Shean; still another at Tell el-Hesi (the ancient Libnah?). Skeptical attitudes toward his statements do not seem warranted. (Knight, 155-166, wrote before our recent knowledge of the Hurrian powers. His making Amen-hotep the Pharaoh of the Exodus is not conclusive.)

131-b. Amen-hotep II and the Sky-Mother Cow.

In 1906 Naville discovered at Deir El-Bahari a gigantic Hathor-cow statue, hewn out of yellow sandstone. A solar disk, flanked by two plumes, stands between the horns. The large vault in which it stood was constructed by Thothmes III, with slabs of sculptured and painted sandstone. Two human figures by the Sky-cow are shown by cartouches on the fore-part of the cow-statue to represent Amen-hotep II. One figure in royal garments stands under the Great Mother's head leaning back in peace against her chest. The other presents the king as naked and child-like, kneeling and sucking. It is the same expression of protection by the All-mother and dependence upon her that we saw Amen-em-hat III distributing in Palestine 400 years before; and Shishak will probably scatter such marks of his favor there 500 years later. See Section 195. We do not admire the symbolism; but then the Egyptian would hardly approve picturing himself as a sheep or a lamb of some guardian power, as we do.

132. Thothmes IV (1420-1411) and Mitanni. (Cf. Knight 191-192.)

The significance of his short reign has been underestimated. Knight thinks "the

most outstanding event in his reign was the excavation of the Sphinx from the vast accumulation of sand in which it was embedded!" No one was prepared, in Knight's time, to recognize his revival of an ancient form of the Sun-cult, nor his founding a new capital as its center, nor his continuation of the policy of settling Hurrians in Palestine, and at religious centers in Egypt.

His accession meant the stoppage of tribute from Syria-Naharin; the temper of the new king was being tested. He promptly marched north through Palestine (Kharû in ARE we now know to be Hurrû). Through the Orontes Valley, pushed to the Euphrates, and crossed into the Hurrû-land of the Mitannian king. These Hurrians do not appear to have seriously opposed him; and that action promptly brought the Mitannian capital to terms! All tribute-paying is re-established. Thothmes returns by coast, visits Gebal, Sidon, and other points, and brings home a ship-load of cedar wood for the sacred barge of Amen at Thebes. And at Thebes he places a colony of Hurrû around his own mortuary chapel (ARE, II, 326). As Ea-Sarru, Ia-Sar, is one of the chief divinities of the Mitanni state, such action, like that of his father, gives ground for asking if some Yahu-worship is getting introduced in this way.

Then he insists upon Artatama, the Iranian king of Mitanni, giving him a daughter in marriage. This does not mean amity in our modern sense. Egypt would view such a bride as a sort of hostage for her royal father's good behavior! In the EA Letters are three such Egyptian demands that a powerful foreigner shall surrender his wife. And Egypt proudly refused to send such brides to other courts! (Compare Minoan Outlines, Section 81.) Ps. 45:10 ff. makes radical demands of such foreign bride! But such might rule the court! (1 Kings, 11:1-8; 14:21).

It is noteworthy that the importation of Mycenaean pottery increases. The Ugarit influences would seem to be stronger. Dying in his eighth year during a war with Nubia, he left as one monument the greatest of all obelisks, now standing before the Lateran in Rome.

133. Thothmes IV and Hurrian Alliance.

There is such a tangle of misstatement about IkhnAton, or Amen-hotep IV, the Heretic king, grandson of Thothmes IV (no book that can be followed) that a clear statement of certain neglected official records is necessary for the student.

First: Dushratta, a king of Mitanni writes to IkhnAton: "The father of Nimmuria, (Amen-hotep III) sent to my grandfather Artatama, and secured his daughter, sister of my father." The Mitanni name of this wife of Thothmes IV is not given. But her title as Queen of Egypt was Mut-em-wia. Amen-hotep III was her son: half-Iranian (or Hurrian?) by descent.

Then says Dushratta, Amen-hotep III (in second year of his reign) sent to King Shutarna, his mother's brother, for his daughter Gilû-Khêba, whose name acknowledges the Hurrian Queen of Heaven. She was sister of Dushratta. Then in his old age he writes Dushratta for his daughter, Tadu-Khêba, niece of his first wife! (EAL, no. 29). And letter no. 22 acknowledges that Tadu-Khêba was sent; Dushratta greets his daughter as a wife when he sends the goddess Ishtar to the old sick king. It is evidently an Abishag case (1 Kings, 1:2-4; 2:13-22); for Ikhn-Aton marries Tadu-Khêba after the old king's death.

It will be recognized that these women of the Iranic Mithra cult, or Hurrian Têshup and Khêba cult will certainly affect the Egyptian court. (1 Kgs. 11:1 ff.)

134. Thothmes IV Revives the Aton Cult.

The Iranian sungod Mithra ("The Friend" = Arabic, El-Khalil!) would predispose such women to some sun-cult: Ra', Horus, or Aton = an old name for the sun-disk. A granite slab of Thothmes IV announces that the priests of On-Heliopolis were his backers in clearing the sand from the Sphinx for the restoration of the cult of Tmu or Atmu, their preferred sungod. He seems to have parted with the priests of Amun. The Aton-Atmu cult is in mind: the original.

A new scarab of Thothmes IV reads "The princes of Naharin, bearing their gifts,

behold Men-Kheperu-Ra as he comes forth from his palace. They hear his voice like the voice of the Son of Nut (thunder). His bow is in his hand like the son of the successor of Shu! If he arouses himself to fight, with Aton before him, he destroys the mountains, trampling down the foreign lands, treading unto Karoy, in order to bring the inhabitants of foreign lands like subjects into the rule of Aton forever." (Alan W. Shorter, JEA, May, 1931, p. 23.--This has been pronounced a forgery (OLZ, 1931. 788:ZAeS, 57:125), without convincing Shorter--Even a forgery has value. There is a whole Series of documents of the Aton-Cult leading back to Old Kingdom times. All Egyptian priests knew that. The passage quoted in 137 below occurs also in the story of Sinuhe, near 600 years earlier (Section 86). Thousands could probably repeat it as their creed and hope. Nothing is farther from the truth than the statement of Knight (p. 288) that Ikh-n-Aton "invented for himself, and for his court, people and empire, what was practically a new religion". He did not even revive an old one. The series here given shows the revival to be the work of several predecessors. The Amen-Ra "heliology" was not "orthodox" for them.

135. Thothmes IV Founds Ikhet-Aton.

A fragment found at El-Amarna shows Ikh-n-Aton offering "to Aton, dwelling in the house of Men-Kheperu-Ra," (Thothmes IV) in the house of Aton, in Akhet-Aton". It would seem that Thothmes IV founded that town. (2) The Ushabti figures of Thothmes IV are like those of Ikh-n-Aton in bearing only the royal name: no magic. Thothmes IV then originated the departure. (3) Other objects found at El-Amarna belonged to Thothmes IV. (4) And these, like the Ushabti, show new realistic forms. (5) Then Wiedemann showed long ago that a scarab of Thothmes IV proves him the organizer of the Aton cult. He took a special title from it. He made a lake near the town Tarucha, and sailed there in a ship called Aton-tchen. And Aton is mentioned in the tomb-inscription of Cher-u-f, in his reign. (PSBA, 1913, 257 ff.)

136. Amen-hotep III Puts Aton-Cult In Nubia.

The Oxford Expedition excavating in Nubia in 1930-31 found the lost capital of Kawa, which Amen-hotep III rebuilt, and called Gem-Aton, later Gemp-Aton, "The Aton is founded". Whence it appears that Amen-hotep III was also a promoter of the Aton cult. He must have built the Gem-Aton at Karnak, usually attributed to his son. (cf. HAE, pp. 267-270.) It is plain that the great body of complaining El-Amarna Letters are addressed to Thothmes IV and to his son Amen-hotep III. Ikhn-Aton did not originate the Aton cult, and in his reign he merely reaped the political results of 40 years blundering? by his father and grandfather.

137. Thothmes III and the Aton-Cult.

And this royal Aton-cult is foreshadowed, if not fully organized, in the reign of Thothmes III. At his death an officer wrote, "When the sovereign had completed his time of life, loaded with many perfect years, full of valor, strength and triumph from year 1 to 54, last day of month Phamenoth, under the majesty of the king of the South and the North, Men-Kheper-Ra the justified, he reascended to heaven, united himself to the Solar Disk, and was incorporated with his Creator," (Paul Tresson, RB, p. 576 f.) Similar Aton-adoration is found in tomb-inscriptions of the period. As stated in 134 above, like tomb-inscriptions are in Old Kingdom times. (Breasted).

138. Aton-cult not Monotheism.

The effort to make it appear so is against the records. The Aton-propagandists go right on building temples to other gods. The exalted poetry does not prove monotheism. See Breasted; Barton, 500 ff.; Peet, 64-84. There are passages that speak of many Atons. The objection that we know of no temples to other gods after Ikh-n-Aton's 6th year has no value, so long as we have not all of his records.

But it is seriously suggested that Aton is the original of the honorific address Adôn-Adônî, "my lord"; found in Hebrew-Phoenician; in no other Semitic language; hence certainly not Semitic. One who addressed a superior as "My sun" would say Shamshî in Akkadian; but if he used the required Atôn, he would say Adonî.

But the Aton-cult signally failed, with all its poetic approximations to one God, and its portrayals of his care for all living things. The tombs inspired by the Osiris cult have their walls covered with scenes of future happiness; The Aton cult offers nothing. The Osiris-cult strengthened moral convictions with its judgements after death. The

Aton-cult might be called Sadduceean; it was silent about the spiritual Hereafter. Moral degeneracy must have resulted from it. (Cf. Shorter, An Introduction to Egyptian Religion, 101-115.)

139. Mitanni Cedes Hurru-Land: Regains Ašrianni.

A treaty of Dushratta with Amenophis III in his last days (see Section 133) - throws a great light upon Egypto-Hurrian relations of the previous hundred years. In the very long El-Amarna Letter no. 24 (471 lines) Dushratta discusses propositions that have been made in connection with the proposed marriage of his daughter Tadu-khêba to the old Egyptian king. Amenophis seems to want some territorial concession as a supplement to the large dowry Dushratta sends. The latter wants a like concession as "counter-gift." The negotiation centers upon the two cities of Ašrianni and Hur-wû-hê. An early proposition is that Tadu-khêba shall have all revenues from these two cities, which Dushratta calls his own. That left the question of subsidies and the maintenance of troops to discuss. The final agreement is, Amenophis shall cede in toto the fortress-city of Ašrianni to Dushratta: the latter cede the whole of Hur-wû-hê, "Hurrian-Land", to Egypt. After stating the proposition, Dushratta writes in IV:127 f. of "Dushratta, lord of Hur-wû-hê, Im-mu-ri-i-an lord of Masri" (Amenophis, King of Egypt). And in subsequent negotiations, after the death of Amenophis III, this arrangement is not called in question. But the arrangement acknowledges that Egypt had held the strategic fortress city of Ašrianni, and the adjacent Hurrian land, unquestioned since the expedition of Amenophis II? And Dushratta and Amenophis III are pledged to maintain a joint continuous frontier against Hittite aggressions from the north. (Cf. Section 131).

140. Ašrianni - Osroênê - Edessa - Hurrian Fortress?

Bork, first translator of the above Dushratta letter (MVAG, 1909), now recognizes Ašrianna as well-known in old texts: it is the mat Osroênê of later times. The above Hurrian scribe thought mat (land) part of the name, and wrote ma-a-taš-ri-a-an-ni, regularly (AfO, VIII, 6, p. 308). And Hrozny, Dhorme and others recognize Ašrianni, or Ašri-ani as the Osroênê, or Orrhoênê, of Greek times: Syrian forms Orrhôi, Ūrhôi. (AfO, 1931: 286-289). But this is the well known mediaeval Edessa, the modern 'Urfa or 'Orfa. Hrozny and Dhorme also suspect that Orrhoênê is an adaptation of an old name for "Hurru-land." It may be the point where Thothmes III in his thirty-fifth year met the coalition of foes that had troubled him from the time of his first campaign, and routed them. The characters '-r'-y'-n' could be "Arra-yana," or "Urrayana." Bork's cuneiform taš-ri-a-an-ni could also be Ur-ri-a-an-ni.

A glance at a large-scale map will show the significance of Dushratta's rectification of the frontier. From his capital of Waššuganni on the western headwaters of the Khabûr he now had a straight route of his own to the sea, past Ašrianni and Aintab to the Gulf of Alexandretta, without having to subsidize conductors or guards. (But he has the Hittite to reckon with!)

On a modern map the student may locate 'Urfa. The ancient Harrân was only twenty miles southeast, on the upper Balikh. The Mitanni capital Waššuganni was 70 miles east-southeast, near Ras el-Ain, on the western headwaters of the Khabûr. The Euphrates at the ancient Niy is about 85 miles south. Carchemish-Jerablous is about 50 miles southwest. The "Hurru City" of Dushratta's time should be somewhere between the Balikh and Euphrates.

141. The "Hurrian Land" in the Harran Area.

In "Minoan Outlines" Section 83 it was pointed out that Hur-wû-hê is now perfectly familiar to scholars as the noun "Hurru" with a genitive ending: the cuneiform mat Hur-wu-u-hê eleven times in above Dushratta letters, is then simply "Land of the Hurru," or "Hurrian Land." The Hurrians were unknown to us in 1915, when Weber and Ebeling edited Knudtzon's El-Amarna Letters: so they speculated upon a possible connection with the Egyptian god Harmachis: (EA Tafeln, 1056).

But the identity of Hur-wû-hê is settled by the Egyptian records. It is the region penetrated when Egyptian kings cross the Euphrates at Niy, or Carchemish or else-

where. For Dushratta no other region is in question. Again, the Hurru (ARE "Kharu") are first mentioned by Thothmes III. In his first campaign Hurru from Naharina have joined the coalition he met at Megiddo. That encounter convinced him that he must push east across the Euphrates. In his old age he pushed into that country and met their coalition at Arrayana? as above. Amen-hotep II, on his first expedition, was warmly welcomed at Niy on the Euphrates and nine days later relieved his beleaguered garrison at Ikathi. The rest of the record is broken, but on his obelisk he is twice hailed as "Conqueror of Hurru." And in his broken list of 24 conquered countries, the Hurru are next after Upper and Lower Rutennu (then eight defaced).

Then Hrozny points out Hattušil III's statement that his grandfather Šubbiluliyuma (1390-1360 B.C.) "drove towards the lands of the city Hurru, vanquished the Hurri, and established his frontier south of the city Kinza (Kadesh on Orontes) and the land of the city Amurra." (AfO, June 1929, 92-110). That is driving east, pushing Hurri invaders back across the Euphrates to clear the way south; the same eastward push that Thothmes III made 100 years before. Cavaignac (Šubbiluliyuma et ses Temps, 1932) says Šubbiluliyuma found the whole North Syria again dominated by Hurrian princes and Hurrian troops; a part of Mitanni policy. But there was no consolidated state. Šubbiluliyuma whipped them in detail, and drove them back east. Dussaud concurs.

Then from the treaty of Murshilish II with Kizzuwadna, the inhabitants of Ishuwa-Sophêne, fleeing from the Hittite army, "descended into the lands of the Hurru." (Hrozny, AfO, June 1929) As Ishuwa-Sophêne lies north of the Murad-su-Euphrates, the fugitives cross it. The sum of these passages is that the Hurri lands were within the great loop of the Euphrates. Where was their stronghold?

Thureau-Dangin observes that in the Hittite Texts of Boghaz-keui, "The Land of Mitanni" alternates with "Country of the Hurrites" or "Countries of the Hurru"; which means the same Euphrates loop.

Then the Assyrian Adad-nirari I, about 70 years after Dushratta's treaty with Amenophis III, swept into Mitanni from the north, capturing the capital Ušsukani, and Hurra; "the fortress of Sudi, the fortress of Harrân as far as Carchemish." His successor Shalmaneser I uses the same expression; "the stronghold of Sudi, the stronghold of Harrân as far as Carchemish," which asserts that with Ušsukani gone, Harrân is the stronghold of the Hurru region. These campaigns cut across the Hurru territory that Dushratta traded off. Hrozny thinks Adad-nirari's Hurra was in the Balikh-Euphrates area.

142. Harrân Immemorially Non-Aramaeans.

It is to be emphasized that there is no question of any Aramaean people or power, in all these records from 1500 B.C. to 1200. Oppenheim, the excavator of Tell-Halaf, finds that an Aramaean adventurer Kapara about 1200 B.C. established his capital near the ruins of Waššuganni, the modern Fakheria. But he secured all decorations for his building by digging down into the ruins of the ancient Hurrian capital, whose development began in Neolithic times and continued till about 2000 B.C. The Aramaean parvenus had as yet no architectural or art-traditions of their own. (Syria, 1932, no. 3). Vincent reviewing Oppenheim's book (RB, July 1932, 476 f.) agrees that there is abundant clumsy copying of Egyptian motifs and others from Asia Minor. The whole Harrân area is immemorially non-Semitic.

It is possible that the Semitic town-name Harrân, Harrânu, is an inevitable Assyrian confusion of an original Hurrânu with har-ra-nu, the Assyrian word for "road" or "cross-roads," since the first character in Hur-ra-nu is also har. The above expressions of Adad-nirari I and Shalmaneser I would support this. Their references to "the stronghold of Harrân" are the oldest we have.

Taking leave of Dushratta and Amenophis III, it should be clear that with Egypt holding Hurri country between the Balikh and the Euphrates for 100 years, all Hurri settlements in Palestine must have been a part of Egyptian policy. Men whose swords were valuable to other people were equally valuable to the Egyptian. The Hurru who were not willing to defend the Mitanni Dynasty against Thothmes IV make clear Dushratta's willingness to trade off the whole region.

143. The God Ea-Sarru, Ya-Sar as Treaty Guarantor.

In above Dushratta negotiation the great state-gods are thrice invoked. In the first case the Hurrian storm-god Teshup, and his goddess Sauška, the Egyptian Amon, the god Simikê, and Ea-Sarru. In Section 84 we saw Ea-Sarru vocalized as Ya-Sar in old business contracts in Cappadocia. In Dushratta's second invocation, only Simikê, Amon, Ea-Sarri are named; "may they give the victory to Pharaoh and his land - Gods of battle! - In the third invocation, only Teshup and Amon.

With the settlement of Hurrians in Palestine and other Egyptian territory through a hundred years, how much cult of Ea-Sarru or Ya-shar has gone with them? With above victory - invocation, compare the fact that in the Book of Judges Israel calls on Yahu only when it has some hard fighting to do. With the meaning "Ea is king," "Ya is King," compare 1 Sam 8:19; 10:19; 12:2 ff; Yahu has been "King" in battle - now some other leader than a "seer" is wanted; Judg. 8:23 f. holds the same idea. Is the book of Ya-shar in Josh. 10:13; 2 Sam 1:8, the same as the "Book of the wars of Yahu," Num. 21:14? Since treaty-makers must respect each other's gods, Ea-Sarru, Ya-shar, must have official recognition in Amenophis III's court, at least. - Since Abram dwelt for a time in the above "Land of the Hurri" (Harran region), who was he anyhow? Compare Sections 105 and 106 again.

144. Hurrians in El-Amarna Letters.

The Israel of Joshua is found in the Letters by those who confuse the terms "Hebrew" and "Israelite" and do not know that the Hebrew language had been current in Palestine for over 1000 years; see Section 74. The Letters complain of SA.GAZ: often simply GAZ. This is an ideogram well known as meaning "Freebooters, brigands": it has no ethnological significance, and may be contemptuously applied to any people. These "brigands" come down from the north: some are in Hittite employ; some are paid by Mitanni. They demand horses and chariots from their employers; they are not Arabian. Some are hired by the cities to enable them to withstand Egyptian tax-collectors. Others welcome overtures that proffer them aid against the Hittite king. In the badly broken letter No. 56, an Egyptian envoy has been in the Kingdom of Mitanni, and reports that several of the petty kings are ready to join Egyptians against the Hittite king. He means those in the above "Land of the Hurri." The following broken lines concerning "The land of the Hurri" seem to refer to them. Weber in his notes recognizes that the native population of Mitanni are Hurrian, but confuses them with their Iranian rulers (EAL, vol. 2: pp. 1040-1091). Again, Abd-Ashirta, King of Amurru, in Letter 60 writes "All the (subject) kings of the King are employing Hurri troops to wrest the lands out of my hands." That identifies the mercenaries as Hurrians: like the Irish exiles, the sword of this ancient and now shattered people is drawn in every man's quarrel but their own.

145. Hurrians at Ta'anach - Now Tell Ta'aneh.

Sellin sunk shafts there many years ago; total excavations amount to one-seventh of the mound-surface. Tablets of the El-Amarna period were found. In these were 58 personal names of which 37 were foreign - not "Hebrew". They were chiefly Hurrian, or Subarean, as the eastern mountain dialect is called. Five were Arabian forms. Some of these names are familiar in the EA letters. Several of the foreign names are neither Hurrian nor Semitic. (Gustavs: 1928: 62 pp. ZDPV). This cross-section suggests that the Semitic element was a small minority in all the restless Palestinian cities. In Section 141 it was pointed out Hurrians from Nahrina were in the coalition Thothmes III met at Megiddo, some three miles from Ta'anach. It is probable that some were already settlers in the Jezreel plain.

146. Iranian Masters: Hurrian Subjects.

In "Minoan Outlines" Section 78, see the large number of Persian or Iranian names surviving in the El-Amarna Palestine, and the unquestionable aloofness of the Hyksos proven by such survival after 300 years or more contact. Add the testimony of the Egyptian reliefs and paintings. Their chariot-driving aristocracy of North Syria are pre-eminently Indo-European. The rank and file are distinctly Hurrian. In various grave-paintings,

as on the chariot of Thothmes IV, or grave-reliefs of Har-em-hab, this sharp distinction appears. It is not in human nature that such official social distinctions can be maintained. A French Revolution is liable. The Iranian Dynasty of Mitanni could never count on the unity or loyalty of Hurrian underlings. They would sell their swords in a better social market. In these Mitanni class-distinctions we probably see one reason for the fall and universal execration of the Hyksos in Egypt.

147. Shubartu Hurrians.

Some El-Amarna passages name Shubartu as one source of these mercenaries. This well-known mountain region north and northwest of Nineveh is the land of the legendary Hurrian founders of Nineveh, Ushpia and Kikia. See Section 69. One Khabûr river is there; see Section 83. Further, recent discoveries by the University of Chicago in the Hittite region of the Cappadocian tablets" reveal the fact that these Akkadian-speaking trade-posts applied the term "Khabirû" to various non-Akkadian peoples of the region. There is nothing "Hebrew" about the term.

148. Palestine cities in El-Amarna Letters.

There has been much exaggeration of their power and activity in Palestine. In Palestine as we understand it, these Biblical places are certainly named: Ajalon, Accho, Askelon, Gaza, Beth-Shean, Gezer, Gath, Lachish, Hazor, Joppa, Keilah, Megiddo, Shechem, Jerusalem, Hannathon; probably Sheriah, Adoraim. Now there is not a single letter or complaint from the majority of these; there is merely the complaint from three or four others that the mercenary troops should not be allowed to occupy them. There is no mention of the Jordan, or of any people east of the Jordan. No peril approaches from that quarter! There is mention of certain cities in Bashan and Northeast toward Damascus making terms with northern immigrants. Mt. Ephraim is still a dense forest; there are no cities there (Joshua 17:14-18). But the silence from the majority of little city-states in Palestine probably means that they do not consider themselves imperiled. Such as are already Hurrian settlements would not protest the arrival of new Hurrian colonists. In Sections 141, 145, it was pointed out that Hurrians were probably colonizing the plain of Jezreel as early as Thothmes III's time. This might easily have occurred in Hyksos times. But it is notable that there is not a single complaint in the Letters from all the region between Shechem and the hills of Galilee.

149. No Mention of Jericho in the Letters.

That is an outstanding feature. Complaint from Jerusalem is voluminous, but mentions only Gezer, Gaza, Askalon, Lachish, Keilah, Gath, Ginti-Karmel, and a Ginti garrison in Beth-shan, as in peril. Shechem has surrendered. And the other correspondence about Shechem also makes no mention of Jericho. Since there are more than 350 Letters the only plausible explanation seems to be that Jericho no longer exists.

Now excavations have proved that Jericho is an ancient site, occupied near 4000 B.C. (Minoan Outlines, Section 25). During the Hyksos period, the city reached its zenith. The earliest scarab found was that of Heteib-ib-Ra, in the XIIIth Dynasty, and a series continued through the Hyksos period. One hundred scarabs of that period were found. Seals with Hyksos names were found in the palace area, and in the twenty-five tombs found 400 yards west of the city-mound, suggesting that several of the Hyksos chieftains resided at Jericho. After the destruction of the city at the overthrow of the Hyksos, it was rebuilt by the Egyptians, and the scarabs continue through the reigns of Hatshepsut, Thothmes III, etc. to Amenophis III. Each local chieftain wore the signet-ring of the contemporary Pharaoh: each was a vassal and agent of the Egyptian government. (N.Y. Times, 1-20-1932). But the new town was much smaller than the Hyksos city.

The finds in the twenty-five princely tombs are unparalleled in Palestinian excavations. One tomb contained over 500 vases. Of 1800 registered objects, 1500 are in good condition, some hundreds without a flaw. The whole Bronze Age is covered, down to 1400 B.C. (Garstang, N.Y. Times, 2-28-1932; Newberry, London Times, 3-28-1932; Glueck, AJA 1933, p. 165).

The great destruction by earthquake and fire came then early in Amenophis III's

time--that is agreed. As above stated, that may be the reason there is no mention of it in correspondence with Jerusalem and Shechem. It was far too important to be unnoticed when a strategic Egyptian outpost. But with Amenophis III approving the migration of Hurrians in one part of his domain to another part, and eventually trading for a whole province of them that he may the better man Palestine against the growing threat of the New Hittite Kingdom of Shubbilulyuma, the protest of various Hurriphobes in the letters is quite intelligible.

150. Shechem, Labaya, Hurrians, and Joshua.

No more striking figure appears in the EA letters, than Labaya. In nine letters there are complaints against him as an enemy of the king; yet he is connected with no city; does not appear responsible for any territory. In three letters his sons, who continue his business, are similarly accused. Labaya writes three letters affirming his loyalty. His sons after him write six, of like tenor. Put-khêpa of Jerusalem writes that Labaya and the land of Shechem have given everything to the Khabirû. It is the only time Shechem is named in the Letters. Labaya is eventually killed at the trading-station of Gina, in the plain of Jezreel. (See "Minoan Outlines" Section 74-b.)

Now Labaya is a foreigner, and not an irresponsible "conqueror." He knows he must place his wife or sister in the hands of the government as a hostage, should that be demanded. In 254 he writes "should the king write for my wife (or sister?) would I refuse her?" (cf. Section 132, and Minoan, Section 81). He has never refused any impost or excise, nor any demand of his Egyptian supervisor.

The whole situation in Labaya's time is clarified by a letter of his, published by Sayce the year after Weber and Ebeling's notes on the El-Amarna Letters appeared. (JRAS 1916, p. 253 f.) Knudtzon had not seen it. The disregard of it since Sayce's publication is inexplicable. The letter is in Hittite, as follows:

"To my lord thus says thy servant Labaya. I am thy servant of the land Uan. Seven times seven I make prostrations. To me, Labaya, do not write accusations that thy servant in the matter of thy letter is unfaithful. As for that, I am not at all a support like a footstool for thee! To me, Labaya, then entrust according to the custom of despatch-bearers. What (is proper) for them as service, with regard to letters for messengers, I fulfill.

"As to the letter in question, I have despatched the letters: the one which was given for the Hittite King in the Mountain-land (to) the Sungod (Hittite King) I myself conveyed. As thy present to thee coins in abundance I have despatched; may they be sufficient. Behold me! (N.B.!). Letters to the couriers I have despatched; upon their (receipt?) perform (the request? make reply?). The letters give me for in return ordering thus."

Thus Labbaya (spelt with two b's in the Hittite letters) as a citizen of the district of Uan, which Sayce thinks lay west of Aleppo, reminds the king of Egypt that he is no footstool for Pharaoh. Nor does he seem a Hittite subject. He is head of a great mercantile company of "Sons of Arzawa," as will appear later. His caravan and postal and express service is so well organized that kings are glad to make use of it. It is in this way that his father and grandfather before him have served the Egyptian kings, as he writes in EA Letter 253. (Compare the Egyptian Harkhuf in Section 76.)

A second Hittite letter relative to Labbaya's activities has been before the scholarly world for 40 years, unconsidered (No. 32 of EA Letters). Hrozny discusses the fragment in AO (April 1931, p. 192). The name of the writer and of the addressee are missing; the fragment is part of a several-tablet letter? The writer is probably Tarkhundaraba, King of Arzawa, addressing Amenophis III. Labbaya is mentioned three times; also the fact that he is of the district Uan. The writer had received from Amenophis III a letter through a dispatch-bearer and escort of Labbaya's; Labbaya had orally suggested an alliance of Egypt with the king of Arzawa. But since the matter is not mentioned in the letter received, the king of Arzawa does not credit it. So he asks Pharaoh to write his request, adding that he would welcome the alliance; and in a postscript recommends the scribes at the Egyptian court to write in the Nesian language (Indo-European Hittite); so-called from their capital Neshash (Nyssa?)

The reply to this appears to be the No. 31 of the EA Letters; cf. Sayce, JRAS, 1916, 257 ff. Amenophis III replies to Tarkhundaraba, king of Arzawa, that he is sending his envoy Irsappa with the request, "Deliver thy daughter to be the wife of my sungodship. To him I have entrusted the oil for her head! On thy account I am presenting one brick of gold." A list of presents follows.

For Labbaya the two letters are especially significant. His name is good Hurrian, and Hurrians were once politically dominant in Arzawa, but are so no longer; not since the rise of Mitanni. But as a citizen and powerful express and caravan director he is so powerful and trustworthy at the Arzawa court that kings use him to make cautious unofficial, unrecorded oral investigations; thus they "save their face" as Amenophis III did, getting no written rebuff. This alliance with Arzawa, like that with Mitanni, looks like part of an anti-Hittite coalition. But such intermediary commissions are sure to bring upon Labbaya, from rival traders, the accusation that he is the secret agent of some foreign power (cf. LTM, 141 f.). In such cases sometimes neither he nor the Egyptian court will dare tell the reason of some of his doings. But we see the handicap under which any great foreign-trading company might work in Palestine. Gen. 42: 7-17 places before us Egyptian official attitudes and the personal securities demanded.

Now the "Cappadocian Tablets" of a thousand years earlier show the condition under which such traders operated. Their camps or stations are internally autonomous. They are not trammelled by local customs or traditions. Only when there is friction with some native the adjudication goes to the central government. Local villages cannot accord it. But such concession by the government means concession of the privilege to camp on the royal land in any district. The traders cannot seize property of any native without recompense. In Minoan Outlines, Section 56, we saw midbar land: still "allotable, unappropriated." The "King's land" or "Emir's land," or "prince's land" is still a feature of Oriental communities: Ezek. 45:7-9. "There remaineth yet very much land to be possessed" in Josh. 13:1 may mean "much royal land to be had for the asking" in the districts named. (In America we would say "public land.")

Now a notable feature of such "royal land" or "public land" is shown in Ezek. 45: 7-9; it may be part of or contiguous to valuable residence areas. In the OT helgah (AV "portion") usually means a personal allotment; but in 2 Kings 9:36 f. we have "the helgah" of Jezreel: "town property, public common." In 2 Kings 20:34 the royal grant or concession is a part of the city of Damascus: a situation paralleled still in the Orient where whole villages or quarters of certain towns may be owned by the government or by some religious endowment. But such foreign concessions are notable as potential irritations of local communities; these may represent the settlement on local royal lands of cunning foreign traders. For such may soon acquire all the best land of the local communities, while Egyptian government does not recognize "Arab" ownership of desert or "midbar" land (Jarvis, 60-65). Then a trader who has lost a suit against a local community may turn bandit till he recoups himself (Jarvis, 50). Then traders shrewdly locate actual boundaries, to know where they may trade without charge of smuggling, or evasion of local duties, or other misdeeds. (Jarvis, 9). See unmarked boundaries in Deut. 21:1-9. It is thought that Sargon of Akkad in Section 68 made his excursion across Asia Minor and into the Mediterranean arranging better terms for the Akkadian trading posts. So the trading-posts of Achaians, Hurrians, metal-workers (Perizzî), Hittites, Amurru-folk and coast-peoples give Egypt something more than Napoleonic aspirations to think about.--Especially when rival trading-companies take to fighting each other! Consider Gen. 36: for AV "dukes" read "trading-stations": LTM, 101.

Remembering then that the trader on a foreign concession made by Egypt at any Palestinian city is responsible directly to Egypt for his trading-community, he will write as "The Man" of that little post; not as "the King" of a considerable district. His trade-post he will consider a "king's town," and in time of political-social disturbances will anxiously inquire whether the royal concession to him will be continued. Our modern experience with foreign settlements and extra-territoriality clauses enables us to understand that the system could never be popular with the native population, and when Egypt's power was withdrawn, the expulsion of many a foreign trade-post would follow.

A further misapprehension of the situation in the EA Letters is produced by the incessant use of the term Sarru, which has been regularly translated "king." If the

Letters were pure Assyrian, in an Assyrian land, this would be right. But in Section 104 it was pointed out that one-third the vocabulary of the Letters is not Akkadian at all, but of the local Palestinian vernacular; and in Minoan Outlines 76-b Israel Eitan pointed out that one prominent Egyptian feature in the OT is the use of the Egyptian term Sar, in more than 100 passages. If the Egyptian term is in the OT, it certainly is in the EA Letters, as the term for the appointed "governor of a village or town"; and such use emphasizes the persistence of Egyptian authority, instead of being evidence of its overthrow.

We must recognize then that complaints in the EA Letters that all royal lands are getting into the hands of the Khabird may refer in many cases to foreign tradeposts on concessions made by the Pharaoh who naturally makes no reply to local native grumbling, waiting to hear from his official Egyptian "Resident." A find of such "Residents" official correspondence is supremely to be desired. We have one letter important in Labaya's case.

Labaya is such a Hurrian on royal land. In his very courteous letter no. 254, after the humble courtly greetings, he continues, "I have heard the words which the king wrote me. And who am I that the king should lose land on my account?" Apparently there has been a new royal concession. Then after Labaya's death, Put-khêpa of Jerusalem whose Hurrian idioms and glosses in his letters suggests that he is a Hurrian himself, writes "See, Milkilim unceasingly demands land for the sons of Labaya, even the sons of Arzawa, to get possession of the king's land for them! As for the Superintendent who did that thing (made the concession) why does not the king call him to account? (EA Letter 289: 5 ff.) Of course Put-khêpa means that the "Sons of Arzawa" are demanding possession of royal land in the Jerusalem-district, which the Egyptian Resident, Yankhamu, has conceded without consulting him. Being Hurrian himself, his jealousy of the rival "Sons of Arzawa" is quite intelligible. Since Labaya wrote that his father and grandfather had rendered like service to Egypt, it appears that the "Sons of Arzawa" are a powerful trading-corporation, like the "Sons of Egibi" near 1000 years later in Babylonia. Recent discoveries of Hurrian "business adoptions" at Nuzi, at this very time, show us such "Son-Corporations." That the great trading-corporation might seize and sack some "king's land" village that resisted its entrance into the royal concession is clear.

Ere leaving Put-i-khêpa and his protest, it is important to remember that the Hurrians did get some "King's land" in his district, for garrison purposes. "Gibeon was an important city, as one of the cities of the king-land, and all its men were warriors," (Josh. 10:2). These warriors were "Hurrians" in the LXX of Josh 9:7; 11:19. One who made a treaty with them had to swear by Yahu; and if he broke it, he and his house would be "hanged up unto Yahu," 2 Sam. 21.

But these very Hurrians of Gibeon bring another feature of Labaya's activities before us. It has already been stated that grants of land may be made for a religious endowment. (Cf. Sections 58, 72). Now these Hurrians have a Yahu-sanctuary in Josh. 9:27; in fact, may be in charge of such anywhere, though in the time of the compiler they have to be content with minor positions. But (as above) they give oracles and dictate terms to David, while in 1 Kings 3:5 ff Solomon knows he must have the backing of the Gibeonite sanctuary. Observe the conference with a treaty in view, between David and Saul's party, was also at Gibeon: 2 Sam. 2:12 ff. We must recognize that Labaya is locating some religious fraternities as well as trading posts. Consider Zakka garrisons, LTM, 122-126.

There is further record of such action as above by Milkilu and Labaya's sons. Addu-karradu, who is apparently in charge at Bihil (Pahel, Greek Pella) writes that "two sons of a man under accusation before the king my lord, the two sons of Labaya, have set their faces to possess the land of the king my lord after their father possessed it. And the king should know that day after day the two sons of Labaya complain about me, 'Why was the city of Gitipadalla which our father received given back to the hand of the king?' (Addu-karradu seems in charge of royal concessions.) And he wants Namiawaza warned that if he comes forward in behalf of the two sons of Labaya he will be accused to the king. Then Milkilu must be warned not to enter the case? in their behalf--but that has happened! . . . And so the desire of Milkilu is set? upon causing the two sons of Labaya to enter the city of Bihil, to possess in succession the land of my lord the king together with them, after Milkilu and Labaya had possessed it." Addu-karradu says the two sons of Labaya (for revenge) tempt him to enter a hostile coalition against the

king--but he will not. "The king my lord I serve, and my brethren who will obey ("listen to") me. But the messenger from Milkilu and the two sons of Labaya does not cease to this day. Milkilu wants to possess the king's land. But I have not changed my mind. I am responsible only to the king my lord, and to the word the king my lord may speak I will hearken."

It seems that Addu-karadu got instructions from the king. For the whole issue is that Labaya died under charges; there had been no formal acquittal. Addu-karradu had accordingly declared his concession forfeited, returned to the royal domain. Labaya's sons are bent on vindicating their father's memory; unless his concession is restored to them, his vindication is not accomplished. But we shall see them restored to royal favor, and the city Bihil apparently in their domain.

It is of primary importance here to point out an error that has beclouded the El-Amarna letters for all translators. In 2Kings 9:36 f was pointed out the noun helqah, "portion, possession;" it is from the verb halag, which with its various derivatives occurs nearly 200 times in the OT, in the sense of "divide, apportion, share, possess." But in Assyrian, starting from the root meaning of "cut up" it has always the evil meaning "destroy, cut to pieces, cause to perish." Now this verb occurs 35 times in the El-Amarna letters. Should its local Palestinian meaning or its historical Assyrian meaning be understood? Notice in Section 104 that nearly one-third the vocabulary in these letters consists of local Palestinian terms. After an Akkadian word a "Hebrew" or "Hittite" translation of it is often thrown in, to make sure of being understood! Yet the translators have treated this every-day Palestinian word as if they were reading pure Assyrian! It is certain that the authors of some letters do not mean to say that the land is being "destroyed" but "divided up" so that the king will have no more land left for settlers. We have seen Amenophis III's policy of promoting Hurrian settlement. That he was systematically ousting from old royal lands the remnants of the old Hyksos-Iranian land-grabbing aristocracy and dividing their holdings among small immigrant-tenants does not seem to have been considered fairly. Joseph is credited with bankrupting Iranian horsemen and land-grabbers, four centuries? earlier, both in Egypt and Palestine: Gen. 47:13-21. Viewed as a sympathetic agent of such plans of the great Egyptian king, with caravans that brought in settlers as well as merchandise, Labaya is our earliest recorded martyr in the cause of a social-economic revolution. Without the great king and Labaya neither Judaism nor Christianity would be just what it is today.

Milkilu's determination to vindicate the reputation of his former business partner may have been ^{due} in part to a realization that he was in danger of being called to account for complicity in the matter for which Labaya was under investigation when killed. He had some experience with Labaya's rigid honesty in the matter of royal dues. Letter 254 is from Labaya in reply to a royal inquiry about payment of dues. He replies that he is an honest servant of the king, has made no mistake, or revolt, refused no "lordship" dues, withheld no profits due to his Egyptian resident. "They are slandering me, and the king my lord has not allowed me to know the nature of the charge against me. Now this is my error: that I went into the city of Gezer, and said, 'The king has received the total amount (due) from me - but all Milkilu's (dues) - where is that? - I know Milkilu's (spiteful) reaction against me!'"

The custom of purchasing trading-privileges from a king or local chieftain by means of a minhah or costly "introduction fee" is repeatedly before us in the OT, as in 1 Kings 10:25; 2 Kings 20:12. Every modern explorer in Negro Africa has known such demands. There are further exactions from resident traders. Migrating herdsman must purchase pasturage privileges with a minhah, as in Gen. 31:14, 19, 22 f; 33: 10 f. Every temple expects a minhah from a visiting trader! The result of Labaya's remark is that Yankhamu, the Egyptian provincial "collector," demands of Milkilu 2000 shekels of silver as the royal dues and says "give me your wife and children (as security) or I will kill you!" (EAL 270: 9 ff.) But Labaya writes with regard to complaint against himself: "Let the king trust my case to my own supervisor of the welfare of the city" -- that is, Yankhamu. The whole vividly suggests the possibilities in traders' squabbles. Labaya's answer to the king reminds us that many complaints in the Letters to the king are probably sent back to the local Egyptian official. There is no such loss of Egyptian authority in Palestine as has been portrayed.

We next see the treachery that brought Labaya to his death. Put-i-kheba of Jerusalem, already cited as protesting against the "sons of Labaya and the sons of Arzawa" receiving any "King-land" in his district, was one of those who complained that "Labaya

and the people of the land of Shechem had turned everything over to the Khabiru": (Letter 289:22). That is decisive as to Labaya's having a concession there, and having popular support. But tales of evil connected with the procedure set the king of Egypt to investigating; and the same evil details send Labaya after Biridaya of Megiddo. Labaya may have thought him connected with the treachery at Shechem; or he may have been demanding an open trade-road - no toll - from the pass of Megiddo to Beth-shean. Really the two possibilities are one: a "buccaneer" who was trying to shut Labaya out of his favorite trade-route would also attack and destroy Labaya's stations. Of this there is some record. "(Read Baker Pasha's experiences with Arab traders!)"

But Biridiya writes that Labaya has appeared with a hostile force, and he thinks Labaya means to plunder Megiddo.--Has Biridaya aided in plundering Labaya?--Pharaoh, on receipt of Shechem gossip, has sent word to his trusty Zurata at Accho to send Labaya alive to Egypt. Zurata sets out, and on reaching Megiddo finds Biridiya has trapped Labaya. A spotlight on the situation is cast by Bayadi, chieftain of an unknown town (letter broken) who writes the king that "the men who have captured Labaya are enemies of the king and have now attacked and seized all the towns the king put in my own charge," excepting the one he writes from: Letter 237.

Zurata takes Labaya from Biridiya. Not trusting possible enemies on the overland route, he returns northward, intending to send Labaya by ship to Egypt. But at Hannathon (Josh. 19:14) he liberates Labaya and a Shechem chieftain who was with him. Biridiya charges that Zurata was bribed. But two letters, probably written at Hannathon, indicate that Zurata satisfied himself that there was no case against Labaya, and so wrote the king, forwarding the letters of Labaya and the Shechem chief with his own--which is lost. Biridiya learned that Labaya was on his way back to Shechem through the plain of Jezreel, and galloped out with Yashdata to seize him; but they reach Gina only to find that Labaya had been killed there. It must be that the Shechem chieftain was killed at the same time. (Letters 237-248).

This Shechem chieftain lived only six miles southeast of the ancient town. There are four very brief notes from him, (257-260) saying that all the king is doing for his land is very, very good; and that he is cooperating "mightily, mightily," and that (some broken feminine noun) are cooperating "mightily, mightily." And in letter 260 this chieftain, Ba'lu-mehir, concludes, "And I dwell in the fortress of the Tienni region. May the king be thoughtful of his servant!" In No. 284:31 it is "the land Ti-ana," under the Egyptian Supervisor Yankhamu, to whom Labaya is responsible. This is evidently Taanath-Shiloh of Joshua 16:6, known as Thênasa in the LXX, and as Thêna to Eusebius, Jerome, and Ptolemy? (Hastings' DB, IV, 653).

The ridge runs southeast to Shiloh, and the caravan-road crosses the Jordan at the Dumieh ford, at the mouth of the Jabbok. The chieftain's hearty approval of all that had been done must mean what had been done for his own Land of Shechem, and refer to Labaya's activities. He was inevitably one of the "Land of Shechem" that had approved the settlement of Khabiru in the district. It may be that royal land about his own fortress had been conceded as a station for Hurrian caravan guardsmen.

Next, notice that Labaya was vindicated after his death, and his sons did receive his concessions. His son Mut-ba'lu writes letter no. 255. He begins more ceremoniously humble than his father was wont to be. Then "The king has sent Haya to me to say 'Caravans are being sent to Hanigalbat (Mitanni): forward them.' Who am I that I should not forward the caravans of the king my lord? See, Labaya my father served the king his lord, and forwarded all caravans which the king sent to Hanigalbat. Let the king send a caravan to the land of Kara-Duniash (Babylonia), and I will send it through, at top speed." Such conveyers hired large forces of guardsmen! But such trading-corporations might become as conscientious and popular as the East India Company!

"Is Joshua really mentioned in the El-Amarna Letters? -- That question at once brings Mut-Ba'lu's second letter before us. In Addu-karradu's letter already quoted, he seemed to be in charge at Bihiil (Pahel, Pella) and Milkilu and the two sons of Labaya kept coming to him urging that they be allowed to resume possession of Labaya's concession. In this new letter Mut-Ba'lu is in possession, but he does not live there; he has placed one of his officials Ayab (Hebrew "Job") in charge of the station, and the Egyptian resident Yankhamu has asked Mut-Ba'lu to send Ayab in for an accounting. Mut-Ba'lu in a personal interview has said that Ayab has run away. Yankhamu does not believe it and has sent a further demand for surrender of Ayab. Mut-Ba'lu then writes

fervidly (Letter 256): "Ayab has run away! The Sar ("Vakeel," camp-commander) of Biḥil has run away from the face of his lord the Resident! Sure as the king lives, my lord! Sure as the king lives, my lord, (Gen. 42:15) Ayab is not in Biḥil! See! for two months he will enjoy himself (take vacation?) -- Well then, ask Beneni-(ma?) -- Well then, ask Tadual -- Well then, ask Yashuya! -- if he has not since . . . ? gone to the city of Ashtart (Karnaim)!"

Now Yashuya seems a perfectly good Hurrian name! Beneni has been twisted into "Benjamin," in spite of the uncertainty of a final ma! There is nothing in the whole narrative to suggest any connection with the Book of Joshua. All that can be said for either of the persons is that they seem to be official associates of Mut-Ba'lu, and familiar with the matters discussed.

Biḥil is evidently a Trans-Jordan caravan-station of "Labaya, Sons and Company." But where is the company headquarters? From what point is Mut-Ba'lu writing? Surely from the "Land of Shechem," since Labaya not only had a royal concession there but full cooperation of the local chieftains in colonizing his caravan "roustabouts" in the "Land of Shechem." Probably Mut-Ba'lu wrote from Tiana, the fortress of chief Ba'lu-mihir, already shown as Labaya's local associate and warm supporter. For Mut-ba'lu continues his letter to Yankhamu thus: "At present all the towns of the Garu (Ghor: the Jordan and beyond) are hostile: Uduḡu, Aduri, Araru, Meṣtu, Magdalim, Hinianabi, Zarki, Hawini has been plundered, and Yabishiba. Next, since your tablet to me, I have sent (one) to him. When you have returned (home), from your journey (inspection tour) he will have returned to Biḥil, and will hear words (obey orders); ("Job" will be before us again!)"

Mut-Ba'lu, in short, tells Yankhamu to go home and mind his own business: Mut-Ba'lu will have conditions at the Biḥil station reported by Ayab in his own time and way! His statement of hostility to Egypt in caravan-stations beyond the Jordan is probably intended to frighten the Egyptian inspector from attempting any tour in that quarter. Yabi-shiba seems Yabesh-sheba, which substitutes another word for "oath" or "witness" in Gen. 31:47; this then is "Jabesh-Gilead," only three miles from Biḥil! If that has been plundered, any timid Egyptian tribute-collector will keep out of the neighborhood! Hawini, 'Avvini', must be one of the 'Avvim posts (See Minoan Section 64); but it cannot be located. But it may be the one in the Jericho district, Josh. 18:23. Adumu is surely Dumieh or Damieh that guards the Jordan ford at the mouth of the Jabbok. (Adummim, seven miles southwest of Jericho, is less probable.) Meṣtu is Tell el-Mustah, the Biblical Beth-Nimrah in the Ghor, ten miles northeast of Jericho. Zarki is some point on the Jabbok (Wady Zerka); probably the Kulāt-ez-Zerka, or Gadda, on its upper headwaters. Aruru is Aroer, still farther up the Jabbok, east of Rabbath Ammon (its predecessor?). Aduri suggests two or three Eder-sites. Edrei, modern Edhra'a, is much too far away: twenty-five miles northeast of Ashtaroth-Karnaim; out of the question in the case of an Egyptian inspector who has been forcefully reminded that Ashtaroth - Karnaim itself - is far outside of his jurisdiction! Adriel, a personal name long afterward associated with Abel-meholah (1 Sam. 18:19) suggests an Eder in that part of the Jordan Valley, some twelve miles northeast of Tienni-Ta'anath; ten miles south-southeast of Biḥil, directly on the road up the Jordan valley from Ta'anath to Biḥil. Ḥini-anabi, 'Ainē-Anabē (Hittite form) "fountains of grapes," is probably the Abel-Keramim (meadow of vineyards) of Judg. 11:33, in northern Moab, a day's march south of the Meshtu-Beth-Nimrah station. The whole region is famous for vineyards in Is. 16:6-10. Magdalim, "the forts," is too indefinite for location, but taken with the group it might be the important caravan-station of Mahanaim, ("the camps". See DB,s.v.) of Gen. 32:2; a great strategic outpost for caravans coming to the Jabbok.

The whole group radiates from the ford of the Jordan at the mouth of the Jabbok, the eastern gateway of the Land of Shechem. It vividly shows why the Land of Shechem welcomed the proposal of the great caravan-merchant, Labaya, to make the Land of Shechem his headquarters. It would make Shechem the emporium for all the trade with the east. For Labaya, it meant prominence on or control of routes to the east and south, out of striking distance of rival "buccaneering" traders in central Palestine, such as Arabs have been in modern Africa! And Mut-Ba'lu's letter reminds us that every great caravan director had the problem of maintaining cordial relations with each important station along his routes.

Choice of Shechem Means Jericho Gone! -- Why did not Labaya ask a concession at Jericho? Excavations have proved it a splendid wealthy stone-walled city down to the beginning of the reign of Amenophis III; see Section 149. Yet it is never mentioned in the extant EA Letters. Labaya's associates mention points within ten miles of it.

Labaya, though harassed by those who would shut him out of the Beth-Shean ford, has left no hint of inclination for the plain and ford at Jericho. He asks instead a defensible hill-road, a ford he can control, a town still content with an old Hyksos bank, as we shall see. The only plausible explanation seems to be that Jericho was already destroyed the little successor of Joshua's days not yet built.

N.B. What did "Job" Lose? -- Above, the plundered station of Yabishiba was shown to be only three miles from Ayab's town of Biḥil. Mut-Ba'lu evidently means that Yabishiba was one of his company's stations. Now how much did his man Ayab of Biḥil lose in that raid? Had the plundering of Yabi-Shiba anything to do with Ayab's flight to Ashtaroth-Karnaim? Is some reminiscence of the raid preserved in the second chapter of the Book of Job? We cannot answer now. But 150 years later another Egyptian king will push these queries before us again.

150.^a Supplemental Note on "The Home of Labaya." (June 4, 1934)

Sayce's suggestion that the land of Uana - (wannaš) in Labaya's Hittite letter was somewhere west of Aleppo was made more definite by later discoveries. The letter of the King of Arzawa, read by Hrozny (EAL no. 32) also says that Labaya is of the land U-an-wa-an-na-aš. In JRAS 1927 (p. 708), discussing Moscho-Hittite inscriptions, Sayce notes that Uwiniaš, king of Tyana describes himself as a prince of Vênasa or *Ὠνάσα* -- We-na-Uana-tu, and Uana-tu. His son Tiyes at Ibriz is governor of a Uana-tu-ti province; and the name Uana-tu-ti occurs again at Izgin. He observes that the forms mean "Vine-land" and "vine-growers": the Romans have reported the people as Vêneti; the Greeks as Eneti and Cuêneti. The "Vine-land" is the whole plateau from the south bend of the Halys river southward to the Taurus Mountains. The giant relief of the God of Vineland is given by Garstang, p. 154.

Garstang and Von der Osten have not noticed above geographical data. But the form Uan-wannaš, "Vine-land," survives in the modern Avânos, in the southern-most bend of the Halys River. Von der Osten, in Explorations in Hittite Asia Minor, 1929, recognizes that it must be the Roman Vênasa, the great sanctuary of some male divinity, with 1000 hierodules. He has not noticed that Vênasa is the *Ὠνάσσα* of Strabo xii-2:6. The "Zeus" of *Ὠνάσσα* then had 3,000 hierodules. The High-priest had an annual income of fifteen talents from the rental of the temple lands. He held his position for life. He was the most important official in the land, next after the High-Priest of the great Sanctuary at Comana in Cataonia. (See maps.) Which was the Arzawa capital before the rise of Mitanni? Labaya's influence with both Hittite and Arzawa courts seems a logical result of his Uannaš relations.

Second: his seeking a location or concession on the endowment-lands of the Pharaoh (or any other powerful divinity) was natural and inevitable. Every cuneiform scholar knows that no secular tax-collector could enter such lands or make any exactions from the tenants. When Pharaoh's rent was paid, there was no further tax (Gen. 47:18-21). But in such case powerful baron-tenants might defraud the king: note Labaya's criticism of Milki-ilu. For the long survival of the "King's Lands" system in Labaya's country, see Milman's Gibbon, ii, 136 f; or Bury ii, 185 f.

That such cultivation of Pharaoh-lands was the Palestinian situation in the days of Amenophis III is shown by Labaya's bitter enemy, Biridiya of Megiddo. He writes the Pharaoh that he is having ploughing done in the "King's city" of Shunem, and is taking thither workmen subject to corvée service. (Of course other tenants leasing directly from the king are not subject to such draft.) But other princes with Biridiya are neglecting the king's ploughing. Tenants of Shunem and Megiddo endowment-lands are not subject to corvée by Biridiya: so he is drafting men from Yapu and Nuribda. (Cf. 1 Sam. 8:12 ff; 1 Kings 5:13 ff.) This letter was published by Thureau-Dangin in Revue d'Assyriologie, 1922, 91 ff., and republished with comments by Albrecht alt, Palästina Jahrbuch 1924, 22-41.

We see why tax-free endowment lands would be doubly obnoxious to the tenants of secular lands: (2), why a "baron lessee" might find it dangerous to enforce a corvée for the tilling of royal lands: (3) how a king might be defrauded in the accounting: (4) why Amenophis III would decide that leasing to small tenants, none of whom needed corvée assistance, was in every way preferable. (For the antiquity of such Egyptian endowments see Section 58. In Gen. 23:9, 30, "land possessed by a tomb!")

Third: individual small tenants would not be attracted by the offer of royal lands unless assured of fixity of tenure. Rab-shakeh 700 years later breaks Hezekiah's defense with such an offer, 2 K. 18:31f. And acceptance of it by masses of Palestinian poor probably explains the 200,800 that Senacherib claims to have deported. We see the reason why "inherited," or inheritable tenure is the dominant idea in the Pentateuch traditions of a "settlement-covenant." "Modern France in North Africa has found the transformation of a temporary menzel ("lodging-place") into an assured inheritable tenure one of its most difficult problems. The reform in modern English "rack-rent" land-laws had to assure "Fair-Rent, Free Sale, and Fixity of Tenure." It seems that Amenophis III and Labaya anticipated the modern English.

Fourth: the apparent military character of Labaya's occupation is unconsciously explained by Governor Jarvis of Sinai (p. 12). The Eastern Roman Empire policed border-regions by sending legions of time-expired men with their wives and families to occupy such strategic areas. They got free land for their police-service, and could exact forced labor from the natives. Such "soldier-colonists" were seldom Romans, if ever: they were Roman Empire in the Orient.

150-b. How the Hurrians Got Possession of Shechem.

There are two accounts: the fragmentary one in the EA Letters, and the equally fragmentary one in Gen. 34. But this one gets before us some details of special importance. The trouble was made by some "Hivites" - Achaians; though some LXX MSS have "Hurri." The confusion is clarified in verse 30: the speaker complains that his force is small and that he has become odious to the "coast-traders and metal-workers" (Perizzi, N.B.: There is no such gentilic name as "Canaanite" in Palestine in all the EA Letters). In verses 10, 31 ff. the newcomers are traders; the Achaians propose to let them trade in the land on such terms that the cattle and other property of the newcomers will eventually become Achaian property. Some sort of trickery is implied in this statement. Then when the city is attacked, the Shechemites do not fight: a detail which is told also in a letter by Labaya. Then in Gen. 49:6 the "Levi crowd" slew men and dug through the town wall; and Labaya tells the same of his men. But digging through a town wall suggests a Hyksos earth-rampart. A tradition of that sort must have come from the times when such still existed. But there is a curious confusion in making a man named "Shechem" conduct the negotiations. Has the collective "Land of Shechem" in Labaya's story become popularized as "a man"? It is important that these parallels were noticed after the Labaya letter was translated. It was not translated to fit the Genesis story.

What was the size of the Achaian settlement at Shechem? It lies upon the surface that it could have been no more than a quarter of the city, or some other concession near. Recent archaeological excavations at Balata, a mile east of Nablous, at the east end of the valley between Ebal and Gerizim, have discovered on the great mound partially blocking the entrance the largest fortified area yet discovered in Palestine: 14 or 15 acres. Correcting the earlier report of Sellin, there was first a brick-walled city, fortified about 2000 B.C. Then a Hyksos earth-wall ran all around enclosing a large area. Much later a great cyclopean stone wall was built outside this, the space between it and the Hyksos fortification being partially filled. (Peter Thomsen, AfO, 1933, p. 338. Cf. Welter, contra Sellin, F: & F., 11-1-1928; 11-10-1928: ILN, 6-18-1932; Sellin, ZDPV, 1926, 304-328). Rude Hyksos scarabs have been found, and a few of the following XVIIIth Dynasty, and some Mycenaean sherds. There was a burning of this latter city, about 1150 B.C.? Long and patient excavation will be required to give minute information. But this Cyclopean wall of the time of the city's greatest prosperity is considered to date about 1350-1300 B.C. That would be a result then of the commercial expansion Labaya gave the Land of Shechem. But for the immediate point before us, for either Jacob's time or Labaya's we deal with the Hyksos-walled town.

Return now to the last Labaya letter, in which he comments rapidly upon a report made to Pharaoh (EAL, 252). As already suggested, it must have been written at Hannathon, and accompanied Zurata's report of the statement which Labaya and Ba'lu-mehir made to him. It is by far the most difficult Akkadian letter in the whole collection. There may be some "Arzawa Akkadian," in place of the Palestinian variety. Because it is composed of rapid comment, there has not been agreement as to where a remark of the king ended, or where some sentences end. The following seems the best:

"To the King my lord thus speaks Labaya thy servant. I fall at the feet of my lord. Since you have sent word to me 'Mighty (too violent?) were the people who seized the city'--how could the people be restrained? Because of treachery was the city seized! Should a settled pact be kept sacred? Or should a settled pact be defiled? -- A chief-tain was with me when the city was seized, 'My God!' shouting. (Probably Ba'lu mehir: compare Judg. 7:18, 20.). I am slandered before my lord the King. -- Secondly: when the earth-wall (namlu; Hebrew "Millo") was attacked they would not fight, and mighty were the hands of the men who tore it to pieces. For I had been attacked and cut to pieces? (Apportioned?) and my two cities seized. -- Again: if you say next, 'Rapine is among themselves - and (of course) they would fight you! Command that they be well-garrisoned! -- the people who seized the city of my god, causing my father to be reviled, shall certainly be well-guarded!'"

It seems certain that Gen. 34 is connected with Labaya's story, but where is Dinah? Labaya says a sacred pact was defiled. The cuneiform scholar knows that in some script Kina might be misread as Dina. But how has Labaya's father become an object of scorn? Labaya had assured the king that in accordance with Egyptian law he was ready to place his sister or wife as a hostage for his own fidelity? Did he do that at Shechem? In any case, it appears that there was no destruction of the great city, but of a community of treacherous rival traders, the Land of Shechem taking sides with Labaya. Labaya, in Semitic script, Lbf, would be easily pronounced "Levi." But Labaya is not travelling about with any father or any brother, or company of brothers. There is no way to get any such "Jacob" out of all the El-Amarna correspondence. No town, people, or person has a name resembling Simeon. But the very common verb šamû, "to hear," when used in the sense of "obey," is followed by the preposition ana. It is so used in some passages in the letters considered. It would be very easy for a halting compiler to transform "those who obey Labaya," - Samû-ana Labaya, into "Simeon and Levi."

It seems then that Gen. 34 gives us some good Shechem history of the El-Amarna period, probably supplying a missing fact in the story of Dinah, but blundering in supposing Shechem was a person instead of a land; and because some words in their documents resembled "Simeon and Levi," blundering again in concluding they had a fragment of Patriarchal history. The uncertainty of the compilers is intensified by the fact that in Gen. 48:22, "Shechem" is taken by Jacob with sword and bow, while Acts 7:16 has a place in the land of Shechem bought by Abraham of the "sons of Hamor." But Gen. 33:18 makes Jacob purchase Shalem, east of the city of Shechem, from the Beni-Hamor. The perplexing "father" of this Shechem Achaian colony is not genealogical. The term must mean the official head of the trading station, familiar to us now in the Cappadocian Akkadian tablets as "the father" of the station (Minoan Outlines, Section 80). It is further evidence that the compilers had old Palestinian Akkadian documents which they did not understand very well. (Later variations on the capture of Shechem, in the Book of Jubilees and in the Book of Jasher need not be considered here.) But the erection of an altar on the ceded land at which one "cries O God, my God Yisrael?" (Gen. 33:20) will be before us in Section 179-b. Labaya's complaint that the city of his god had been seized makes us wonder how many such religious colonies he planted.

150-c. Labaya's Levites: Any Others?

It does not seem possible to dissociate Gen. 34 from Labaya's story. But this forces upon us a further question. Gen. 49:7, that adds the detail "they dug through a wall," identifies them with the same Levites who are widely scattered in Israel, who have no part nor lot in it.

That is a status the Hurrians of Gibeon acknowledge in 2 Sam. 21: 2 ff. And Labaya's colonies on king's land instead of tribe-lands meant their having no share in tribal allottings. Sayce, Hrozný and others, have observed that the Luvi "Hittite" found in the Boghaz-keui tablets is much older than the Kanesian, and is the sacred language of old religious rituals. And it has been suggested that Luvi rituals were the original of "Levite" rituals. It is interesting that the Greek regularly writes Leuf for our Levi; so the Hebrew and "old Hittite" name would be pronounced the same way. But Sayce's suggestion pushes Labaya before us again, since, as he was of Arzawa, old Luvi liturgies still must have survived. How many of his colonies were religious communities or fraternities, or brought their native "Levites" with them? That "Yashar," "Yasharru" was known in that region 1000 years before Labaya, and was "official head" of some panthea in his own time, has been shown.

Then in the Levitical cities, "Shechem and its out-stations": Gibeon, Gezer, Taanach, Gath-rimmon are known to be points occupied "by Sons of Labaya" - or "Sons of Arzawa" - (Josh 21:17-25). Had Labaya established refugee-stations for persecuted comrade Hurrians?

Then the story in Ex. 32:25-28 of a fanatical action by the benê-Lewî parallel to the action in the Shechem-story is historically inseparable from the above. First of all it puts before us the fact that the benê-Lewî are not a genealogical group, but a fanatical fraternity recruited from among all the tribes of Israel, and that their one preëminent characteristic is their readiness to punish ruthlessly any supposed breach of contract with their Yahu. (See LTM, "Levited unto Yahu.") This is emphasized in Deut. 33:8-11, which contemplates their warlike activities and threatens those that war against them. It is the same attitude that appears in the Hurrians of Gibeon, who demand that any who broke treaty with them shall be "cut to pieces" (AV "hanged") unto Yahu, 2 Sam. 6,9. Samuel did the same, 1 Sam. 15:33.

The historical inseparability lies in the fact of Amenophis III's treaty with Dushratta which requires the recognition of Ea-Sarru (Ya-Shar) as Hurrian State-god, while Amenophis III colonizes some Hurrians at his own sanctuaries, as well as in Palestine. Petrie calls attention to a statue of the time of Rameses II; the sculptor's name is Yahu-nam, "Yahu Saith." (Yale Review, XIII). The sum is, were the Hurrian Luvî religionists planted in Egypt the same order that Labaya planted in Palestine. One who is disturbed by the suggestion may console himself with the reflection that the Hurrians at least have the face which he imagines to be "the typical Jewish face." But he will have to abandon all fancy of "Semitic" origins, or of an "Ur-indebtedness" to "Semites."

All this is tantalizing; more records are wanted.

150-d. More About The "King's Land" or "Chieftain's Land" System

Recurring to Amenophis III placing landless wanderers upon "the King's land" on pp. 198-200; the very same method of colonization in Palestine has been proposed in our own time. Oliphant (The Land of Gilead, 1880) sketches the negotiations looking toward the establishment in Palestine of a colony for persecuted Jews, and tells of his own survey of the land. On page 291 he decides that the colony should be placed in the Belkâ, which extends forty miles southward from the Jabbók, because that was all "crown land", and could be secured from the Turkish Government in a block, without negotiating with a single tenant. In contrast, nearly all the Ajlûn, from the Jabbok north to the Yarmûk, was "village community land", held by such tenantry under tapoo-papers: "warrantees" we might call them. Securing this land would involve negotiations with each tenant community, with the probability that some would refuse to leave. On p.206 he emphasizes the fact that there is not one acre occupied and used in the whole of the Belkâ for which any title-papers to an individual can be shown. These tenants on sufferance on ancient "King's land" have no title that they can convey to another. The town of Es-Salt in the Belkâ he recognizes as an ancient asylum-community, sheltering all outlaws and peasant-refugees. But not one tiller of the hills about Es-Salt can show a scrap of paper for the "sanctuary land" that he tills. The townsmen take out no tapoo-papers upon the real-property that they occupy and cultivate-thus avoiding conscription! (pp.205-206). In this Oliphant was a little confused, by not knowing the character of ancient cuneiform temple-endowments or asylum-cities: their charters make them and their tenants non-taxable, and not liable for military service. The modern Arab Wakf-deed continues these provisions of the old Akkadian Kêpu-charters.

The student should have reconsider pp.34-a,34-b: the institutions in Oliphant's pages are survivals from the immemorial past of the primitive village-community with its temple-stores and temple-lands. Collateral material is in Godbey "The Semitic City of Refuge": Monist 1905, pp. 605-625. But it must be emphasized that the institution of "King's land" or "chief's land" is not one created by military conquest, and maintained by armed force. It is a social institution created by early agricultural communities as they find some administrative organization necessary. Their chosen "head-man" may find his time well-filled with little administrative duties which the community-assembly has voted to him: he has no time to cultivate his own land. So the community may set aside a piece of its land as "Head-man's land" (Spanish Capitan: whence "Captain"). And the cooperative community cultivates this for the support of any chosen "Head-man". The chief may be changed: the institution is not. The community may eventually be included in some conqueror's claimed domain: he finds no income can be extorted from land-

less individuals: he may get what he can from their "Chief's land". Scores of examples can be cited from the modern world. Gomme's Village Community shows a host of examples in the Anglo-Saxon and early Scotch communities: their early colonists in America brought with them the system of assigning pieces of land for the support of various village functionaries. (See Atlas of Historical Geography of The United States, plates 40-52).

150-e. The Khabirû - Hebrews Prove To Be The Landless Poor

Who are the Khabiru of the El-Amarna Letters? From the first publication of some of the Letters, 45 years ago, there were efforts to identify them with "Hebrews": and "Hebrew" was popularly supposed to be an ethnological term: the name of a peculiar race or tribe, or political group. The objections to this were that no people in the OT calls itself "Hebrew": second, these Khabirû occur in Akkadian tablets, 800 years before the EA Letters as mercenary soldiery. The personal names show that most of them bore non-Semitic names: some certainly Kassite. Third, they are in Hittite records of the EAL period, as guardsmen; also with some liturgical connection. Fourth, the University of Chicago Expedition at Alishar Hüyük, 1931-32, recovered sixty Akkadian cuneiform tablets from a building of about 2200 B.C. The term Khabirû in them included various non-Akkadian peoples, 800 years before the EAL period. Fifth, Dr. Edward Chiera, studying 55 Khabirû names in the Nuzi tablets (about 1500 B.C.), finds that all were "foreigners" - not members of the Nuzi community: and though under Assyrian rule, not more than one-tenth of the names are Semitic! And all are in some servile position! As to functions, they were of various crafts or industries (AJSL Jan. 1933).

Saarisalo sums up the evidence of the Kirkuk-Nuzi documents. The Khabiri, (plural Khabirû) is the homeless fellow who sells his services for a term of years-usually seven, to be sure of a support. Their social status is superior to that of born slaves; especially as they will sell their services only to those of supposedly ample means. Their social position is analogous that of feudal retainers. They must sell their sword-service, to any one who will pay them! The Khabirû then are a social-economic class: a group of people of various tribes or nations, who have no land nor settled home. (New Kirkuk Documents Relating to Slaves: 1934, viii + 100pp - Von Soden, OLZ, July 1935, Col. 433f: Pfeiffer, Vols. iv, v, of Nuzi Tablets; AJA, April-June 1935, p.279).

150-f. Israel Accepts The Covenant of Amenophis III With the "Hebrews"

The policy of Amenophis III in making landless poor his loyal supporters against the remnant of the Hyksos nobility is clear. The Roman Colonia 1,500 years later continued the idea: for a colonia was a group of time-expired soldiery placed on land of their own in some agricultural frontier: Thus Lindum Colonia in England became Lincoln: the land thus "garrisoned" became "Lincolnshire". (London Times, 8-3-1935: 1½ cols.)

With a concordance locate the 25 OT passages containing the term "Hebrew". In Gen. 39:14,17; 40:15; 43:32, the term is definitely contemptuous. The Egyptian farmers, sure of their tenure, scorn the poor "hired hands" possessed by the Hyksos invaders. The same contempt appears in 1 Sam. 4:6,9; 13:19; 14:11; 23:3. In 1 Sam. 13:3,7, and 14:11,21, these "Hebrews" are not "Israelites", and are known to be undependable in the day of battle.

The legal or covenanted status of a Hebrew is stated in Exod. 21:2ff: and Deut. 15; 12:18. In the first case the Hebrew may actually marry into his employer's family, and by a Hurrian legal fiction be made a member of it. In the Nuzi tablets an intelligent business manager may be "bought" as a servant: then adopted into the family.

In Deut. 15:12-18 the Hebrew may not be retained beyond the term agreed upon. He is also to feel himself well paid by his Israelite employer, on taking his leave. Continuous familiarity with his duties has made his service worth twice as much as that of transient hirelings. The Egyptian social-economists knew the importance of reducing the "turn-over" among employees as far as possible. And the Israelite employer is reminded of his official status: "You yourself are an 'Ebed (official) of the Land of Egypt' You must live up to your covenanted obligations.". The term Ebed has been construed as "bondsmen" by King James translators, who did not know ancient institutions. Modern exploration finds seals and seal-stamps reading Ebed hammelech, which is not to be translated "slave or bondsman of the King" but "officer of the King". The Nubian Ebed-melech in Jer. 38:1-13; 39:15-18 is a powerful "officer of the King". Compare English H.M.S.--"His Majesty's Service").

This original employment of the 'Epru or "Ephraim" (sections 179, 179-b) as covenanted soldiery of the Egyptian government is before us again in Deut. 22:7: "Thou shalt not abhor (exclude) an Egyptian, for thou art a guest-resident (gēr) in his land." The AV "sojourner" the average English Bible-reader does not understand. A gēr is one who is accorded residence, protection, social welcome: but he may not interfere with social institutions, nor be forced to share in partisan clashes (2 Sam. 15:19ff); nor may he be called upon for military service without his consent. The military adventure of Abram the landless Hebrew in Gen. 14:13 was voluntary, and in his own interest. He refuses the royal gift that would make him a paid hireling of the King. (v.23).

150-g. Israel Violates The Ancient Covenants With Hebrews

Jeremiah 34:6-22 presents the climax of the real story of Israel's treatment of Hebrews through century after century. The weak point in Amenophis III's reform was probably the lack of royal store-cities that could equip and finance his soldier-settlers for making a crop. Many were forced into the clutches of unfriendly local financiers, who could always figure out that the Hebrew was still in debt at the end of his term of service. This perpetual peonage defied the law of Deut. 15:12-18. (The fact that unpaid Hebrew soldiery might think their employers not worth fighting for, as in 1 Sam. 13:7; 14:21, taught no lesson. In a desperate hour of Zedekiah the landless poor will not fight: their hopes are in Nebuchadrezzar. (Cf. Jer. 38:19). So the city-financier exploiters of the poor swear to give perpetual liberty to their peonized Hebrews if they will don armor and man the walls. But when the army of Nebuchadrezzar temporarily withdraws (Jer. 37:11) the exploiters of the Hebrews revive their claims of debt. Jeremiah's explosion needs no exposition. It should be weighed by all similar exploiters of our own day.

150-h. Prophet-Review Of the Oppression of Hebrews

With Jeremiah's demunciation above compare the scheming and selfish Hezekiah, more than 100 years before. He had organized a revolt against Assyria in which his oppressed poor would not fight: they had nothing to fight for. Sennacherib records that Hezekiah then manned his walls with Arabs and allies, who fled at the Assyrian approach. Hezekiah put on his walls what Judah-troops he could muster. Rabshakeh knew the weak point in Hezekiah's domain, and offered every poor soldier a piece of land of his own in better conditions (2 K. 18:31ff), saying that Yahu sent him to them (v.25). Sennacherib records that he deported 200,800 (Luckenbill, Annals of Sennacherib). These were not captives, but emigrants to better economic conditions. Sargon's deportees from Samaria in 2 K. 18:11 were only 29,800. Both groups were probably settled in the same region. Hezekiah's poor soldiery may have had favorable reports of the welfare of the colonists from Samaria.

The oppression of the poor is denounced in Amos 2:6f; 4:1f; 5:10-13; 8:4-10. Isaiah repeats all this a generation later: Is. 3:13ff; 5:7ff; 10:1-4: the Assyrian is summoned as a punitive agency. Compare 11:1-4.—Is. 24 may follow Sennacherib's sweep: also 25:1-5? some event has brought rejoicing to the poor and overthrow to their oppressors in 29:15-21. Thirty-six Psalm passages and nine in Proverbs lament the oppression of "the poor": locate them with concordance. Psalm 72 hopes that the Ideal King will insure plenty of grain even on secluded mountain tops.

Ezekiel 16:47-52 says Jerusalem has been a worse oppressor than Samaria or Sodom ever was: and in 18:7f, 12, 16, he repeats that economic and social injustice were primal elements in the overthrow of the land. In Chap. 34 he expands Jer. 23:1-8, "Behold I, even I, will judge between the fat sheep and the lean sheep." (34:20). "I will bring back that which was driven away, and bind up that which was broken, and will strengthen that which was sick: but the fat and the strong will I destroy." (34:16)—Then some great post-exilic voice in Is. 58 tells of the ultra-orthodox and meticulously liturgic who are the worst oppressors of the poor: and in 59:1-15 probably the same voice proclaims the utter corruption of all judicial procedure. (Cf. Luke 11:46-52). It would seem that Nehemiah's protest against the sin that ruined pre-exilic Judah had no lasting effect (Neh. 5:1-13). For on the threshold of New Testament days "My Messenger" denounces the same social-economic conditions and announces an immediate advent of Yahu to punish all the lying oppressors of the poor, declaring that the "sons of Levi" need purifying first of all (Mal. 3:1-6). See how all this passed into the pages of Josephus: Ant. 20-8-8; 20-9-2, 3; 20-9-1 with James 5:1-10; Wars 2-17-5, 6, 9; 5-1-2, 4. But for the social-economic reforms of Amenophis III, in behalf of the landless Hebrews, the OT as we know it would never have been written. Had the covenants with the Hebrews been kept, we again would not have our present OT. As the covenants are now known to be distinctly

Hurrian, and not those of wilderness nomads, it is probable that racial antipathies were a large factor in their disregard by Judah and Israel.

151. Political Chronology of the Letters

Outstanding anti-Egyptian leaders, often professing loyalty, are Abd-Ashirta of the province Amurru, the sons of Abd-Ashirta, and one of them especially: Azirû. A letter from the Hittite king Muršiliš II, son of Shubbilulyuma, long afterward, to his vassal Duppi-Teshup, King of Amurru: "Azirû was thy grandfather, Duppi-Teshup. He rebelled against my father, and my father brought him again into subjection." (Friedrich, Der Alte Orient, XXIV, 3, p. 15 f.) The letter is long. It shows us that Amurru was viewed as a province of the Hittite empire. Abd-Ashirta intrigued for substantial Egyptian support and did not get it. He did not last long. When murdered, his sons carry on till the Hittite king decides in favor of Aziru, who has a very long reign. His negotiations with Egypt were an early episode, that secured him no military support, and failed. Thus Abd-Ashirta letters fall in the region of Thothmes IV, who never helped Palestine after he left Sidon; nearly all those after the death of Abd-Ashirta are in the correspondence of Amen-hotep III. But few are as late as Ikhn-Aton. All books making the latter protagonist are to be radically corrected. But some appeals for help against the Hittites may be as late as Tut-ankh-Amen's time. See Section 155.

A LESSON IN CRITICISM OF SUPPOSED AUTHORITIES

151-a. Political Chronology of the El-Amarna Letters: Supplement Feb. 1, 1935.

The preceding section passed over the blunders of some eminent writers upon this subject in polite silence. It was assumed that recorded and dated facts would be convincing and that logomachies could be excluded. But it appears that the prestige accorded to some writer of a past generation can make some students blind to the fact that said writer did not have many facts which are now to be considered. This section will be useful to students as a discipline in their use of sources.

One instructor, who is not an authority upon cuneiform sources, wrote "After reading your Section 151, Egyptian, I worked over the El-Amarna Letters with the idea that many of them might have come from the early years of Amenophis III. I am sorry that I was not impressed. I prefer to hold to Ed. Meyer's chronological outline, as expressed in Gesechichte des Alterthums II; 1:2, p.334f. Perhaps further work will unseal my eyes." To this I replied as follows.

1. The statement is wholly uncritical and shows no appreciation of the fact that certain historical conclusions are inevitable from certain cuneiform records. A modern historian who does not reach said conclusions discredits himself or proves that he has not seen the records pointing to them.

2. The instructor was not surprised at my making no reference to Meyer or CAH, or to later writers upon the period, though much use is made of them in other sections. He did not suspect a diplomatic courtesy in this silence.

3. The instructor's criticism assumed that the Labaya and other material used from the EA Letters were arbitrarily used as propaganda to support a particular chronological thesis: not recognizing that a chronological conclusion may be but a minor corollary in the detailing of irrefutable facts. The facts in new data must be accepted whether a chronological corollary be appended or not.

4. Had the instructor challenged the data presented, rejection of their chronological corollary would have been consistent. But to announce adherence to an outworn chronological guess without regard to the evidence from new facts will discredit anybody.

5. The instructor should not have appealed to Meyer without first proving that Meyer had known and considered all the facts given about Labaya and his associates, in formulating his chronological scheme.

6. Also the instructor should have proved that Meyer was competent to deal at first hand with the EA Letters: that he was not a mere echo of what other men had published about them. No such evidence was presented.

7. Then, since Meyer's writings spread over 55 years, with several editions of his *Geschichte*, the instructor should have stated to which edition he referred. His objection does not show knowledge of more than one: he did not realize that the date of that edition might discredit his appeal to it. Meyer would certainly not write today some things he wrote thirty years ago.

8. In an earlier letter to the critic, his attention had been called to the fact that special studies upon the El-Amarna Letters by Riedel, Albrecht Alt (See Preface, paragraph 15) and others were unknown to some American writers. Yet this did not suggest to him that Meyer had not seen them either.

9. Now some important and decisive data relative to Labaya and the Hurrû used in Sections 149 to 150-c, were not made public till after Meyer was dead. Hrozny published his translation of the long-neglected Hittite Letter of Labaya (in 150:4) in 1932: the year after Meyer died. Yet that Letter proves that Labaya was not a citizen of Palestine, nor leading a revolt against Egypt; and it sweeps the field of all writings that make such assumptions.

10. A second illustration sent to the instructor was that Speiser published his Mesopotamian Origins in July 1930: too late for Meyer to have any use of it. And on p.118 Speiser published the solution of a problem that had perplexed El-Amarna Scholars for 40 years: What was the Hur-wukhê that Dushratta traded to Amenophis III? (Section 139). Speiser showed that it meant "Town of the Hurrû, "Land of the Hurrû". Meyer never knew that. The new fact sent volumes of historical interpretation to the waste-basket.

11. Relative to Meyer's use of El-Amarna material: 22 works of his, from 1875 to 1914 are within reach of the writer; three editions of the *Geschichte*: the last one, 1914. Knudtzon's volume of the El-Amarna texts with tentative translations of most of them, appeared in 1908. But Meyer made no use of it in any of the above works: apparently would not venture to deal with the original texts.-- Then in 1915 Weber and Ebeling published the companion volume of Notes and Glossaries. So Meyer had three editions of his *Geschichte* out, before an annotation of the tentative translation of all that Knudtzon had gathered was available. Much remained obscure. Weber and Ebeling did not understand the word Hurrû. Knudtzon had not recognized it.

12. In 1921, Meyer published the 4th edition of his *Geschichte*, when nothing whatever was known of the Hurrû, either from cuneiform texts or excavated sites. Meyer could not venture beyond Weber and Ebeling's limitations.

13. Riedel recognized that no satisfactory work had been done on El-Amarna chronology and he accordingly brought a Ph.D thesis on the subject (1921), showing that the bulk of the correspondence came from the time of Amenophis III. This was too late for Meyer to have the benefit of it! Then Albrecht Alt, approving, followed with the publication of important additional EA Letters in PJB. 1924; four years too late for Meyer's 4th edition: too late also to influence CAH, Vol. II, 1924.

14. Again, Meyer's 4th Edition did not have the advantage of Sayce's important translation of Labaya's Hittite letter in JRAS 1916. (quoted in 150:3,4). For Knudtzon, sick and worn out, retired in 1907, unable to read that letter (no.32). And Weber and Ebeling could not read it. But Schroeder in 1915 published an improved text of it, after Weber and Ebeling's volume of annotations appeared! This Sayce translated the next year - 1916. So Weber and Ebeling did not have the benefit of the utterly revolutionary picture of Labaya's citizenship in "Vineland" and of his commercial activities, which results from that one letter. Had they seen it in time, we might have had a radically different portrayal of the whole Palestinian situation in their volume. As it was, the influence of Sayce's translation did not get through their volume to Meyer. And Knudtzon, who quit in 1907 unable to read that Labaya letter, never saw the improved text that Sayce read 9 years later.

15. Another limitation of Meyer's opportunities is to be noticed. Thirty years ago, when Knudtzon was collecting the El-Amarna Letters, Cuneiform scholars did not know that an Akkadian commercial vernacular was widely-spread in the Orient (2400 B.C. to 1200 B.C.?), just as an Aramaic vernacular was current 2,000 years later. It is not surprising that there was much talk for a time of a "Babylonian conquest of Palestine". We still hear echoes of it: but there is not a trace of historical evidence of such a conquest. It is not surprising then that Knudtzon translated at times as if he had an Assyrian military inscription of seven centuries later before him. And Meyer was not competent to recognize this confusion of local vernaculars. Had each recognized that while in Assyrian the verb halaq must be read "cut to pieces, cut away, destroy", in Palestinian it means "apportion, share, inherit": the result would have been revolutionary. If used in any other sense than "apportion, share", in the EA Letters, an explanatory gloss should have followed. But there is nowhere such a gloss. Knudtzon's mistake is not surprising. But modern scholars are not excusable if they repeat his mistake. But Meyer's whole conception of the Palestinian situation is beclouded by that one mistake. Had you known better yourself, you would not have appealed to an old book of Meyer's, against a new body of facts.

CONCLUSION--THE DATE OF LABAYA'S DEATH

Scholars using the many new data available since Meyer wrote agree that the majority of the EA Letters come from the stormy years of Amenophis III. An important fact that they consider is an Egyptian "docket" or ink-note on the bottom of Labaya's letter quoted on page 92. (EAL No.254). The "year 10-2" is written: the following name obliterated. On the basis of the Weber-Ebeling annotations, CAH.11:313n assumed the "12th year of Ikhn-Aton", as Meyer did. The above later scholars recognize "12th year of Amenophis III": which puts the letter in the year 1400 B.C; Labaya's death 1400 or 1399 B.C.? Garstang has not noticed the above scholar-publications and the new data: but notices that Bilabel (Gesch Vorderas. U. Agyptens 1927:1, p.231) does approve this date. Garstang seems to prefer it (J.&J. 256, note). Olmstead also does not seem to know any of the new material pointed out.

The sum then is that the scholars using the many new facts unknown to Meyer see that Labaya's death occurred 1399-1400: an important fixed point for the Chronology of the Letters. The thoughtful student will gather from all this some appreciation of the critical care necessary in appealing to supposed authorities. We must now continue with Amenophis III.

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152. Splendor of Amen-hotep III, 1411-1374 B.C.

His genealogy and marriages have shown his anxiety for Hurrian friendship and at least a complaisance toward Hurrian cults. The shrines of his father and great-grandfather have been provided with Hurrian attendants: Sections 132, 115. His early years were stormy. A brilliant minister of the king, Amen-hotep son of Hap, tells how

he battled and guarded on all frontiers till about the tenth year of this reign. Perhaps it was during these early years, for which we have no records of military achievements, that Jericho was destroyed. The statement has been made that he never was in Palestine. That will not do. On a scarab in the British Museum he has recorded that he killed 102 lions in Asia during the first ten years of his reign. More than 40 copies of this are known: distributed in Palestine as well as in Egypt. Such lion-hunting means much local care in planning for the entertainment of a royal visitor. That means much royal diplomacy and good fellowship. Perhaps his brilliant minister negotiated for some of those hunting-parties. Hall credits the king with many peaceful visits in western Asia; which maintained the political status quo. (Hall, 344 f.). He remained, in Arab phrase, "King of the Age"; master of Syria, Bashan, Palestine, Hurri peoples, and is courted by Assyria, and Kassite kings of Babylonia, and maintains Thothmes III's relations with Mycenaean and Aegaeon powers.

It is worth noting that a statuette torso at Sefhire, near Aleppo, of a standing man holding a cup, with long Ur-type dagger, has an Akkadian inscription on back: "Tagaya has erected a temple to his god Kal-kak-du". The temple is not yet found. (Virolleaud, F&F.7-10-1930) We have a Hurrian name, Akkadian language, an unknown god,

man in Egyptian guise. Egypt officially dominant.

The actual dominance of Hurrian culture in Central Palestine during the El-Amarna correspondence is proved by the current excavations at Beth-Shean. His fortress and temple there have been excavated. The entrance to his Migdol (fort) is of the same pattern as the entrance of the Hittite citadel at Carchemish, and a bronze figure of the Hurrian storm-god Teshup, with beautiful seals and Hurrian-type bronze axe were in the temple. It proves that the Hurrian settlers are now sufficiently numerous in the neighborhood to strongly affect all local art and architecture. (Museum Journal, March 1929, pp. 45, 63). The Nergal-lion-and-dog panel, the finest yet found in Palestine, (ILN, 12-2-1928), is of Hurrian art, as are the reliefs and lion-figures in Bashan in the same period. (Maisler, JPOS, 1929, no. 2, p. 87.) And Amen-hotep III says of his own great mortuary temple (one of whose colossi became "the vocal Memnon") that he placed colonies of Hurrian people about it. (ARE II, 884.) That surely included some Yahwist Hurrians who will be heard from. His diplomacy made his court a sort of a laboratory in comparative religion. In his last feeble days, he welcomed the visit of the goddess Ishtar of Nineveh, whom the Assyrian King sent to heal him. It is certain that he would have equally courteous to Ea-Sarru, Ya-shar.

153. Conversely, the attitude of a reflective Egyptian of the period when in Kassite Babylonia is shown by a brick-edge from Badrah, the ancient Dêr, an important frontier post of northeastern Akkad: a strategic point for Elamite caravans or invasions, mentioned seven times between 2700 and 2000 B.C., seven more between 1240 and 640 B.C. A brickedge found there reads "For KA.Dl the Lord of ??? the king of Dêr, his king, Kur-igalzu, Shakkanak of Enlil, has restored E-dimgal-Kalamma, his beloved temple." The god KA.Dl is not yet known. But above the inscription is an Egyptian god with two-plumed wig, the was-scepter, the Ankh, kilt; winged sun? on his breast; and beneath, the solar disk and cerastes. We do not know what god. But some Egyptian saw analogies between KA.Dl and his own god. (Sidney Smith, JEA May 1932, 28-32).

154. Egypt No Consolidator.

The whole administrative failure of Egypt was that her officials were merely tribute-collectors. She could not keep one city from fighting another. She could not be sure that any Egyptian tax-collector forwarded all he collected. She employed mercenary troops herself; if any town wanted a larger garrison, let them employ mercenaries; there were plenty to be had. That this meant that the mercenaries employed would become the real masters of the land was not beyond the political vision of Amen-hotep III. Yet the Letters show that the Kashi troopers which some cities beg to have sent to their aid prove to be marauders in other neighborhoods--probably because they have not received their pay. Or, as Alan Rowe puts it, reporting Amenophis III's temple and Mediterranean mercenaries at Beth-Shan (ILN, 12-2-1928), the soldier always had to live off the country too much. He made things hard for those he was supposed to protect, whenever paymasters made things hard for him. That is an ever-recurrent tale in Oriental politics. Subsidizing marauders instead of fighting them is a perennial oriental experiment. But one must decide which is the most powerful marauder. And such subsidized marauders may not "stay bought." More than once in the EA Letters ransom money is required. But with regard to the above Kashi, Egypt's Nubian mercenaries, Amenophis III saw that employing in Palestine a new powerful people whom he had to sternly control in Nubia (Section 136) might mean Hamitizing Palestine, to Egypt's disadvantage. His treaty with Dushratta and the story of Labaya showed that he deliberately chose to colonize Hurrians in Palestine rather than Hamites. And 700 years later these Hurrians in Palestine will join in rolling back that same Hamitic tidal wave. As for the policy of leaving military colonies to support themselves, see LTM, 132 ff.

155. Shubbilulyuma's New Hittite Empire.

As stated in Section 149, a new empire is in sight. An ancient Indo-European migration had established a kingdom in Southern Asia Minor near 2400 B.C. It passed; a second later wave gains control about 1800 B.C. Now Shubbilulyuma, a very crafty and powerful man, appears, adroitly building a new "Hittite" kingdom. A different language and culture, probably to be called Nesite, thinks Hrozny. (AfO, 1929, 91-110; 1931.)

Subbiluliyuma is in correspondence with Amen-hotep III, whose vigilant diplomacy we have seen keeping peace on every frontier. He writes cordially and sympathetically to his successor IkhnAton upon the latter's accession. Some modern charges of duplicity are based upon a mistaken chronological order of events. Cavaignac (see Section 141) recognizes Mitanni authority had not been able to keep the Hurrian princes of North Syria in order. (Cf. 109-b.) Mitanni had not been able to "make good" on its frontier-rectification with Amenophis III (Section 139). Conversely, Hurrian princes in North Syria, even though appointees of Mitanni, feel that the Saush-shatar dynasty is too feeble to help them.

Cavaignac considers four fervent begging letters addressed to Amenophis III by Katna's Hurrian prince Akizzi (EAL 52-55), and to correlate with the known sack and destruction of Katna, which has been excavated, concludes that it was rebuilt after Shubbiluliyuma captured it, and that Akizzi was made the governor of a new town, to which Dussaud replies that the sack of a great sanctuary is final. The inventory tablets of the temple were found scattered about the floor. The temple had never been rebuilt. The destruction of Katna was much later than the time of Amenophis III.

Now Cavaignac concludes that Shubbiluliyuma kept quiet in Asia Minor 1375-1378 (Ikhn-Aton's time) and was in Syria-Palestine the next six years, making a treaty with Mattiwaza of Mitanni. That puts the destruction of Katna in Tut-Ankh-Amen's time. The whole illustrates the uncertainty of the exact date of some El-Amarna letters. While some may be as early as Thothmes IV, a few may be as late as Tut-Ankh-Amen. Some pressing appeals to Amenophis III, like Akizzi's, may have occasioned the frontier-rectification with Dushratta, making him hold the Hittite back for a time.

In the treaty between Shubbiluliyuma and the Mitannian king Mattiwaza, a little later, the latter names E-a-Sharru as a chief one among 30 gods invoked, grouping him with the Egyptian Amon and the supreme Hittite gods, as Dushratta had done, when dealing with Amenophis III. So E-a-Sharru certainly had a strong Hurrian following. (Cf. Sections 83, 84, 143).


156. Amen-hotep IV, "The Heretic King," 1375-1358 B.C.

He was coregent with his father during his father's last years. It was shown in Section 136 that Amenophis III had gone far in his restoration of the ancient Aton-cult. The competition of other cults at this court had not changed this preference. His coregent son necessarily heard much of his failing father's final religious convictions. Hall has probably given the key to the final choice among the clashing cults, in Amenophis III's incessant emphasis upon "the law," "The Right," "Justice," "Truth," (Section 129.) The Aton-Cult, long-forgotten, was not loaded with the animal-incarnations and unscrupulous politics and deliberate impostures of the popular cults. The old king's choice did not mean that he found The Right, The Truth, embodied in the Aton-cult, but that he had not found them embodied in the other cultus-organizations; and least of all in the powerful and unscrupulous Amen-priesthood. Ugarit thinkers asserted the final supremacy of the "Right-and-Wise." Why should not the king himself become the embodiment of "Right-and-Wise?" (Cf. Hall 356.)

But the young man Amenophis IV does not at once come to an open break with the Amen-priesthood. When he withdraws to the little Ikhet-Aton begun by Thothmes IV, he may be dreaming of an ideal society there: cf. an Israelite dreamer 750 years later: Jer. 9:1-5. So he announces himself as Ikh-n-Aton - "The living Image of Aton," only to find that women's quarrels can make a monkey of him and his Utopia. He reaps the political sowing of his fathers. All the administrative shortcomings charged against him in some books are really spread through a period that includes nearly 50 years before him. No attempts at conquest are recorded. The enlarging of his city Akhet-Aton is the chief activity. The powerful Shubbiluliyuma courteously writes him at his accession, but continues to plant Hurrian guardsmen in Syria, upon occasion. The policy resembles Anglo-Saxon "conquest by pioneer settlements." Judges 1:8 may recall a Hurrian seizure of Jerusalem; which David captured later, 2 Sam. 5:6-9.

157. Ikhn-Aton Reverts to Third Dynasty Regalia.

His official appearance in a flowing robe girt about the breasts (a "Mother Hubbard") made him an object of ridicule, for that was no part of masculine attire under

the New Empire. Some modern writers have thought it an assumed feminine role. Yet this robe, with hanging band-ends  remains an element of royal array. In religious reliefs, Ikhn-Aton and wife are shown in long transparent robes, hung from the shoulders and open in front, so that they would appear naked before the god. The religious reasons are not known (Moret, L'Egypt Pharaonique, p. 432). Sometimes this gauzy mantle was worn over the severely simple traditional royal costume. But it remained the regal distinction, because the flowing elegance at once distinguished royalty from the subjects. Tut-ankh-Amen continued the practice. Seti I would not wear it. But in his tomb in the valley of kings, where received by the great gods, he is so arrayed. And a votive schist statuette presents him the same way. But The Ramessides parade it upon every possible occasion. (E. Drioton, Revue Biblique, July, 1933.)

But such regalia dates from the Third Dynasty. King Khasekhemui is shown, by a sitting statue, with flowing robe over his shoulders - crossing on the breast and hanging in folds to mid-shin. Chephren is similarly arrayed. Prince Hem-On, early Fourth, has the robe girt under the breasts, and flowing to the knees. The same is shown in a number of other statues of the period. (Real-Lexicon, vol. 7, plates 118, 119, 120, 123, 124).

Since Ikhn-Aton adopted the regalia of the ancient days of the Aton Cult was he not trying to revive all of the royal pretensions to divinity that distinguished the Fourth Dynasty? Cf. Sections 63, 77. His diplomat father had more sense. Would diplomatic visits to other courts have cured Ikhn-Aton?

158. Recent excavations at El Amarna have revealed the fact that Ikhn-Aton never reached his own royal tomb. Fragments of his sarcophagus were found, and part of the magnificent Canopic chest for his viscera. But it had never been used! Mob fury had wrecked the whole tomb before he was embalmed (London Times, 2-8-1932, p. 11). Did he perish in that riot? Was the mob frenzied by the excessive adulation which Atonism demanded for Aton's earthly incarnation? Or was it wearied with the strangling of its own hopes for the Hereafter? Or was it roused by the logical indifference to all ethical-social-official obligations? The reactionary regime had to give special attention to such oppression. (Consider Section 138 again, with Shorter's book; and Section 162.)

North of the tomb-temple was a large house, with a bridge over the road leading to the main temple; and a terraced garden with a private entrance to the temple. It appears that Ikhn-Aton did not use the public highway to his temple. Cf. 2 K, 10:5.

159. Nefertiti Repudiated.

Linked with the above in some way is the wrecking of the tomb of Ikhn-Aton's queen Nefertiti, who had fallen from power two years before the king's death, and her name erased from the monuments and replaced by that of her eldest daughter, Merit-Aten, and her husband Smenkh-Ka-Ra'. Nefertiti seems to have retired to a palace in the north part of the city, with the prince later known as Tut-ankh-Amen. Many caricatures of Ikhn-Aton as a monkey were found in the palace. There was plainly a family quarrel over a proposed reconciliation with the priests of Thebes. It seems that her body was dragged from its sarcophagus and torn to pieces. Of the ancestry and antecedents of this idealist? queen nothing is known. (Pendlebury, N.Y. Times, 3-20-1932).

160. Smenkh-Ka-Ra' and Merit-Aten.

A hydro-cephalic mummy found in the tomb of Queen Tyi 25 years ago has been assumed to be that of Ikhn-Aton; and some writers have made the hydrocephalic condition explain Ikhn-Aton's supposed vagaries. But the removal of all royal mummies to the mausoleum of Zaghlul Pasha in 1931 brought from the authorities the statement that the mummy of Ikhn-Aton had been put in the wrong coffin 25 years before, and no one knows now where it was; (London Times, 12-8-1931.) and the excavators at Tell-El Amarna announced that the hydrocephalic mummy found in the tomb of queen Tyi was that of Smenkh-Ka-Ra'. (N.Y. Times, 1-29-1932). As above, he and his wife were protagonists (or figure-heads?) in the reconciliation with the Theban priesthood, and Tut-ankh-Aton who married Ankh-esen-p-Aton, a younger daughter of Ikhn-Aton, merely closed the episode,

changing their names to Tut-ankh-Amen and Ankhesen-p-Amen. (Walter Wolf, OLZ, Nov. 1931: 1001.)

161. Tut-Ankh-Aton becomes Tut-Ankh-Amen.

Nothing is recorded of military achievements in his few years. See Section 155 again. His parentage is not certain. He has been supposed to be the posthumous son of Amenophis III, and therefore his wife was his niece. But recent discoveries make that doubtful ; see next section.

His fame in our day is due to the fact that his tomb, discovered by Howard Carter and Lord Carnarvon, is the only un plundered tomb ever found. See ILN through several years for pictures of treasures. But the beautiful and forceful queen of Amenophis III, Tyi (Teie) had her cherished memorial among those treasures. A plaited lock of her auburn hair was found, encased or "nested" in a series of "anthropoid" coffins: the outer one 30 inches long, the third one only 8-1/2 inches. The fourth containing the plait of hair, smaller still, was inscribed "The Great Hereditary Princess, The great Royal wife, The Lady of Two Lands, Tyi."

Still more: in the second coffin was a little golden statuette of Amenophis III sitting upon his heels, suspended on the golden chain which Tyi wore about her neck as a token of their mutual affection. These memorials of an undying tenderness received royal burial with the last of the Amenophis line. (ILN 7-7-1928; 1 page statement; 3 of pictures).

162. Ay (Eye) and Ankh-ese-p-Amen.

How came this person, not of royal lineage, to the throne after Tut-ankh-amen? The answer has been recently found. Amen-hotep IV had four daughters and no son. Amen-hotep IV was succeeded by husbands of the princess-heirs-apparent. It has long been known that Ay was husband of Tyi, Ikh-n-Aton's nurse, and that he was a priest of Amen, who became successively Master of Horse, Royal Scribe, Grand Vizier, etc. Thus an Amen-priest is in a controlling position through several reigns. Tyi is entitled "Great Nurse": "Nurse of the Great King's wife, Nefertiti;" "Tutress of the Goddess" (= Queen); and "King's Concubine" -- when Ay became King.

But Ay became King because upon Tut-ankh-Amen's death he married the widow, Ankh-esen-p-Amen, oldest surviving daughter of Ikh-n-Aton. This is shown by the bezel on a blueglass finger-ring. Blanchard of Cairo recovered it from some unknown site in the Delta. The prenomen of Ay and the name Ankh-esen-p-Amen are written side by side in cartouches, without titles. Their allied royalty is proven.

There is the further fact that Ay had borne through many years the title "Father of the God" - Pharaoh. Was he the actual father of Smenkh-ka-Ra and Tut-ankh-Amen? He was Grand Vizier when the latter died. (Newberry, JEA, May 1932, 50-52).

163. Palestine City-States Independent.

The El-Amarna letters show that each tiny Palestinian city-state or township was inclined to independent action in dealing with the invading Hurrian Khabirû. There was no concerted or confederated action, no unifying principle, social or religious. There is neither a welding into one political organization, nor a loss of all by Egypt. It seems to reflect Aryan or Hellenic petty "castle-barons." Despite Ikh-n-Aton's debated politics, at any time between 1500-1180 any immigrant Israelites had to settle in an Egypt-ruled and influenced Palestine. From this point on we watch for a time when Joshua's Israel could enter Palestine.

164. Har-em-hab, 1350-1315 B.C.

He had served with distinction in Asia, evidently under Ikh-n-Aton; he was chosen to restore the old religious order in Egypt, and campaigned to Nubia. It does not mean a great victory for the Amen-Ra 'Fraternity.' But the old soldier knows that the Hit-

tites now hold Syria and Galilee because women's quarrels at Ikhet-Aton had paralyzed administrative action. And the Theban aristocracy had organization. But for some twenty-five years they had illustrated the proverb about "an army of lions with an ass for a leader." The "lion-aristocracy" had learned a little, too. And Har-em-hab could now use their organization. Egypt still held the Sea-board as far as Gebal. Tyre was still complaining. Beth-shean and other Palestinian fortress-points were still Egyptian.

But the old soldier knew very well why many a Palestinian or Syrian town had begged for Hittite intervention. The cherished ideals of Amenophis III concerning the Right, The Truth, The Just had not been lost upon him. If the Aton-cult had failed to create a community of "ideal people" for Egypt's enlightenment, it was still possible to establish a community of people who were not "ideal people," as a perpetual object-lesson! If the Aton-cult left some officials with a conviction that there was no Hereafter beyond the grave, it was possible to convince them of a continuous damnation here! Semitic "excommunication" from family or village or clan only sent to live with the next neighbor; and Egypt had known through millenniums that hundreds who came from Arabia to her frontiers were disreputable excommunicates.

So the old soldier erects a colony-monument for the immortal dreams of Amenophis III, expressing the victory of social damnation over the Theban priestly carpet-baggers and corruptionists of high and low degree. Both the homeland and Palestine groaned under misgovernment, bribery, corruption, official spoliation and robbery of every kind. So Harm-hab must be counted a great political reformer. He vividly realized the justice of many bitter complaints about the oppression and extortion by Egyptian tax-gatherers; he enacted laws against such; their noses should be cut off and they were to be colonized at Tharu, the Palestine Egypt frontier town. And "Chopnose Town" (Greek Rhinocoloura) it remained for more than 1000 years. (ARE, II: 415; III: 51, 54, 55, 56, 59, 88, 100, 307, 542, 631; IV: 956. Cf. Minoan Outlines, Section 56.) Had Israelite kings made such a colony-example of oppressive officials, there might have been no Babylonian exile.

165. Rameses I: 1315-1314; Delta Foreigner?

Founder XIXth Dynasty. Probably associate of Har-em-hab, and charged by him to continue his work. Certainly Northern, and his worship of Sutekh, known to us from Hittite Egyptian treaties of his grandson, suggests ancestry from the Hittite region. It is certain that his grandson made the Delta-port of Zoan his capital, and favored Asiatic divinities. A temple of Sutekh is probably marked by the modern shrine of "the prophet Seth" on the western slopes of the Anti-Lebanon. Associating his son with him as coregent, Rameses I died within two years.

166. Seti I: 1313-1292 B.C. -- Beth-Shean Stele.

This recently recovered stele is unique; its statement of the first year's dash into Palestine is the briefest and tersest of all known royal inscriptions. A Hittite prince at Hamath on the southwest shore of the sea of Galilee was trying to induce neighboring towns to join in an attack on Beth-shean, or to starve out the garrison. Seti's sudden appearance, launching a regiment at each place, brought peace in a day, Seti says. There seems to have been little fighting with these garrisons.

But some Trans-Jordan invaders, probably invited by Hittite agents, had recently come among the Hurru-settlers, whom we have seen to have been there more than 200 years, and had taken to cursing and fighting each other, and disregarding the laws of the Great House (Perao, Pharaoh). So these he promptly destroyed. (ARE, III, 101 f.) A newly discovered Beth-Shean fragment says that these brigands were Aamu and Eperu "of the mountain of the Jordan." Since these are "totally destroyed," they cannot be identified with the "Israel" of Joshua's invasion. This "Aperu" question merits the following special section.

167. Aperu Not "Hebrews".

Since the spread of some little interest in Egyptian relations with the OT in the last sixty years there have been sporadic efforts to identify Aperu with "Hebrews" --

And these would not have been made, could the authors have kept in mind the fact that "Hebrews" are not "Israel." See Section 74, 74-b again.

Brugsch long ago made the suggestion that Aperû simply meant "redskins." That would be parallel to the Greek use of the term phoinix ("Phoenix") for all bronzed or sunburned eastern people. It would tell nothing of race, language, culture, political or social relations.

Now there are only five texts, from 1300 to 1150 B.C. The new Beth-shean fragments are thirteen years earlier. Now the student must remember that the term in question does not occur in the Hyksos times, nor in the almost 300 following years that we have scanned. To state it differently, from Joseph's time on, for 500 years or more, this term does not occur. The chronological difficulty is insuperable - the term cannot mean "Hebrews."

Dr. John A. Wilson of Department of Egyptology, University of Chicago, discusses the five passages in AJSL, July, 1933. The three hieroglyph characters are 'p-r. (The final U is the plural ending.) The vowels might be anything - making 'aper, 'eprû, 'iprû, etc. Dr. Wilson uses a tentative 'Eperû, for discussion purposes.

(1) Papyrus I at Leyden: time Rameses II. Grain is issued "to soldiers and 'eperû "drawing stone" -- for pylon of Rameses I.

(2) Again, for a building of the god Ra near Memphis.

(3) Workers of Rameses IV in Valley Hamamat. The total of 8300 begins with 500 skilled workmen and officers. Then "5000 men of the army, 800 'eperû of the foreign troops of 'An (break), and 2000 men of the temples of Pharaoh."

(4) Papyrus Harris, Rameses III. Property of the temple of Ra, at On (Heliopolis): "soldiers, sons of foreign princes, Mariannû (Iranian gentry), 'eperû and the settlers in this place," (on temple lands).

(5) Papyrus Harris: tale of famous capture of Joppa, time of Thothmes III. Orders given that either a Mariannû or an 'eper shall feed the horses.

Dr. Wilson concludes the 'Eperû must be connected with the Khabirû of the El-Amarna Letters, 100 years before the time of Rameses II, and that the word Khabirû had become a general term for "foreign bondsmen all over the East. But the terrible Khabirû of the El-Amarna Letters are anything but bondsmen; they are roving soldiery whose swords any one may hire. They are the same in Babylonian records, more than 1000 years earlier. Nor is it proved that the 'Eperû were ever bondsmen. For Khabirû garrisons, see LTM 128-131.

It will be observed that in all the above cases the 'eperû are grouped with the soldiery. In (3) they are specifically "of the foreign troops of 'An." In (4) Brugsch long ago read the mariannû, "knights," or commanders of the 'eperû, whom he thought were horsemen. The same association appears in (5); both are therefore foreigners. It would seem that the 'eperû are simply "foreign mercenaries" - like Hessians of the American Revolution. We are not shown whether the term 'eperû, is gentilic or not.

But in Seti I's Beth Shean stele we are on different ground. His 'Eperû are not in Egyptian employ at all. They are a dangerous foreign soldiery, on their own ground; the name now seeming gentilic. Albright observes that some of these 'Eperû were part of the Beth-Shean garrison, and compares an EA Letter passage: "men of Ginti-Carmel are in Beth-Shean as a garrison." (BASOR 1924, p. 5.) That only emphasizes the fighting qualities of the "Eperû of the mountain of the Jordan," and suggests that it may prove worth while to colonize large numbers of them in Palestine. But in that case the name of this mysterious people will get a Hebrew plural ending, and 'Eperû will become EPHRAIM! As for the light Egyptian guttural, the El-Amarna letters show that often ignored or lost; and also an initial sh turned into s: shamy, "heaven" turned into Samû; and Sheba, "Seven," made into Sebû. That divisions of the same people might come to differ in gutturals and sibilants on opposite sides of the Jordan are shown by the two following cases.

The Chronicler, I Chron. 5:24, records that seven Ephraim clans, notoriously idolatrous, holding the whole country from Gilead to Mount Hermon, were deported by Tiglath-Pileser IV, about 732 B.C; about 580 years after Seti I's collision with the 'Eperû. Ashtaroth-Karnaim was still a great Ashtart-Sanctuary; it is from the OT that we know the name. There were subdivisions by that time; one of them is 'Epher, (light guttural).

Are not the other six subdivisions of this original 'Epher? Observe that in Eastern Hurrian Semitic gutturals persist; but in Western Hurrian they are lost. The 'Ayin of this 'Epher would be lost in time, by contact with Hurrians in the Land of Shechem.

The dialectic difference soon develops. About 100 years after Seti I, some of his "Ephraim" settled in Palestine are bullying those left in Seti's "mountain of the Jordan" as mere fugitives or remnants of the body settled in Palestine, Judg. 12:4. The easterners can still say "Shibboleth"; the westerners can't! And if one inquire into the provenance of these mysterious new-comers of Seti I's time, the same compiler of Judges says that they had been living in Northern Moab and South Ammon for 300 years, before gaining their more northern home! (Judg. 11:26) - a statement which challenges any participation in a mere 40 years stroll through the country!

Then a hundred years or more later still the forest or grove near Mahanaim is still known as the "wood of Ephraim," 2 Sam. 18:6. The exact location is immaterial here. The point is that 300 years after Seti I was at Mahanaim, 250 years or more after the settlement of certain "Ephraim" colonies in central Palestine, the highlands south-east of Jabesh-Gilead are still remembered, as the "land of Ephraim." It is interesting that in time the fact that "Ephraim" is a plural form seems lost, and an individual of that name is invented to account for the tribe; Gen. 48:8 ff. No other name of the "twelve tribes" is a plural form.

As to the above prominence of the sanctuary of the "Ashtarts of the Two Peaks" shown in Section 150-b in El-Amarna days, down to the deportation mentioned by the Chronicler, recent archaeology supports the assertion. At various sites in Palestine a destruction at the beginning of the Iron Age is shown. The invaders are shown by their own following settlements to have been a very rude people, with material culture far inferior to that of their predecessors! and their favorite cultus-figurines are naked Ashtarts. Three hundred years in Moab (above) must be near the fact. (Cf. Num. 25.)

168. Conquests of Seti I. (See Knight, 226-230).

After checking the disturbance about Beth-Shean, Seti hurries home to subdue the invading Libyans. He then determines to drive the Hittites out of Galilee. He marches up the coast to make all secure on the sea-board first; reaches "The Fortress of the Kena'na," probably the same as his Kerem-Ammu: (Carm-El)? the modern Haifa?) subdues AKKO, Tyre, (Old Tyre; see Section 122) and Simyra, reaching "the Bend of the Sea" (Gulf of Issus). Evidently Gebal and other cities were loyal. Then he campaigned north through Galilee, driving the Hittites out of Yenoam, Beth-Anath, and Kedesh-Naphtali, taking many captives to Egypt to toil at his store-cities. He certainly reached Kadesh on the Orontes, for the top of a stele of his was found there in 1921, showing him worshipping Amon, a Hittite god, and the Kadesh goddess, and receiving the harp of victory. Pezard, the excavator, records that the local gods are in Egyptian regalia. The Hittite is not yet supreme. Date and inscription are gone. The net result of his campaign seems to be that he wrested Galilee from the Hittites, and maintained Egypt's preëminence on the Gebal-Kenana. He names 43 towns raided in his various campaigns.

169. Punishing Āamu, and 'Eperû.

Seti I then pushed across the Jordan to punish the marauding Āamu and 'Eperû brigands. He reached Mahanaim. (See Section 167). He set up a stele, which was found in 1901 by Professor G. A. Smith, at Tell es-Shihâb, 25 miles east of the point where the Jordan leaves the Sea of Galilee. He pushed on to "the marshes of the Naharin" 60 miles northeast of Tell es-shihâb. The Abana and Pharpar empty into those "Marshes of the Two Rivers," southeast of Damascus. He shows us that the marauding Āamu (LXX Ὀομίς? Deut. 10f.) and 'Eperû are coming from "Aram of the Two Rivers" through that Bashan region. His son will have to make terms with them. It is curious that the modern Arab thinks that the thousands of dolmens in this region are Kûbûr benê Israîn - "graves of the children of Israel." (Albright, BASOR Oct. 1925, p. 14, counts them older than 4,000 B.C. Father Mader, JPOS, 1927, 1-2 reports about 5000 in Trans-Jordania. Compare Père Mallon, on prehistoric stations in Palestine; Beirût, 1925: Miss Garrod, Meso-lithic Burials; Minoan Outlines, 22; and Field Museum Expedition in Arabia in Section 12).

169-b. Are Aamu "Boomerang-Throwers"?

Aam is an Egyptian word for a "boomerang." So Gauthier in his Dictionary (1927-1928) decides that Aamu-people are simply "boomerang-throwers." Paul Tresson writes approvingly. (RB, 1929, 570, note 7). The boomerang may be in Num. 35:18. The Hebrew is peculiar - not literally translated in the AV. There is a compound word, ets-yad, "wood-of-hand," or "hand-stick." The ordinary word for staff, rod or club is not used. So "instrument of a hand-stick" would be literal.

Such a throwing-stick is still in use among some Nilotic tribes. Baker (1861) describes the trombash used by Tokroori negroes from Darfur. These pilgrims to Mecca had settled in the Gallabat district of Abyssinia. The trombash was "a piece of flat wood, about two feet in length, the end of which turns sharply at an angle of about 30 degrees. They throw this with great dexterity and inflict severe wounds with the hard sharp edge; but unlike the boomerang the weapon does not return to the thrower." (NTA, 348). Such trombash viewed edgewise would be the Egyptian determinative for a foreign people (like the Greek barbaroi?). Baker notes other throwing-sticks on the Nile: some sharp-pointed. Now Egyptian records have Aamu in Nubia as well as in Syria-Palestine.

170. 'Anat at Beth-Shean - "Queen of Heaven." Jeremiah 44:17-25 and 7:18.

An Egyptian votive stele found at Beth-Shean shows the Egyptian Hesinecht worshipping "Anat, Queen of Heaven, mistress of all the gods," and "giver of life to the souls of the dead." This nullifies the theory of the late Chaldean origin of Jeremiah's "queen of heaven" (see Hastings' Dictionary, 1:92; IV: 181). Seti I calls his chariot team, "Anat is content." "See Temple of 'Anat" Josh. 19:38; 15:59; and Judges 33; 3:31; and 'Anathoth, "The Anats," Josh. 21:18, I K. 2:26; Jer. 1:1, etc. Compare "Giver of Life to the souls of the dead" with the barren hope of the Aton-cult, Section 138.

If some Egyptians adopted the Palestinian queen of Heaven, would not others adopt the Yahu Cult?

Now consider again Section 125, in which 'Anat was the great immortal goddess of Ugarit, able to call her brother 'Aleyan - 'Elyon (AV Most High) back from the dead, however often he perished. These Ugarit tablets are at least 700 years older than Jeremiah's complaint, and no one yet knows how much older the cult of 'Anat at Ugarit was. Again we are shown the folly of making reckless assertions, like those in Hastings' Dictionary, upon the basis of our own ignorance.

171. Beth-Shean Steadily Egyptian.

We have seen that the Hyksos left a stratum at Beth-Shean; that the succeeding Amenophis I, Thothmes III, Amenophis II, Amenophis IV, etc. had their temples, forts and garrisons there; that the El-Amarna letters show Beth-shean an Egyptian garrison. Now the temple and fortress and steles of Seti I show continued Egyptian tenure. We saw Mycenaean and other Aegaeon troopers there in the time of Thothmes III; the continued use of such mercenaries later. Now Seti I has similar garrisons; the anthropoid clay coffins of Mediterranean type, with various utilia, witness the fact. There is no place in all these years for such hostile Israelite invasions as are pictured in Joshua. Any such incursion would have had to be as Egyptian mercenaries in an Egyptian-ruled land.

The use of "Coastland" (See Minoan Outlines, Sections 83-86) mercenaries and trader-colonies to garrison the land in Egypt's interest will leave military and culture elements that Israel will have to deal with. Egyptian mercantile and military methods place these Sea-peoples in Palestine.

172. Corroborative Testimony of Beth-Pelet.

Revert to the great Beth-Pelet stronghold, with its 25 Hyksos royal tombs, the long impregnable Hyksos capital (Minoan Outlines 50-52). Excavations show the Egyptians Residency area first had a Hyksos building, then a later Hyksos, then early XVIII Dynasty, then El-Amarna period. Then eighteen inches ashes before Seti II (Merneptah) rebuilt.

But some tombs of XVIII-XIX Dynasties are of pure Hyksos plan, showing that though politically overthrown some of the Iranian folk remained, as shown in Minoan Section 78. The later, mostly Philistine-Egypt did not eradicate local culture and peoples. They remained and copied clumsily some Egyptian art.

Post-Hyksos scarabs in the tombs are numerous, and include Thothmes III, Amenophis II, Amenophis III, Amenophis IV? Tut-Ankh-Amen, Rameses I, Seti I, Rameses II, Merneptah, Rameses III, Rameses VIII. There will be more. The immediate point is the very long unbroken dominance of Egypt in this region as well as at Beth-Shean.

173. Rameses II, 1292-1225 B.C., Becomes Job!

Read the ARE records. He holds all Palestine, including Galilee; but no more certainly. He assails the Hittites, left in possession of Kadesh by Har-em-hab, but after fifteen years war has gained no permanent advantage, and is glad to sign a treaty of peace with the new king Hattusil III. At Dog-river, four miles north of Beirût, his great relief remains on the face of the cliff at the mouth of the river.

He builds a new temple and fortress at Beth-Shean. He has lost the Mycenaeans, and has to deal with the Aamu and Eperu that his father drove back. So he crosses the Jordan and makes for Ashtaroth-Karnaim ("The Goddesses of the Two Peaks"). Here he sets up a stele to "Arkan of the North" Peak. (Olmstead, 222, uses a reading of forty years ago: Adon-Saphon, which now might be identified with Baal-Sapuna of Ugarit.) The site is twenty-five miles east of the north end of the Sea of Galilee. The site is now Sheikh Saad. Here Hrozny found his stele embedded in the hard-caked floor of a Mohammedan sanctuary, known as "Job's Stone," and actually based in a flooring beneath, of Greek origin! Hrozny thinks the site is that of the old temple of "Arkan of the North," in high repute far and wide, in the second millennium B.C.

Hrozny thinks Rameses II was seeking aid against Hattusil III: for with the stele were a "Hittite" lion and lioness, of about that period! Seven other figures were of the Greek period. There was no older history. The stele is of basalt, ten feet, four inches high and broken across the middle for purposes of transportation, Hrozny suggests. But if the stone was at the original site what need of that? May it not have been broken by Hittite conquerors? (ILN, 6-25-1927).

So Hittites took over the Ashtaroth-sanctuary from the earlier Eperu: then followed Aramaean - then Greek - then Christian - then Moslem. How many new names Rameses got as Sir Arkan's sanctuary changed hands, we do not know. There is no recognizable reason in the Book of Job for either Jew, Christian, or Moslem recognizing this stele as "Job's stone," however pressing the need of a new saint! It is fair to ask if the tradition does not go back to the Job (Ayab) in Section 150, (Joshua paragraph) who got beyond the reach of the Egyptian supervisor, by going to Ashtaroth-Karnaim, 150 years before Rameses II's time.

Was he taking sanctuary? For "Job's Stone" has been an asylum, a place of refuge for uncounted centuries - particularly for negro slaves. Any fugitive who can reach the "holy land" is free from his master. From far away Soudan they come, via Mecca and Medina; and a colony of negro freedmen lived about the shrine in 1880 (Oliphant, Land of Gilead, pp. 71-96). Chrysostom writes that it was so in his day. What irony, that one accounted among the most ruthless of oppressors should come to be the surest hope of a runaway-negro slave!

How was this asylum-reputation acquired? A romantic escape of one man like above Ayab might expand it. But the basis must be a royal boundary-stone beyond which no pursuer might venture.

174. Zoan and Anat Again.

Read older data, Knight 238-240. Rameses restored and enlarged the former Hyksos capital, Het-Uart, earlier Zoan. (Cf. Montet, Sections 96,97). He laid it out on such scale that Thebes in its full glory did not surpass it (Montet). The circumference is two hours walk: the harbor immense. Rameses II called it by his own name. (Ex. 1:11; 12:37).

One of his Colossi was the largest ever sculptured by the hand of man. It had been a standing statue, in walking pose, with arms straight down the sides. Petrie found it fifty years ago. But it had been cut to pieces by Osorkon II, 400 years later (Section 198), to build a pylon gate-way; and from the fallen blocks of this gateway Petrie recognized what the pieces had been: part of an ear, part of a foot, pieces of an arm, part of a back, the royal cartouches on the breast: mere chips of a few tons each. Petrie measured these and proved that the standing figure was 92 feet high from top to toe or 125 feet high when standing on its pedestal, nearly fifty feet higher than the obelisk of Thothmes III in Central Park. It was hewed out of the obdurate red granite of Assuan. The minimum weight of the whole was 1200 tons. How it was hewn unbroken from the quarry and floated down the river 675 miles staggers us. It must have towered 65 feet above the buildings and obelisks around it, and been visible nearly fourteen miles away on the level. (PFE 53 f.)

Rameses' own colossi announce him under the protection of Anta or 'Anat. The great Palestinian goddess wears the Egyptian crown; but is not robed; naked in "Syrian" style. It seems clear that she had long been the supreme goddess of the place - (perhaps at Tahpanhes later, Jer. 44). We see how readily a Pharaoh might adopt any foreign god, (compare Ikhнатon) for political ends; how any immigrant traders might set up their colony-sanctuary. Rameses II has a sea-captain Ben-'Anat; and a daughter, Bint-'Anat. (Good Hebrew compounds) His sword is "Anat is Victorious"; his dog, "Anat-protects." He himself is "Hero of 'Anat." And he has a sculptor in Egypt, named Yahu-nam, "Yahu saith."

175. Mycenaeans Disappear.

Recent explorations confront us with the sudden and total disappearance, about the middle of this century, of the Mycenaean culture that came in two centuries earlier. (Sections 115-121). There was probably a Mycenaean settlement at Jerusalem; for the recently discovered gateway in the western outer wall of the Jebusite stronghold (on the lower terrace), is of the Tiryns pattern, though believed to have been built after the cessation of the importation of Mycenaean ware (AJA, January 1929, 114). As already stated, they were certainly long at Gezer. It seems that their expulsion from Palestine must have been a result of Rameses II's loss of the war against the Hittites; for Ugarit appears as an ally of the Hittite king in Rameses II's story of the battle of Kadesh, and appears no more in Egyptian records. The treaty with the Hittites leaves them in undisturbed possession of all the north Syrian coast; and Mycenaean traffic spreads through Hittite domains. But Ugarit's seed-sowing in Palestine (Sections 123-129) has been well done.

176. Is the Hittite Treaty in the Pentateuch?

Recurring to Section 173, the treaty between the Hittite king and Rameses II shut him south of the pass of Hamath and lost him the Syria east of the Anti-Lebanon. And his excursion to Ashtaroth-Karnaim stands in sharp contrast, in its tradition of a sacred compact, with the punitive raid of his father a generation earlier. Now the tradition of a settlement-compact with Israel, a land promised to them, is curiously approximate to the territory conceded Rameses II. The Pass of Hamath is several times mentioned in the OT as the theoretical northern boundary of Israel. But the Joshua list of tribal territories does not come within 100 miles of it; and the consciousness that the tribes had never reached their conceded northern boundary is in the OT compilations. Asher's boundaries do not extend beyond the Mibzar or frontier boundary of Tyre, Josh. 19:29. Yet the territory allotted to Israel in Num. 34:7-12 has for northeast boundaries about what was allowed Rameses II.

This numbers passage does not agree with Josh. 13:5, which does not mention Mt. Hôr, and does mention Afka on the Nahr Ibrahim as one point in the line, and specifies also the southern boundary of the Amurru state, which Rameses II lost; or rather, could not regain. The wording makes Aphek to be on this Amurru-boundary - but the boundary was subject to political fluctuations. Kadesh and the Orontes are not in any announced boundary. The Numbers passage seems to draw a line east from Mt. Hôr to cross an entrance to Hamath from the south; while many think the "entrance to Hamath" means the entrance from the sea through the mountains north of Tripoli. Cameron Mackay (JTS Jan. 1934) discusses "The Northern Boundary of Palestine," including Ezek. 47:15-17, ignoring the Joshua passage. But as archaeology shows Rameses II did hold Gebal, while losing Amurru, Josh. 13:5, approximates the treaty boundary.

177. No Proscription of Rameses II's Subjects.

The Pentateuch compilers repeatedly announce the decreed extermination of any Hittites and Amurru folk and Northern metal-workers (perizzî), Achaians ("Hivites"), Cilicians, ("Gergesites"), Jebusi (a "Hittite" people), and other northern coast-folk (Kenahhi, "Canaanites"). But there is no proscription of the Hurrû, the Philistines, the Cretans, Sharon coasts, the Tyrians, the Sidonians, Gebalites, nor the terrible Anakim, nor Amalekites, nor Midianites, nor any of the peoples in the hundred miles between the pass of Hamath and the Asher boundary. Old districts like Asher and Zebulun - centuries older than the Joshua incursion, (Section 81) are to be fraternally accepted. Nay, more: "Thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian, for thou art a guest-people (gēr) in his land": Deut. 23:7.

The proscribed peoples, in short, are such as Rameses II would not have considered permanent citizens or dependable visitors after his loss of the Hittite war. In the story of Labaya, Section 150, it was pointed out that any powerful merchant or trading-company owing allegiance to the Hittite government would inevitably be an object of suspicion to Egyptophile Palestinians. The modern oriental epigram "First the trader, then the consul" states the ever-recurring order. After the treaty with the Hittites all sea-peoples trading southward through the Pass of Hamath since Thothmes III's time knew their immediate interests depended upon the favor of the Hittite power. Some held concessions from Egypt that were now worth little. Some may have thought themselves sacrificed by Egypt.

178. Sea-Peoples Not Included in the Hittite Treaty. 'Eperû-Ephraim Mercenaries.

Rameses II's story of the coalition against him at the battle of Kadesh includes twenty-four peoples besides the Hittites; several of them definitely along the southern coasts of Asia Minor. (Wilson, AJSL, July 1927). But none of these are included in the treaty of peace. This mingling of peoples in northern Syria parallels the story of two of Joshua's campaigns in which the Hittites are but one element in the opposing coalition in the north. Either during his Hittite war or afterward Rameses would not feel any compunctions as to the methods he used against these coast-peoples or northerners. He had lost Mycenaean and other Mediterranean mercenaries in Palestine. He could use the very Amû and 'Eperû warriors that his father had punished for their savage treatment of his Hurrû subjects. And he did. In Section 167 it was shown that the 'Eperû appear for the first time as an important contingent of the Egyptian army in his reign. His steles at Tell es-Shihâb and Ashtaroth-Karnaïm show him negotiating at 'Eperû sanctuaries. If 'Eperû were valuable as a contingent of his own army at home, they would also be useful as boundary-guards in Palestine. But the more cultured and long-settled Hurri population would not tolerate the introduction of these fighting 'Eperû as local militia unless the marauders were bound by most solemn oaths to accept the god Ea-Sharru (Ya-Shar) as their own, and account all enemies of the Hurrû and Egypt as their own. There would necessarily be a delimitation by Rameses II of the territory in which the 'Eperû might sojourn, and solemn assurances by the Hurrians that Yahu would surely give the 'Eperû victory if they would be faithful to him. Would this "covenant" survive in 'Eperû tradition as of a "land which Yahu swore to give unto their fathers?" How much of this did Rameses II accomplish by his visits to the 'Eperû sanctuaries?

179. The OT Version of an 'Eperû Treaty with Hurrian Yahwists at Shechem.

About 1225-1250 B.C. an 'Eperû leader named Hoshe a (Num. 13:18), whose name is afterwards changed, and whose non-Hebrew people afterward adopt a Hebrew plural ending for their tribal name, were invited across the Jordan. It may be observed in passing, that 'Eperû is not an Aramaic plural. (The AV of Deut. 26:5 is a blunder, in Jewish view; the Aramaean was not the ancestor, but the enemy of Israel, in Hurrian-Harran: Section 105, 106). The invitation to Oshêa and his 'Eperû-Ephraim comes from some Hurrians at Gibeon, and from a "Sar of the army of Yahu," who takes charge as soon as he meets Hoshe a (Josh. 5:13-6:5. (See Again Sections 84, 143). The AV of Josh. 9:3-15 has Achaians ("Hivites") at Gibeon; but the LXX has Xorrai, "Hurrians" in 9:7 and 11:19. (Were these settled in the "royal city," 10:2, in the Jerusalem district over Put-i-khêpa's protest? Section 150.) These Gibeonites want 'Eperû aid in a campaign against Achaians in the north, and some coast-landers with an interior stronghold in an old Hyksos earth-fort called Hazor. Josh. 10:3 f. states the feud; Hittites and allies are in

9:1 f. while the Gibeonite Gibborim or "mighty men" (10:2,7) aided in the capture of Hazor. So this case, like the story in Gen. 34, presents the fact that Israel made a treaty with the Hurri on entering the land. The campaign goes through without formal acceptance of Yahu by the newcomers. But the narrative closes with a formal assembly of tribal chiefs and officials at Shechem, where the Hurrian colonists of Labaya had been welcomed 150 years before, Section 150. "Oshea reminds them of their ancestral paganism beyond the Jordan, and challenges them to accept Yahu as their tribal god (24:2, 14 f. 23). But this arrangement certainly does violence to the preceding narratives. That covenant-assembly with the Hurrians of Shechem and with Yahu must have followed immediately upon meeting the Sar of the host of Yahu in 5:13 ff; and the crossing of the Jordan was at the ford at the mouth of the Jabbok; Josh. 3:16. Read Garstang, 136 f. In Section 150, we saw that ford was the key to Labaya's final triumph, though he did not live to reap the fruits. Since then Shechem had grown to be the mighty stone-walled city which is now barely shown us, Section 150. The "holy ground" of the Sar of the host of Yahu must have been the sanctuary upon the slope of Gerizim lately unearthed by Welter. We can have a better appreciation of the long contention "Our fathers worshipped upon this mountain," (John 4:20) and a more tender sympathy for the fast-fading Samaritan community.

179-b. First Eperu: Then Israel; Then Ephraim.

This OT statement of a formal intermediate covenant with Hurrian Yahwists at Shechem has a "Paredra legend" (if the expression will be tolerated) in Gen. 32:22-31 that ancestors could not come out of the Eperu country of Mahanaim without going through a religious ceremony by which the name "Israel" was acquired. Without reviewing the much-debated initiation into a religious order, the facts already reviewed clarify the mystery. That the ancient Eridu god Ea acquired a large following in Hurrian areas as Ea-Sarru has been shown; that among western Hurrians the name was abridged to Ia-Sarru, Ya-shar, has been shown, and that in EA-Letter times the Iranian king of Hurrian Mitanni had to recognize this god as a national god in making treaties. Hurrian immigrants to Shechem, "annexed" by the treaty of Amenophis III, would do the same thing. The Eperu immigrants would be required to acknowledge "Yashar-ilu!" That is, "Ya the King is God!" (How much cultus of "The King" (AV "Molech") is associated with this slogan? Cf. Is. 30:33; 57:9; Jer. 19:5; 32:35; Ezek. 20:25). For it is essential in any such treaty that the immigrants swear by the god of the land (2 Kings 17:26 ff.). The Hurrians would not be accepting the gods of the Eperu! - Now Ya-shar-ilu is, without the Akkadian ending, "Yashar-el." But these Eperu, according to Judg. 12:5 f. could not say that. They would have said Yisar-el! and Yisrael they still say! (For the very rare short form Ya-el, see ANF, I:355; III:650; VIII:571. For various forms of "Israel" and Jewish inability to tell its origin or meaning see LTM, pp. 12-14.)

This very contraction of Yashar into Isar seems before us in tablets that have been before the scholarly world for 25 to 30 years. But the all-important connecting link furnished by Ferris J. Stephens - that Western Hurrians contracted Easharru into Yashar had not then been provided. Johns (PSBA, 1907, 177 ff.) published a marriage-contract from Khabur dated in reign Hammurabi, naming a King Isar-lim. A seal of "Ishar-lim, king of the land of Hana, beloved of Shamash and Dagan," is twice stamped on the tablet; and a canal from "the sacred city of Ishar-lim-land!" is mentioned. Sayce (PSBA, 1912, p. 52) reports a tablet from the same Hana on the Euphrates, naming Isar-lim (not Ishar-lim) as one of several kings. Tablets were dated in his reign. Sayce recognized that Isar-lim was probably a familiar mimmation of Isar-ilu - (In Section 150 some writers give the name of Labaya's partner as Milki-i-lu. The Mitanni Hurrian? Put-Khepa writes "Milki-lim.") But he could not explain "Isar." But here in Hurrian Hana, then metropolis? of the later Hani-galbat and Mitanni, at the time when Western Hurrians could write Yashar, their eastern kinsmen could write Ishar, or Isar, Isharlu or -lim, or Isar-lim; and also had a "land of Israel," Isar-lim. The Western and Eastern forms surely had the same origin. From this Hurrian Kingdom of Hana also came a code of laws which perhaps influenced the code of kings of Isin in Southern Babylonia, 2350-2150 B.C. (Woolley, 91) How far the Hurrians shaped the OT code is a new and live question.

180. The Capture of Little Jericho.

Palestinian Archaeologists now recognize that the "Israel of Joshua" came into an Egypt-ruled land. No interruption of Egyptian tenure has been found. Consequently the

settlement must have been with Egyptian approval. If they actually fought their way in, it was by fighting Egypt's enemies. The bargain is before us in Josh. 5:9: "This day I am rolling the herpah of Egypt off of you." But what is herpah? The AV reads "reproach," but the verb is very common in the sense of "pluck, collect, gather, harvest"; hence "collect taxes" of produce at gathering time. In that sense it is familiar in Arabic and has passed into Spanish; *mojarrife* is still a "tax-collector." So Joshua's remark is legitimately, "Today I am rolling taxation by Egypt off of you - on condition of your rendering military service;" an ever-recurring arrangement in the Orient. (LTM 130 ff). There has been a very persistent effort to identify the destruction of the great city in the reign of Amenophis III, with OT Jericho. Since the OT represents Joshua's entrance as occurring in the early Iron Age (e.g. Judg. 1:19; 4:3,13), the identification is impossible. But Garstang admits a partial reoccupation during the Bronze Age, which does not occur in the Joshua story. The site is abandoned for some 350 years: 1 Kings 16:34. (See Section 149 again).

Jericho had been a radiating point for Egyptian culture. Near Sahab, forty miles due east of Jericho and seven miles southeast of Amman, some anthropoid coffins and fragments of pottery were found in 1929. Albright, studying them and comparing with those found at Beth-Shean and Tell-Fara, concluded that the finds are rude imitations of Egyptian models of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties. (AJA, July-Sept. 1932). Who the imitators were we do not know. But the finds are to be connected with the Balua stele of Section 183, as showing a line of Egyptian influence of that time extending far east of the Jordan.

180-a. Further Explorations at Jericho. - Reported May 1935.

The fact of a small town on the site after the destruction in the time of Amenophis III is admitted by Garstang. Some rubbish of this late Bronze village comes half-way up the old wall. Garstang recognizes that the new settlement lasted about 1200 B.C. (RB, 1932, 2, 270: PEFQS Ap. 1931:106). Albright found many Late Bronze sherds in Garstang's collections: Vincent recognizes great numbers of them, down to about 1250 B.C. (AJA, 1933, p. 165). This little town captured in Rameses II's time was comparatively unimportant.

The earlier excavations at Jericho had been notoriously misdirected, and reported to fit some prepossessions concerning the chronology of some Biblical events. With Professor Garstang in charge the past few years the technique of exploration has been improved, but prepossessions still influence the reports of results, as above paragraph shows. Garstang thus summarized five years work to the Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, in June 1935.

"Four successive seasons devoted to the exploration of Old Jericho had already made clear the broad outline of its history from the middle of the Bronze Age, and had determined the lines of its defensive walls at successive periods. Particularly fruitful were the excavations in the Necropolis, in which were found some 50 tombs containing 3000 objects, which by the help of dated royal scarabs provided the criteria for interpreting the results obtained within the city itself. Here the palace area with its numerous storerooms had been located and bore traces of the final destruction of the city, which a comparison of data fixes at about 1400 B.C." [Time of Labayce's Death! see page 208].

"The objective of the fifth expedition, which has just been completed, was the exploration of the lowest levels of the Bronze Age, pertaining to the Millennium 2000-3000 B.C. The accomplishment of this task took the excavators down to 21 feet below the surface, where lay a Chalcolithic deposit such as has hitherto been regarded as marking the origins of civilization in Palestine. A series of further discoveries however carried the excavations down a further 25 feet into unsuspected levels, representing a long period of civilization comparable with the Neolithic period in Europe. Its principal feature was a number of painted and burnished house floors, seven of which were found intact and superposed, thus guaranteeing the precise stratification of the various deposits. Among these were two groups of statues artistically modelled in unbaked clay, in each representing a man, a woman, and a child: a varied pottery-series, resembling to some extent the Ceramic art of Neolithic Thessaly, and a distinctive series of flint implements, also Neolithic in general character. There was also trace of human sacrifice between these floors. Below all was a different Microolithic culture of a still earlier phase in the stone age."

"The whole sequence of Palestinian cultures is thus established in outline and incidentally Jericho appears for the time being to mark the site of the oldest city of Palestine, and one of the earliest settled communities in the near East". [Note the remarkable confidence that "the whole sequence is established"].

180-b. Albright's Statement of Stratification, AJA Jan-Mar. 1936, p. 155.

With reckless extravagance Albright announces, "this remarkable sequence of strata is unequalled at present anywhere in the world. No Mesopotamian mound has yielded any stratified deposit older than early Chalcolithic (Tell Halof, etc.) or possibly Late Neolithic (the earliest unpainted pottery cultures). The upper Egyptian Badarian is still Chalcolithic. Here we pass beyond the primitive painted pottery culture of Garstang's Neolithic II (which somewhat resembles Thessalian Neolithic wares) and find ourselves in a thick Neolithic stratum (below the 5 meter level) which is completely without pottery. Below this moreover is a Microlithic culture of Neolithic appearance. At Jericho we thus span the great gap between Natufian and early Bronze, and are able to distinguish various stages of culture hitherto unknown to us (!). We are at the same time able to place these new cultures in correct chronological order (!). The importance of this is self evident."

As for a "culture without pottery" not being reached elsewhere, Schaeffer records 8 ft. of such a culture at Ugarit, reaching a depth of 62 ft. as contrasted with 46 at Jericho. As for the "Microlithic", Albright records this as reaching 5 feet below the surface of the present Jordan plain. That means that the great Pluvial period with water 1500 feet deep on the Jordan plain (p. 27) was long past; and the Jordan had shrunk to its present proportions when those Microlithic people settled there, and has begun to fill up the valley, depositing five feet of silt over their campsite since they left! The same caution has been given by Pere Vincent with reference to Teleilat El-Ghassul. That settlement was impossible till the Jordan Valley had shrunk to the modern conditions, now the last level at Teleilat El-Ghassul has been pronounced to be the Ghassulian continued at Jericho. See page 28, section 25, where the end of Teleilat El-Ghassul should be put about 3500 B.C. It follows then that the "Ghassulian" at Jericho is "Post-Ghassulian" or "New Ghassulian", and does not fill any preceding "gap" in chronology. Unless a sterile stratum be proven, the preceding "Neolithic" was in some measure contemporary with Teleilat El-Ghassul, and was dispossessed by the Ghassulians when burned out east of the Jordan. These "Neolithic" folk then represent a different culture, in some measure contemporary.

Again, Dr. Albright is not a geologist, and does not know the sequence of Mesolithic strata in Europe, nor in North Africa, Microlithic strata appear in Europe about 18,000 B.C.: in North Africa in non-glacial Algeria, about 40,000 to 50,000 B.C.: earlier than the "great Pluvial" of Palestine. Dr. Albright's "various stages of culture hitherto unknown to us" can be in part contemporary with early Ghassulian: in part earlier. That is as far as his data may be legitimately pressed. Concrete realities cannot be attained by the use of an enthusiastic imagination. Archaeologists who place the Natufian in Pluvial times, about 20,000 B.C., will feel that Dr. Albright lacks 10,000 years of establishing a "whole sequence between Natufian and early Bronze."

This fact appears in the lack of proportion between the thickness of strata and the time Albright allows for their deposition. An upper stratum of 8 ft. he classifies as "Early Bronze" II, and allows it the time from 2200 B.C. back to 2500, omitting E.B. II, the next stratum of 8 ft. is "mostly Early Bronze I", and is assigned 500 years--from 2500 B.C. back to 3000. Taking next his (Post) Ghassulian, with only 5 ft. thickness, Albright allows it 1000 years--back to 4000 B.C.: overlapping Teleilat El-Ghassul 500 years, instead of being wholly subsequent to it, as previously claimed! For 20 ft. of underlying "Neolithic" he allows 1000 years--back to 5000 B.C. And the preceding 8 ft. of "Microlith without pottery" is simply "before 5000 B.C.". The student's imagination is to stretch this till the time back to the beginning of Natufian, 20,000 B.C. is filled.

180-c. Père Vincent Reviews the Finds: Revue Biblique--Oct. 1935; pp. 583-605.

The Veteran Père Vincent, dean of the Biblical Archaeologists in Palestine devotes 23 pp. to his survey. He begins by saying that the last three seasons 1932-1935 have increase the amount of archaeological material more than ten-fold, yet huge areas are still unexplored--the major part of the whole site? Many gaps may yet be filled. As

for destruction 1400 B.C. alas! Late Bronze sherds continue right down to 1250 B.C.!

Second, where 9 ft. stratum without a sherd was reported in 1929, we are now told of five pre-Bronze strata! That Early Bronze began 3000 B.C. is now proved--pushing back the date of the first use of copper. He smiles at Garstang's vacillations in speculative explanation: dissects his argument in Q.S. 1935: concludes that the founding is lost in the mists of the past: the end was in the twilight of the Bronze--near 1250 B.C.

Third, the discovery of the cavern-Necropolis, 275 yards east of the "Palace Hill", beginning on the slopes of Mt. Quarantania, was the great event of the season. Probably hundreds of hypogee tombs here: 43 examined during the season, with astonishingly rich furniture: over 2800 pieces spread from the dawn of Bronze to dawn of Iron, a part from the show revival period in Middle-Judah times (1K. 16:34). Some cave-hypogees had over 500 burials, in 5 levels, indicating a period of 200-300 years: 2100-1900 B.C. (which Garstang dated 1500: Albright 2300-2100)--Garstang complains "no Middle Bronze I!" Vincent observes that there is plenty of time and space in which to find more.

Tomb 9 was a pit-burial with 265 vases in 5 strata, with some bronze daggers, 9 Scarabs: date about 1700-1550, Garstang sees a "Hyksos face" (what is that?) Mackenzie, "Semitic": Vincent, same on Late Bronze Cups, 400 years after Hyksos times, Garstang sees a "Hyksos Scarab": Vincent, some local artists' imitation of one.--Where Garstang sees Mycenaean and Cretan resemblances, "Quasi-Mycenaean", Vincent replies "late country copies of the Coast-Mycenaean of 1400-1350 B.C." on pp. 600, 601, 602, 603, 605, he smiles at Albright's various vacillations.

180-d. Pere Vincent on the Distribution of Ghassulian.

Pere Mallon, discoverer of Teleilat El-Ghassul, clung to the fancy that he had discovered Sodom: for which there was no evidence: see page 18, section 25. Pere Vincent reviewed his book on the site in 33 pages of Revue Biblique, April 1935, laughing at the "high Ghassulian Sodom Culture", Pere Vincent recognizes two stages of the Ghassulian culture, as Albright does not: the flints remain the same, but there is development in other features and influence from outside contacts. He considers the Ghassulian a local phase of an ancient Palestinian culture which was everywhere modified by neighborhood contacts. No other stations are found so far in the Jordan alluvium: all such impossible till after the passage of the Great Pluvial and the Shrinkage of the Dead sea to approximate present proportions. Every site there is strictly Holocene or Quaternary--of very modern geological times the more you find under the Jericho Ghassulian, the later you make it. Ghassulian I is found at Kefer Tash, 7½ miles north of Jerusalem: in levels 17-18 at Bethlehem: in 6 and 7 at Megiddo: in E and O at Tell Fara (p. 41, Sect. 50) and lower outskirts of Lachish (180-h below): Ghassulian II is at Umm Katafa, Umm Kala a (Sec. 24). All seriously disturb the using of "Ghassulian III" (?) at Jericho as a "frontier datum line" from which to peer speculatively into the immemorial past. And he rebukes Albright, Kyle and Mallon for digging one little trench in the marshlands south of the Dead Sea, and then solemnly announcing that in all this Southern Marshland there is nothing but Byzantine and Roman!"

180-e. Capture of Little Jericho Coincident with Capture of Bethel.

Reverting now to the capture of the "little Jericho" that grew up after the destruction of the great city in the early years of Amenophis III: the Joshua story does not tell us that a strong city was captured and burned at Bethel at the same time. But the excavations still going on at the Bethel site (in 1935) have revealed that a strong city was destroyed here in the Late Bronze Age: which is the period of Joshua's capture of Jericho (Joshua 6). And there is a vivid story of the capture of ai in Josh. 8, which never happened--not in Israelite times.

The English student will begin with the fact that the word ai means "ruin": and in each OT passage is used with the article! "The Ruin" simply. It was "The Ruin" in the Abraham stories: Gen. 12:8; 13:3. Apparently the ancient name of the site was already lost. It is grouped with Bethel as "The Ruin" of the district, Ezra 2:28; Neh. 7:32, and 11:31 (Aramaic form) some 1500 years (?) after Abram's time. The site is a stony mound, now called Et-Tell, which is Arabic for "The Ruin": it is 2 miles S.E. of Bethel. It is mentioned with Shechem in 1: Chron. 7:28 (not Azzah) as a southern boundary of Ephraim: was well-known to Isaiak 10:28 (Ayat): always "The Ruin" nothing more.

Now the excavations at Bethel in 1934 went down to bedrock, and found that the very oldest settlement there was made at end of Early Bronze about 2100 B.C. But "The Ruin" of Ai excavated the same season by Mme. Krause-Marguet, shows several Early Bronze strata ending about 2200 B.C.: about 100 years before Bethel became a twin, and 1000 years before the Joshua raid! It was the Bethel now being excavated that was captured and burnt then! There had been no town at "The Ruin" for 1000 years. The evidence of a tremendous conflagration somewhere between 1200-1300 B.C. is unsurpassed in Palestine. And the long break ere any subsequent occupation compels us to recognize this destruction as wrought by the Ephraimite invasion. In consequence Dr. Albright announces his complete abandonment of his former view of a much earlier Israelite invasion, and an earlier capture of Jericho, and acknowledges that its capture by Israel must synchronize with the burning of Bethel; which puts both early in the reign of Rameses II, as suggested in the preceding section. (BASOR Dec. 1934).

180-f. Where Was Bethel of Jeroboam I, 1K13:Beth-On of Hosea! Bethel of Amostilo.

But this archaeological surprise brings another. No trace of the great sanctuary of Jeroboam I was found in the new very inferior town of the second iron period which followed the burned Bethel. And singular is the fact that no mention is made of a rebuilding of Bethel, like Jericho in 1K. 16:34. Did Hiel rebuild both towns?--So Jeroboam's "Bethel" was somewhere else! Hosea calls it Beth-On (AV. "Beth-Aven") Hos. 5:8; 10:5; 4:15; 10:8-- This place was known in Saul's time, (1 Sam 13:5; 14:23) and to the compilers of Josh. 18:12 also, as on the northern border of Benjamin, with unallotted land belonging to it (midbar, AV. "wilderness"). We have yet to find that town. It had a great hill-necropolis, 2K. 23:15f: and some inscriptions may yet be recovered from the wreckage.

180-g. Confusion of Israelite and Pre-Israelite Stories.

It appears then that the compilers of Joshua did not know which of two ruins in the Bethel district was the older, and have connected the Joshua story with the wrong site. But that reaches farther. Though only three campaigns are attributed to Joshua, in Josh. 12:7ff a list of 31 "kings" is given, including a "king of Bethel", and a "king of Ai". How many more of these were of pre-Israelite times? In 150-c it was shown that a Shechem-episode of 1400 B.C. is put back in the times of Jacob in Gen. 34. It is inevitable that when peoples of independent origins and traditions are fused into one political organization, the fusion of their sagas will follow: but that transmits disordered history. The whole JEDP speculation is futile. We have to distinguish the different ethnic achievements, in a given compilation, before we can construct a documentary scheme.

The suggestion was once made by Prof. Alt that the name Luz in Judg. 1:22ff is an old name of Ai (BASOR, Dec. 1934, p. 11). That does not alter the critical point stated. It still leaves "Joseph" credited with the capture of a town destroyed near a thousand years before. Gen. 28:18f acknowledges Luz was an old ruin (?) in Jacob's time, still counted a Maguôm (28:11), and that the name "Beth-el" resulted from that experience. But Luz is also in Gen. 35:6 and 48:3, and is not viewed as "The Ruin" in either passage. Luz may have been the name of the town Albright excavated: "Bethel" a general term for a considerable district.

180-h. Rameses II Did Not Have Lachish Destroyed.

The Joshua stories make it certain that the destruction of Jericho and Bethel were prearranged by some directive authority as hinted in Josh. 5:13ff. And the same authority takes care that the Hurrians of Gibien and Shechem shall not be molested: Joshua's chieftains are finally challenged at Shechem to make a local treaty. No campaign southwest of Jerusalem does not prove a gap in the records. It may only mean that Rameses II had no work for his new mercenary troops in that region excavations at Lachish, prosecuted simultaneously with those at Jericho, Bethel and "The Ruin" have revealed the fact that Egypt's tenure of that stronghold seems unbroken from the time of Amenophis III to the time of Rameses II. Being 25 miles southwest of Jerusalem, 4 miles from Mareshah, one of Rehoboam's fortress cities (2 Chron. 11:8) and a "father" city of Hebron (1 Chron. 2:42). Lachish was 13 miles northwest by west of Hebron, and may have been the center from which the reduction of Hebron in Josh. 14 was directed. It was a place of great strategic significance from the earliest times. It had wide contacts with foreign peoples in the Egyptian predynastic period, more than 200 years

before the time of Rameses II. That seems to have been the period of its largest population and greatest commercial importance. In later times it occupied a smaller area and was important as a stronghold in which Egyptian culture, or culture following Egyptian patterns, dominated. The hill was high, free of links with others, and dominated the plain on all sides. As a southwest frontier fort of Israel, it menaced Askalon Ashdod and Gath.

The fortress had been captured and long held by the Hyksos. Early in the 18th Dynasty the Egyptians captured it by driving a tunnel under the Hyksos ramparts, which had covered tombs of an earlier period. Then a filling across the Hyksos fosse became a site for a small temple which was soon burned. On the leveling over of this was built a larger temple equipped with toilet utensils of ivory and glass, and faience, with Scarabs of Amenophis III--notably, one of the large commemorative issues recording the killing of 102 lions during the first ten years of his reign (Section 152). More than 40 of these are now known to exist. Hundreds of the offering bowls and vessels used in the temple service were found in position on the floor. The altar equipment stood about the altar. A small faience plaque of Rameses II was found in the rubbish outside the temple, with part of a tall painted ewer with a dedicatory inscription upon it. The character of this script is still in debate--The temple was several times remodeled, but never destroyed. Ivory and gilded bronze nails decorated its interior wood work. The standing image of the god was two-thirds life size, with its fine ivory hand outstretched. There were other fine ivory figures and ornaments.

Such was the Egyptian stronghold and sanctuary of Rameses II, when Joshua was sent against Jericho and Bethel, and made to protect the Hurrian colonists of Gibeon. And the temple evidence is backed up by the fact that the graves in the saddle of the hill are of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, with ivory combs and door bolts (?). (J.L. Starkey ILN. 7-6-1935: PEF 67, pp. 192ff, 195H: Mar. July 1934: N.Y. Times 7-8-1934: Albright BASOR. Dec. 1934), Albright excavating Tell Belt Nursim (Kirjath-Sepher of Judg. 1:11 ff. Josh. 15:15 ff), finds a great conflagration there in late 13th century, which harmonizes with the OT statement that the place was destroyed by a generation later than that which burned Jericho and Bethel. But this again emphasizes the confession of the list in Josh. 12:9 ff, which includes Lachish, Deber and Gezer (see 1k. 9:16) in the conquest of Joshua, Albright in BASOR (Dec. 1934, p. 11) recognizes that there was no destruction of Lachish synchronous with those of Jericho and Bethel.

Other very interesting discoveries at Lachish will come before us in connection with Jeremiah, section 221-a.

181. Rameses II Begs The Hittite King for Iron.

After his treaty with the Hittite King Rameses II writes him for iron from Kizzuwadna, (The Roman "Pontus"). He is told that iron is costly and that it is the wrong time of the year to get it. Egypt is cut off from an important metal source, and will be lost in her struggle with northern peoples, unless she can solve the chemistry of iron-making herself. Cf. Jere. 15:12. Yet Egypt had iron ore in her domain!

Here the student should know that copper and gold are found "native" or "pure"--do not even need melting, to be usable. Naturally they were the first metals to be used. Copper sulphide and lead Sulphide or galena need only melting - no other chemistry. Iron oxides are common minerals, and in the presence of carbon will melt at lower temperatures than copper or gold. But men can't use it, when it is melted! But if the iron-oxide be melted with the proper amount of excess carbon, to burn to carbon monoxide, not dioxide, usable iron is produced. Too much dioxide gets a spongy mass that will neither melt nor weld! To melt it requires 500° Centigrade more heat than copper and gold: and the ancient world could not do that!

Now metal-workers in the Hittite regions had found how to control the carbon content for their ores- how to get just enough carbon into their iron to produce steel. They probably would have found their method fail with Egypt's ores. The ancient world did not know how to make scientific alloys. They did not know one chemical element from another. They used alloys that they found already made. Purely empirical, they found useful mixtures. Men knew iron ores as early as they knew copper or gold: but it took thousands of years to blunder upon ways to smelt each local ore. (See T.J. Read, "Metallurgical Fallacies in Archaeological Literature:" AJA. July-Sept. 1934).

But with the Hittite discoveries, the Iron Age for Asia Minor has begun, and the iron-ore and the iron-smelters are in the Northern mountains. "Perizzî" in the OT are "metal-workers": parzi-ili is the Hittite "iron"; the Barzel of the OT, which we translate "steel". It seems certain that bits of iron and steel were known in Egypt as early as the time of the Great Pyramids. But the makers did not know how to do it again. Present Palestinian archaeologists agree that Israel came into Palestine in its early Iron Age. But Israel had no iron yet (Judg. 1: 19; 5:8; 1 Sam. 13:19 ff).

182. Phoenician Script, 1250 B.C.: Time of Rameses II.

The "Fifth Tomb" at Gebal-Byblos had two old plain stone Egyptian sarcophagi, and later painted and inscribed one of Ahiham ("Hiram"). This inscription is in early Phoenician characters. A plain Egyptian utensil with an inscription of Rameses II shows that this "Hiram" lived during or after the time of Rameses II. Egyptian hieroglyphs in all earlier tombs (JSOR, October 1933 142 f.) But the discovered statue believed to be Hiram's shows him in full Egyptian regalia. Egyptian influence was still paramount on the Gebal coast. But we have been archaic Hebrew or "Phoenician" writing in Palestine, 500 years earlier.

183. The Khirbet Balu'a Stele and Rameses II.

In the land of Moab, south of the Arnon, and about three miles north of the Jebel Shihān is a small ruin long thought insignificant, visited by Tristram, Seetzen, and Burckhardt. Here in 1931 among the basalt fragments one of Horsfield's inspectors observed traces of sculpture protruding from the soil. Prompt action brought out an important basalt stele, and placed it in the museum at Ammān.

The first important fact is that it has an inscription in entirely new characters; there are several lines. The characters do not seem related to the above Phoenician, or to any Arabian scripts. There is as yet no clue.

The reliefs are made in Egyptian style. There is the familiar Egyptian double-crown with a Resheph? ribbon pendant from its peak. The god holds the was scepter, has a short kilt, and a tiny Uraeus-serpent over his brow.

But the native artist has given the god two right hands, a goddess two right hands! One figure has two left feet, another two right feet! The arms are feeble, the legs exaggerated! A native artist is copying Egyptian masters in the most refractory material. But the hard material does not explain the blunders named!

Now the peculiarities of the Egyptian robing have been discussed through many pages, and cannot be detailed here. The sum is, these dress-features did not exist when Rameses II came to the throne, and did exist by the end of Merneptah's few years. That is, a new set of artists with no artistic conventions and traditions, yet with a curious new script, is during the reign of Rameses II taking lessons in Egyptian religious art-which means also in religious ritual. It seems that we should group it with Rameses' effort to establish himself at Ashtaroth-Karnaim. Are these the Eperu declared by Jephthah to have been here in Moab for 300 years? (Judg. 11:26; Section 167). Perhaps Rameses II would control the caravan-route from the mouth of the Red Sea to Damascus. But we must wait for more information. (Horsfield and Vincent, Rev. Bib. July 1932: 28 pp, 7 plates. E. Drioton, RB, July 1933, 353-365: Albright, BASOR, 49-28).

184. Merneptah, 1225-1215 B.C.- "Israel" Not A "Land" But A People.

Rameses II was about 100 years of age at his death. Feeble and incompetent in his latter years, he had made his vigorous favorite son Kha-em-uast, high priest of Ptah and founder of the Serapeum, coregent with himself for some years. But this vigorous administrator, with 11 other sons of Rameses, died before his father. The succession came to Merneptah, who had been coregent during the last ten years of his father, and was already an old man. But Rameses II, by settling "Ephraim" among the Hurrû colonists of Amenophis III, had joined with him in changing the religious history of the world. But his defeat by the Hittite power, with his consequence policy of expelling Mediterranean traders whose pro-Hittite sympathies he feared, was certain to bring reprisals from the trading coast-peoples. Though Knossos was gone, the Minoan power was still strong under other hegemony: and all their coastland colonies had a common interest in reprisals. (See "Minos And The Minotaur" sections). And Rameses had found the powerful North African coastland-State (republic?) of the Red Berber Tahennu, who had made the Predynastic Delta, pressing eastward into the Delta again (Sections 58t, 58bb). Their chieftain Buyuwawa had secured a base from which the Shishak Dynasty would spring. Then the Hittites had not respected the treaty made 50 years before the death of Rameses II, which bound them to stay north of Gebal.

Now Merneptah inherits this aggression on all frontiers. In the famous "Israel Stele" he records a push into Palestine in the third year of his reign (Read ARE accounts). He claims success in seven districts, in two series from the north to south; Hittite land, Kenana land (coast-land south of Gebal somewhere), Askalon land, Gezer land. Then Yenoam-land (Galilee), Israel people, Hurrû Land. There is no "Land of Israel" yet Israel is a people of the Hurrû land, where Rameses II placed them.

The inscription reads "Wasted is Tahennu: Kheta-land is pacified; plundered is the Kenana-land, with every evil: carried (captive?) is Askalon-land; Gezer-land has been seized; Yenoam-land is annihilated: the Israel people are desolate; they have no grain. Hurrû-land is a widow, because of Egypt." (Cf. Barton, 375). The clause referring to Israel is literally "their seed is not". Upon Petrie's discovery of the stele

at Thebes in 1896 repeated efforts were made to find a proof of Ex. 1:16 in this. But "posterity" is a secondary use of the word "seed". And Merneptah's language does not imply that he killed little children and left adults unharmed. It would be impossible to do that. The natural suggestion of "seed" is that all crops were destroyed.

Such is the only mention of "Israel" in all known Egyptian inscriptions for the very simple reason that to the Egyptian mind all Israel mercenaries were merged with or absorbed by the great Hurrian colonies and culture. See how small is the Israel-territory in 1 Sam. 7:13-17, and the still smaller beginning in Josh. 17:14-18. Merneptah's name is in Josh. 15:19; fountain of Merneptah, southwest of Jerusalem. He holds Beth-Shean: So recent excavations have shown. But he boasts no raid into the Hittite country. He "pacifies" some settled in Palestine.

184-a. Merneptah Assailed By Tahennu, Garamantes, Ribû, Temeh, Achaians: and by Minoan (?) Colonies in Lycia, Sicily and Crete, and Caria.

In the above Stele, Merneptah includes the Tahennu, whose defeat came two years after the Palestine raid. The stele is then a brief summary, made near the end of his reign, and the Tahennu were the perennial African peril. He records that his peoples were driven to despair by the steady immigration of Berber peoples into the Delta, but that a dream encouraged Merneptah to attack the allied forces at Piari near Memphis, checking their southward push by a local victory. He claims to have ravaged the lands of each Berber people, and says the general situation was what it had always been (ARE 3:577, 580). This must mean, since Rameses II conceded a nome to "Buyuwawa the Tahennu" some 60 years before (Sections 58-t). The actual base of the Berber allies in this campaign must have been in the Western Delta, where their allies of the sea had accommodation for their ships. From this Delta coast -nome they were threatening to seize the whole Delta.

For the powerful Red Berber Tahennu, who had made the predynastic Delta (58-t) had steadily developed their coast-land commerce from the Delta to Tunis. Their inland commerce required coöperation with the powerful mercantile Garamantes of Herodotus, Pliny, etc. of the modern Fezzân. The Merneptah narrative calls them Meshwesh: a garbling of Imôshagh, which we now know to be the "Nobility", or governing tribes of the Garamantes (58-v, 58-ee, 58-z). In Merneptah's narrative they seem to have been poor mercenaries of the Tahennu (caravan-convoy troops?) who bore the brunt of the losses. Merneptah (ARE 3:589) says 9,111 of their copper swords were gathered up. With them came Temeh -a division of whom had been agriculturists in the Fayyum, for 800 years or more; and a new tribe, The Ribû, not mentioned in earlier records. They were probably a northern division of the Temeh, and have stamped the name "Libya" in history. (58-cc, dd). Merneptah boasts of a reprisal, ravaging the lands of each people. That cannot mean Fezzân or western Tripoli, each a thousand miles away. The only possible immediate reprisals were upon their cultivated lands in the Delta.

But the Berber coalition with "Sea-peoples" completes their significance. These peoples are the Tursha, pretty certainly the Tyliossos- successors of Knossos in the Minoan coalition: Lycians, Cilicians, Carians, Sardians, and Sicilians, with Achaians from western Crete. The Egyptian names have been very perplexing. But since Ekwesh is admitted to be "Achaian", the syllable esh in Kelek-esh, Shekel-esh, must also be a case-ending, leaving Kilikia, Sikel-ia; while Pedasa is in North Caria. But in "Minos and The Minotaur", O,P,Q, it was shown that powerful Minoa- stations, developing colonial states about each, were planted in Cilicia, Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Caria, Sardis-area, and on the South coast Sicily: all well known in Greek historic times. The whole movement reported by Merneptah looks like an effort of the new Minoan coalition to regain the advantages that had been lost to Thothmes III and the Mycenaeans. (Compare 187-a to 189, below). Merneptah reports a heap of hands of the sea-peoples. But he does not claim to have burnt or even to have seen any of their ships. The battle occurred near 150 miles inland from the western Delta sea coast. This great Minoan thrust is no hasty coast-harrying by a handful of pirates, but a carefully planned colonial push with Memphis itself as the eventual objective.

185. Amenmeses: ?? Years: Siptah, 6: Seti II Merneptah, 2: 1215-1205?

The Egyptian military policy now parallels that of imperial Rome, 1200 years later. Her mercenary garrisons and provincial governors are as unmanageable as the pretorian Guards. To change the illustration, any powerful provincial may turn Warwick,

to set up or pull down kings. The above three seem to be successive usurpers. Palestine is not conquered by Hittites- it seems that a Palestinian chieftain is as likely to seize the throne as any one.

The one item for serious consideration, debated for 60 years, is the famous Egyptian romance, "The Tale of Two Brothers" written for Seti II Merneptah while yet a young prince. (See Eclectic, Jan. 1875, 101ff.) It is believed to be the original of some elements in the story of Joseph. Perhaps it was popularized in Palestine during Seti II's reign. But the Egyptian names in the Joseph-story in Exodus are not of the type of Seti's time! Their type was current under the XXIInd Dynasty: after 945 B.C.; some 350 years after Seti II. So the Exodus- version would appear to have been shaped about Rehoboam's time. (Peet, 110f.)

186. Rameses II Describes The Uncentralized Government of 1215-1198 B.C.

Merneptah had not halted the Red Berber immigration. Thronging into the Delta continued, and centralized personal government does not seem to have been a Berber ideal at anytime. In "Minos and the Minotaur" chapter, tribal chiefs do not surrender their personal authority to any elected "advisor-moderator". There is no certainty that commercial regulations in one little state or tribe will be the same as those in the next one. The Hurrû showed a like weakness. Rameses II, describing the situation later, said "Hurrû Yersew a chief over Egyptians"- which made earlier translators read "A Syrian, Yarsu (Arisu) made himself chief over Egyptians"- with wild identifications. A suggestion by Spiegelberg makes the reading "(Any) Hurru made himself chief over Egyptians.. Their (clan)- chiefs and city-mayors ruled Egypt". In ARE 4:565,573, The eastern Mediterranean has become "The Great Hurrian Sea". The Minoan alliance that descended upon Merneptah will not tacitly acquiesce in this new dominance.

The above statement improved by Spiegelberg's suggestion has been variously paraphrased: "Every chief was killing his neighbor". A phrase from the cuneiform has also been used: "Who was king- who was not king?" An actual centralization of authority was finally achieved by Set-nakht, father of Rameses III. The latter represents himself as the divinely-called deliverer. But there is absolute silence about the events of Set-nakht's two years and about the first five years of Rameses III: probably there were reverses that they did not care to record. Actual collisions with the Red Berber Colonists and chiefs of the Delta are not specified. (ARE 4:398). H.H. Nelson, in the new publication of Medînat Habû inscriptions takes the same view: Rameses III was busy for five years consolidating his position, and has left no details. (OIC 5, 4ff). His consolidating measures certainly provoked Berber reprisals:

187. Rameses III, 1198-1167 B.C. Medînat Habû Inscription.

Rameses III has left us the longest Papyrus known: The Papyrus Harris. But it is primarily concerned with inventories of his donations to the Amen-temple at Thebes: bits of history being thrown in as poetic "interludes" here and there. The great historical inscription is upon the walls of the temple at Medînat Habû, dedicated in the year 12. Dr. John A. Wilson has recently reworked the whole inscription. In correspondence with him concerning perplexing discrepancies as to the order of events, it was pointed out that some of the events recorded were subsequent to the dedication of the temple, and that the inscription as a whole was composed at a later times, the compiler using some "dramatic license", ignoring the chronological order of events. Dr. Wilson replied that the order of events as given by Breasted's ARE thirty years ago was an artificial one, controlled by certain prepossessions. It cannot now be considered an exact statement of the order of events in the "Libyan" war of the year 5, or of the Syrian war against migrating sea-peoples in the year 8; the exact time of the battle at the Amor Camp--or two battles?, and a second war against the invading Tahennu and Meshwesh in the year 11. Speculative arrangement of all the details will not be attempted here. (See ARE) Agreement has not yet been reached.

187-a. Rameses III Twice Faces Tahennu, Meshwesh, Ribû and Temeh, With Their "Sea-Coast" Allies.

The same concerted movement that assailed Merneptah comes upon Rameses III from two directions. The ancient and powerful coastland Tahennu, leagued with the Ribû and Temeh and the Meshwesh-Imôshagh "Nobility" of the Garamantian traders, met Rameses in

the Western Delta, where he claims to have defeated them with a loss of 12,000 men, but only 1,000 captives! Like Merneptah, he ravages their respective lands, emphasizing that the Temeh and the Meshwesh occupied different lands, as did also the Seped (ARE, 4:43,50,52,58,84,91,92,103,104). As in Merneptah's case, this must mean the cultivated lands which these Berber peoples held in the Delta. The Tripoli and Fezzan bases are out of the question. The Delta base must have been the one Merneptah did not succeed in reaching. The net result was a "Pyrrhic Victory"; both the Berbers and the Sea peoples reached their objective, and Rameses III is silent about the process. H.H. Nelson takes the same view (OIC. #5,p.7). Old books with no conception of the great Tehennu state, are thereby excluded from consideration.

Recognizing that this Tehennu coastland nome was in almost daily contact with the Minoan commerce of the sea, it is clear that allies might be sent them at any time from any Minoan post. So in this thrust of Rameses III against the Tehennu base, he finds himself confronted by Pulusati, or Philistines, and Zakkara. Their presence in the ports at that time may have been accidental. It is certain that the attack of Rameses III upon them would bring a host of them down upon him a little later. It is highly probable that his attack was a gross violation of existing treaty-obligations: that is why he is silent about the circumstances of the preceding years. He admits that ships of the sea-peoples scouted his coasts and rivers, and three years later Sherdanu, Danunu, Minoan Sicilians (Shekelesh), Philistines and Zakkara and Washasha are cooperating in a steady push along the south coasts of Asia Minor, and down the Syria-Palestine coasts. The Cretan Tulissa, who directed the movement against Merneptah 27 years before (184-a) do not appear in this movement, but they certainly must have directed it. Despite an initial reverse somewhere near Gebal, the Philistines, Zakkara and Washasha gained their objective. The Philistines are mentioned over 100 times in the OT: the Zakkara not at all. But from other Egyptian records we know they gained and held the coast-plain of Sharon (see Macalister, 30ff) And the Washasha have left their name on the modern map of the northern Arabah.

187-b. The Transmigration of Cretan Pelasgians.

In the "Minos and Minotaur" chapter, section M, attention was called to the situation of the ancient Pelasgian colony of Oaxos or Waxos (Latin "Axius"). Its oldest remains are Cyclopean Pelasgic, and excavations have found also late Mycenaean: suggesting some displacement of the old Pelasgian population. There has been no complete excavation. A modern village partially covers the site. The Waxos Pelasgi were in a gorge about ten miles from each of the two Pelasgian sun-sanctuaries of Mt. Ida and the Tallala mountains. A little west on the coast was the seaport-fortress of Larissa, recognized by Kiepert as the Pelasgian name for an "acropolis" or "hill-citadel." Another Pelasgian "Larissa" is in the Argos of Mycenae and Tiryns; another is capital of the Thessalian Pelasgiotis: another in western Asia Minor. Oaxos being directly north of the Pelasgian Phaistos, and ten miles west of Tylissos, the immemorial contact of the Tulissa people with these Minoan Pelasgi must have been a factor in their respective movements. Then Zakros in the Eteo-Cretan eastern end of Crete has been partially excavated, and shows that it was occupied in Neolithic, Early Minoan, Middle Minoan, and Mycenaean times (Map in Pauly-Wissowa, "Krete"). Taken with the hoard of Mycenaean votives found in the Knossian sanctuary-grotto--(the cave in Mt. Dicte) it appears that the Mycenaeans actually dislodged some of the Minoan Pelasgi from Crete, when they got control of the Phoenician coast-trade in the time of Thothmes III (Sections 120 ff). This Minoan-Pelasgian migration in the time of Rameses III looks like a continuation of the movement to regain lost coast-control, begun in the time of Merneptah. The statement of Clement of Alexandria upon the point is of first importance. In his compilation of chronological data to prove the antiquity of Moses, he says "In the time of Dardanus was the building of Dardania, and the transmigration from Crete into Phoenicia." (ANF. 2:324-b.). The peculiar value of this is that Clement, one of the foremost scholars of the time, is compiling from many authorities, who agree that there was "transmigration from Crete into Phoenicia" in the era of Dardanus. (The Dardanu are first mentioned by Rameses II, cooperating with several contingents from the Minoan coasts of Asia Minor). Further, Clement was living in a commercial emporium in which the descendants of the Tehennu most vitally concerned in the "Libyan" wars of Merneptah and Rameses III were a large part of the population. We have not like sources of information.

The Shekelesh or "Sicilians" as a Minoan contingent cooperating with the Pelasgian migration are not excluded. In the chapter on "Minos and the Minotaur," section Q,

Heraclea Minoa on the south coast of Sicily was mentioned as one of a score of Minoa-colonies still known as such in Graeco-Roman times. These Minoan "Shekel" may themselves have been Pelasgian guardsmen; we do not know: nor do we know where they settled in Palestine. But the name of the Washasha remains at a strategic point on the carriage road from Beersheba to the "Scorpion Ascent" in the Arabah: "Minos and Minotaur" chapter, Section U, middle.

188. Philistines in Palestine Before The Nineteenth Dynasty.

It is important to recognize that some of the newcomers are of a people long familiar to Egypt. The reliefs of Rameses III at Medinat Habû show mercenaries? in the Egyptian army identical in all respects with the newcomer-Philistines (Garstang, 285, 310). A broken passage (ARE IV: 71) has "The Puluset--in their towns." And the recent discoveries at Tell Fara have found Philistine pottery in dated strata back to 1320 B.C.: the El-Amarna century. So the plumed warriors in the army of Rameses III are probably not mercenaries, but members of old colonies from Gaza to Beersheba. These older colonists furnished David's "Cherethites and Pelethites:" Cretans and Beth-Pelet men. The plumes are now known as a Carian characteristic.

189. Older Guesses at the Reason for The "Sea-Peoples" migration.

The Egyptian artists portray these sea-peoples as in actual migration: the war-fleet is guarding the advance along the shore of families in wagons, bringing live-stock with them. The animals were probably captured en route. The advance is not one of mere military conquest. The Mycenaean pressure was not the cause; that seems to have ended nearly a century earlier. Evans guessed that a great disaster, the total destruction of Knossos by an earthquake had impelled this movement (Palace of Minos vol. 2). But these Pelasgians are not from Knossos! -- A.R. Burn (P. 144) not seeing Crete at all, thinks the migration originated in Southeastern Europe. A tremendous pluvial period there began about 1300 B.C.; "drowning out" thousands of poor farmers, and urging them across the Bosphorus into Asia Minor. A social revolution in Crete has been suggested, without pointing out any condition in Cretan society that would produce such revolution. The statement of the authorities consulted by Clement of Alexandria, that there was a transmigration from Crete into Phoenicia has been generally overlooked.

But the Imóshagh-Imrhád society of 58-V, 58-W, taken with the everlasting food-problem stated in 58-e tell the whole story. The Messara plain could not raise enough wheat to feed Crete. Imported grain will sooner or later be at a price that means starvation to the poor industrial, politically unprivileged classes. When either the aristocrat or the industrialist must move in order to eat, it is the industrialist who must move! So Minoan Crete had to colonize its surplus Imrhád population repeatedly, century after century. England and Japan are modern parallels. The warrior Anak aristocrats who have lorded it in big trade-towns like Gaza, Beth-Pelet, etc, hardly welcome such an influx of the surplus farmer-peasantry. Their fight in the army of Rameses III against the horde of their political-social inferiors thrust upon them by the Minoan council is quite intelligible. En passant, the "Ephraim" imported by Rameses II to fight and live off the country contrasts rather sharply with these new Philistines who hoped to farm in peace.

189-a. No Breach Between New Philistine Immigrants and "Red People".

In the "Minos and Minotaur" chapter, Q-16ff, it is shown that Minoan cultus-centers in Palestine persisted unchanged in name and prestige, 1500 years after this New Philistine Settlement. There is the further evidence of the peculiar use of the word "Edom", in some OT passages. Thus David left the ark in the house of "Obed-Edom of Gath" 2. Sam:6:10. A god "Edom" has been inferred. It seems better to understand "An officer of the Red People". (cf. 109-b)

190. Philistine Dominance, South Palestine, 1180-1003.

In the Old Testament, the term "Philistines" probably includes all the Aegaeon colonists massed in the southwest under Philistine hegemony. Excavations in South Palestine show that rude invaders from the Edomite highlands are led in development by the cultured Philistines. See the stories of David's training, his service as a Philistine leadership at Gebal. See Wen-Amon, Egyptian envoy of 1110 B.C., (5th year of Rameses XII) Scorned by Zákár-baal, the prince of Gebal. (Barton, 410 ff. ARE IV, 557-591:

McAlister, 27-37). This prince tells Wen-Amon that the Birkat-El Corporation at Gebal owns 50 (or 10,000) ships at Sidon, (Cf. AJA. 1925, p. 461). Wen-Amon tells us that Dor (above is the port of the Zakkara. And the Sea has become the "Sea of the Hurru." a most important admission.

191. Northland culture Dominant.

The hour of weakness of the Zoan Ramesside Dynasty and Philistia's growth meant the rise of Israel's military power. David could make a kingdom because at that time Egypt could not. Libyans flocking into Egypt fill the army and give new virility to the ancient culture of the Northland, which, as already noticed, never fused with the Hamitic Southland or Nile Valley. This Northland culture has all North Africa as reserve-power for assimilating other peoples. But the Thebaid has no such reserve manpower.

192. Hurrian Elements in David's Time.

There is no need to review David here. But the prominence of Hurru elements of his time must not be ignored. Sayce (JTS, 1928, 401-406) calls attention to some of them.

Of principal human interest is his devoted captain "Uriah the Hittite," but Uria, Uriya, is a perfectly good Hurrian name. Masoretic orthographic conventions spell the name with a final h; we now know that the provenance of OT names ending in -iah may be questioned. And the Hurrian captain's wife, Bath-Sheba, is recognized as a Semitic garbling of Euti-Khêba "servant of Khêba" (Greek "Hêbê"), the "Queen of Heaven" of Jeremiah 44:17, 25, etc.

Then "Priest," Hebrew Kohen: is it Arabic? Sayce points to Moscho-Hittite Kuanis; Carian Kaan, Kôn: Lydian Kauein. That term was not spread through ancient Asia Minor by desert Bedouin.

Sayce also suggests that Uriya's name may be a shortening of the Hittite Uriyas, Uranis, Uriyana, "Captain of the body-guard." Araunah, the chieftain from whom David bought a temple-site, is simply a title: the Hittite Araunis, "freeman, noble." Ezek. 16:3, 45, asserts a Hittite ancestry for Jerusalem. The vine came from the Armenian highlands, and the Hittite uinis became Greek oinos, Hebrew yâyin, Latin vînum, our "wine" or "vine".-- As to supposed theophoric names, he suggests "Eliam" or "Armiel" is simply Hittite ammiel, "mine own."

Leaving pages remote from popular interest, we must point to the so-called "Hittite" code of laws, a translation of which is in Barton's Archeology and the Bible, and in J.M.P. Smith's Origin and Development of Hebrew Law; and a new one is being prepared by Dr. Ira M. Price. Without reviewing years of comparison, it has been concluded that old Hurrian law, 2500 B.C., was ethically higher than the code of Hammurabi; far higher than the late Assyrian. (Cf. Section 179-b). Semitizing dragged the Hurrian original of Assyria down very far. It appears that the Hurrian, not the Semite, contributed the noblest elements in the OT. The comparative study is worth time not possible in this survey. But any influence from Arabia filtering into Palestinian Israel is a re-

tarding influence. Cf. Minoan Section 10.

193. Tanis-Amon Dynasties 1090-945 B.C.

The so-called XXist Dynasty really means kings of the North arrayed against kings of the South again. Zoan or Tanis remains the seat of the Northern kings, of whom scarcely any monuments remain. The Southern priest-kings at Thebes are too much concerned with maintaining Egyptian orthodoxy to maintain good government and economical prosperity. Serious riots occur in Thebes itself (Hall 375).

But the Tanite kings evidently cultivate the Palestine of David's time. Petrie, excavating at Heliopolis, found at Kafr Ammar near by large quantities of a peculiar foreign pottery. It is now recognized as Hebrew pottery, of dates from 1000 to 600 B.C. Thus at the On of Joseph's time, Gen. 41:45, a Hebrew colony persisted through some centuries. May not some Hebrews have been there ever since Joseph's time? And other discoveries are made each season (Duncan 242-244).

194. Si-Amon and Solomon? 976-958.

What Pharaoh gave his daughter to Solomon? 1 Kings 9:16. It is not certain, but scholarly opinion inclines to Si-Amon, who was king at Zoan, and had a temple at Memphis. There seems no reason for Solomon allying himself to the remote and incompetent priest-dynasty at Thebes. But for 2000 years we have seen the eastern Delta ally itself with Palestine, with settlements of Syrian, Palestinian and Hurrû peoples in the Delta over and over again. As above, David probably had some intimacy there. Brugsch (p. 365 ff.) credits Si-Amon with banishing 100,000 of his opponents. Some were probably Palestinian opponents. The author of 1 Kings 9:15 makes Solomon's father-in-law the author of Solomon's corvée-method of drafting labor. But Solomon's horse-trade (1 Kings 10:28 f.) is to be credited to Mutsri in Cilicia (not the Egypt "Mutsri") and to Kuê (the Lycaonia of Greek days). Deut. 17:16 is interpreted to mean Solomon furnished somebody with mercenary troops. That, added to his mercantile policy, planted some Yahwist military garrisons in distant lands. Megiddo has been proven to be one of Solomon's stable-cities, by University of Chicago excavations. Cf. Olmstead, 342-345.

195. Solomon and the proverbs of Amen-Ope.

It is at this time that the proverbs of Amen-ope become part of the Solomonic collection. (Proverbs 22:17-23:11. See Barton, 505-514; AJA, 1927, 363;13 more, AJSL, Oct. 1926 and Journal of Religion, Jan. 1929: 99 ff: Oesterley, ZATW, 1927, 9-24; Peet, 99-112; R.O. Kevin, JSOR. 1932). It would seem that a fair conclusion after comparison should be upon comparison of the wisdom-literature of earlier periods in both lands. Unfortunately we have not a line from Palestine from any earlier period. Our present Book of Proverbs is an "anthology of the ages." From the Egyptian side we have:

1. Precepts of Ptah-hotep, on official duties. Section 72: Barton 507, Peet 100 f.
2. Precepts of Kagemni, official duties and decorum. Ostensibly from time of Third Dynasty. Section 57.
3. Instruction for King Meri-ka-Ra, one of the kings in the obscure period of Section 77: the passing of the Old Kingdom. By far the most significant of the older Egyptian wisdom. Cautions and warnings for conduct of foreign and domestic politics. Very notable religion moral admonitions. Peet, 108.
4. Amen-em-hat's Teaching, to his son Sesostri I. Cynical. Considering a life-work rewarded with ingratitude, he leaves the concrete admonition of a strongly reactionary policy. Peet, 107 f.
5. The Teaching of Duauf. Probably before Middle Kingdom. Praises the scribe vocation (scholar-official): Prescriptions for courtly decorum, morally unobjectionable conduct. Peet, 104 f.
6. Lansing Papyrus. Instruction of an official of the time of Rameses VI. Typical champion of the school-literature of the New Kingdom. Praise of the calling of an

official, which can be attained only by industry and self-discipline. Peet, 106.

7. Wisdom of Anfi. Badly preserved Mss. New Kingdom. Life rules. Strong moral religious emphasis. Peet, 111.

8. Amenope, above.

9. Teaching of Petosiris. A tomb inscription from the end of the fourth century B.C. The dead man admonishes those living after him, with a strong religious emphasis. Causse thinks that a certain Jewish influence is possible. That Jewish colonies had been in Egypt several centuries by the time of Petosiris, M. Causse does not consider. Osiridean ideas are accepted by Judaism: See Section 225.

10. Papyrus Insinger: "New Kingdom" - Latest Egyptian wisdom, written first century A.D. Moral and religious reflections, partly from old sources: evidently influenced by non-Egyptian spirit-life.

Egyptian "Lamentations"

1. "The weary of Life." About 2000 B.C. His battle with his soul, finally consenting to a voluntary ending of life.

2. Complaint of the Peasant. Middle Kingdom. Nine well-constructed complaints about the wrongs done him, with moral-didactic purpose. The Hebrew prophet and modern sociologist are anticipated. Barton, 525 f.

3. Admonitions of an Egyptian Wiseman. Probably time collapse of Old Kingdom, resulting from the concrete situation. See 3 and 4 above. Counsel for overcoming the effects of the collapse, yet with a vein of the philosophical and moralizing tendency of the didactic literature. Barton, 528.

4. Lament Kha-Kheper-Ra^a-Senb. About 1900 B.C. Little concrete or individual; vague and general.

5. The Harp-Song. Two cantos. Middle of New Kingdom. All that is earthly is fleeting. Therefore enjoy life. Parallel to Ecclesiastes. Consider Breasted's Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt.

196. Shashanq (Shishak) 945-924 B.C. Divides Palestine--Further Dispersion of Yahwism.

Shishak, (1 Kings 14:25) descendant of a Libyan prince Buyuwawa (1150 B.C.), and grandson of Mehet-en-wesekht, seized the Delta throne. This involves the immemorial antipathy of the Mediterranean Libyan for the Nilotic Hamite, and the more or less Semitized population of the East Delta. May it be said that cultures impossible to blend or fuse in Egypt kept apart the equally distinct cultures of north and south Palestine? Consider the permanence of the Berber: Bodley 22, 35 ff. 195 ff, 240.

Now Shashanq establishes himself in the West Delta while Solomon's alliance has been with the East Delta Dynasty at Zoan. When this dynasty's introduction of the Egyptian corvée-system rouses opposition (1 Kings 9:15, 24; 11:1; 14-22), Jeroboam probably took many away with him (1 K. 11:40; 12:2-5). Then Shashanq seized Thebes, ending the priest-king squabbles, and gave one of his daughters to Jeroboam to wife. With Solomon married to the daughter of the Zoan Pharaoh, Palestine is rent in two by the Egyptian claimants: a fact deliberately suppressed in the OT. Compare the stingy note in 1 K. 14:25 with the fact that Shishak's invasion seems to be the most cataclysmic that Palestine ever experienced. The rival dynasty had swept away 100,000. Some certainly opponents of Solomon's crushing taxation. Now Shishak records the capture of 156 towns and cities (ARE IV, 728), a large number of them in Jeroboam's territory. They must have been towns garrisoned by the rival Egyptian dynasty.

Excavations show the conquest to have been cataclysmic; many towns totally destroyed. He carries a host of Palestinians as captives and colonists to Egypt and Libya. N.B. We must recognize this as the beginning of Yahwist garrison-colonies: placed on

the frontiers of Egyptian domain in Africa. Note Rehoboam's rebuilding in 2 Chron. 11: 5-12: did not recover the southwest. (Observe Shashanq's list in Brugsch, Egypt under the Pharaohs, 376). The great temple of Rameses II at the "City of Rameses" the Hyksos Avaris (see Section 68) he wrecked, cutting up the colossi and pylons for buildings of his own. His name did not cling to the remodelled city, however. Num. 13:22; Ps. 78: 12, 43; Is. 19:11; 30:14, shows the old name of Zoan revived.

197. Shashanq as Builder.

Through recent excavations at Gerar, Beth-pelet, Beth-Shean, Megiddo, etc. it has been discovered, in the language of Duncan, that Shashanq was the greatest of Egyptian builders in South Palestine. Besides his massive administration buildings at Beth-Pelet (Sharuhén?), he built a great wall 22 feet thick; of hard brick nearly double the usual size, and laid in clean sand-foundations five or six courses deep. It must have required tens of thousands of men. He was master of Rehoboam's territory, and of the Philistia-Red Sea route. He narrates his capture of Sharuhén, (ARE IV, 716). And the great Philistine metallurgical center at Gerar was sacked and rebuilt as an Egyptian factory-emporium. Its trade reached Italy, Cyprus, Assyria, and Central Asia.

198. Shashanq: Jeroboam's "Calves"?

The LXX says Shashanq's sister-in-law was wife of Jeroboam: Abijah her son, 1 K. 12: 24. 1 K. 14 does not complain of that, but 1 K. 11:14-22 credits this sister-in-law alliance to Hadad, an Edomite prince. But was Shishak the one who set up the "golden calves"? We have seen that ancient oriental diplomacy required official respect of each peoples' gods; Sections 143, 155, 93, and 132-b. He pushed across the Jordan to Mahanaim. One stele has been found at Megiddo, by Chicago University. He seized Beth-Shean again: 926 B.C. His insignia have been found there. Of all this the OT tells nothing.

As in Section 183 above, the Joseph-stories were given the present shape in this Rehoboam period. (Peet, 160 ff.) Was it done by Israelite colonies in Egypt? or by Israelites in Egyptian garrison-towns in Palestine?

But the Egypt of this Libyan dynasty is not the Egypt of the great XVIIIth Dynasty. That is gone, never to return. See Ezekiel 30:13, 350 years later. One African marauder after another rules.

199. Osorkon I. 925-895.;—Son of Shashanq.

No monuments. The puzzling account of "Zerakh the Cushite" invading Judah in Asa's time, 2 Chron. 14:9-15 is suspected to be a copyist's blunder for Uasarnk: damaged text. (But why Cushite instead of Libyan?) Reisner suspects some Arabian marauder of fifty years later. But, at Gebal Osorkon placed a rose-granite statue of himself. And the Phoenician King cut on it his presentation to the Lady of Gebal! asking her favor! He carefully left Osorkon's cartouche intact! It appears that Osorkon was "divinely" feared there - more records might show the same elsewhere in Palestine. (Cf. Knight 282 f: Olmstead 357; Dussaud, AJA, 1928, 87 f.)

200. Osorkon II, 880-850. Long Dominance of Egyptian Art.

Records scanty. Notable for his extensive buildings and monuments at Bubastis—Pi-Beset of Ezek. 30:17 - about midway between Cairo and Zoan; also at Zoan, Tell-el-Maskhuta and Karnak. He is entitled to what further credit there may be in cutting and smashing other men's works (Hall 380). At Zoan he vied with Shashanq in such achievements: see Section 174.

On the walls of the restored sanctuary at Bubastis he left a boast that he had "trodden under foot the countries of Northern and Southern Syria." How much fact is in this? The temple was completed in the 22nd year of his reign; was that boast before his partnership with Ahab in the battle at Qarqar? For in this battle of Shalmaneser III, King of Assyria, with Ahab of Israel and Benhadad of Damascus, and their allies,

Shalmaneser tells us that 1000 Egyptian troops were present. This was in 854. The activity of Egypt in Ahab's politics is shown by 2 Kings 7:6; the panicky Damascus king evidently expects the arrival of troops from Egypt at any moment. And in the wreck of Ahab's palace at Samaria the Harvard expedition found an alabaster jar with two cartouches of Osorkon II. The silence of the OT must be compared with its silence with regard to the tremendous activity of his grandfather Shishak. (Cf. Knight 283 f.; Hall 379 f.)

But against this silence there is concrete evidence. A scarab of his son, Shashanq II, was also found in Ahab's palace, 1905. And the current Anglo-American excavations at Samaria have found beautiful panels of ivory, carved with gods of the Egyptian pantheon, lotus flowers, and strange figures of animals. Are they from Ahab's "House of Ivory," 1 K. 22:29? Also the name of Hazael, king of Damascus, (850-800 B.C.) appears on an ivory plaque. (1 K. 19:15-17; 2 K. 8:15; 10:32; 12:17; 13:3, 22-25). His plaque shows battle between lion and bull. Others have sphinxes and cherubim. Compare decorated temple-rooms of Ezek. 8:7-10 (*Journal de Genève*, 8-10-1932). The American expedition finds the ivory fragments several thousand in number: mostly ruined by fire, and recognizes a long period of dominance of Egyptian art - which meant some religious symbolism. Amos 3:15; 6:4 was written 125 years after Osorkon's time. We are reminded also of Egypto-phile Solomon's ivories, 1 K. 10:18-22.

Again, some of the ivories are highly finished Egyptian imports; others are crude efforts of local artists to present Egyptian subjects in Asiatic costumes and "Semitic" features. Israel had no "original" art.

We are further reminded of continued Egyptian dominance all along the Phoenician coast, with religious regalia, sarcophagi and burial-accessories (Section 54). The advent of Jezebel meant additional Egyptian contacts. Arabian merchants brought ivory-tusks to Tyre, Ezek. 27:15. We really cannot tell at present whether Jezebel's favorite baalim were Egyptian or "Phoenician." Like Egyptian ivories were found in 1928 at Arslan Tash, near Aleppo. (*N.Y. Times*, 1-6-1934).

201. El-Amarna Days Recrudescant - The Semitized Hurrians.

The above collision with Shalmaneser III means that the shadows of Damascus and Nineveh will fall over Palestine for the next 200 years. But in Section 69 we saw that the Hurrû founded Nineveh, and the Harran culture centered at Tell Halaf. Both regions have been Semitized. Akkadian influence was dominating Nineveh perhaps by Sargon's time (Section 68), while an Aramaean adventurer, Kapara, gained political control in Harran about 1200 B.C. (Section 142). From now on the situation in the El-Amarna Letters recurs. The Aramaized Hurrians of Mitanni are now centered at Damascus: The Assyrian power descending through the Orontes Valley repeats the menace of the Hittite power. Palestine will be rent by Egypt's resistance to these powers, and comments upon the political battle will appear in the prophets.

202. Rival Dynasties - Twenty-Third and Twenty-Fourth.

Following Osorkon II were Iuput, 825-818; Pamai, 766-763. Shashanq IV, 763-725; Osorkon IV, 725-720. This chronology of Bubastis kings, of Shashank's line, extends to the fall of Samaria; the passing of the Israelite Monarchy. It is impossible to correlate Israel + Judah history with any one Pharaoh: yet Section 200 shows a continuous and powerful cultural influence, and Hosea and Amos, earliest of the literary prophets that remain to us, show a continuous and powerful political influence. Israel vacillates between Egypt and Assyria, or takes refuge there - some to be buried there - others to eventually return from colony or garrison. See Hosea 5:13; 7:11, 16; 8:9, 13; 9:3, 6; 11:5, 11; 12:1. (For AV "Shall return" read "will return" to Egypt: insists on it). Then observe Aven, in 4:15; 5:8; 10:5, 8. Without the Masoretic vowel-points the average reader would pronounce the word "On," of Gen. 41:45; Jer. 43:13; Ezek. 30:17. Scholars today incline to think that is what Hosea meant: that Bethel had actually become "Beth-On." But the Masoretes, disguising their ancestral history, have made the name "House of Nonsense." See Sections 198, 131-b; 1 K. 28 ff.

203. The Tanite-Thebes Dynasties: Libyans against Amon-Priests.

The above lists of the "Shishak" line leaves no place for the XXIIIrd Dynasty

850-735, except as a rival dynasty: so explained by the British Museum. Breasted is certainly to be amended here because of revolutionary discoveries in Nubia. The student cannot spend time on the perplexing details. This much is clear. Shishak, or Shashanq I was not welcome in Thebes, and some Amon priests probably fled to Nubia. Then on the death of Osorkon II, the high priest Harsiese, at Thebes, made himself king there, 850-836; succeeded by Pedubaste, he by Takehot II, seriously defeated by Libyan supporters of Shashanq III, above. Civil war continues: kings being the puppets of mayors of the palace, or of rival Libyans, or of anti-priest-rule leaders. (Hall, 380 f.) That this does not affect above statements of conditions in Palestine means that North Egypt, not Thebes, is the persistent cultural force: it was always so. Coastal intercourse persisted at all times.

204. Libyan Versus Nubian Makes Hebrew Garrisons.

We are back at the beginning of things. The Mediterranean and Hamite will not fuse. The Libyan or Berber is incapable of empire, as was the Greek. Petty chieftains may cooperate for some desired object: the union is only momentary. The Hamitic and Negroid cults did not spread into the Berber Coasts. We have seen the great oracle of "Jupiter Ammon," 400 miles west by south of Cairo, with its sun-crowned long-legged Libyan sheep, to be and to remain essentially Berber. (De Prorok, A. & A, Nov. 1928, p. 177: Jan. 1931, p. 15). But it made Thebes capitulate, Section 114.

Now the Egyptian practice of employing mercenary troops means that under such civil war conditions northern factions employed Libyans, when they could hire Libyans to fight each other: the southern factions hired Nubians and Negroes. In El-Amarna and Philistine times we saw the employment of coast-peoples of Asia Minor. In the present recrudescence of an ancient situation, we will see the employment of Greeks, and of Asiatics again. (Hall 186, 188). A first step in that direction we can recognize in the advance of the Assyrian King Sargon, in the second year of his reign, two years after the fall of Samaria. Yaubidi of Hamath has stirred up a revolt in which Samaria again takes part. Capturing Hamath, Sargon enrolls 600 of its cavalry and two hundred of its chariots in the army with which he rolls through Samaria, leaving 6000 Assyrians in Hamath. He had done the like at Samaria the year before; but the broken text leaves only 50 chariots of the levy legible. So he meets Egypt at Raphia with a host of Palestinian and Syrian additions to his ranks; the correlate of which is that anti-Assyrians are enrolling in the Egyptian army (ARA II, 4, 5, 55). The destruction of Raphia with deportation of 9,033 people was a heavy blow to Egypt, which will be reflected in Section 211. The sum of it is that any dissatisfied Palestinian and Syrian adventurers can get a job in the Egyptian army. Since Shashanq's policy (Section 196) Israelites have spread far, on trade-coasts and in military colonies. From Carthage, about 750 B.C., comes the Sarcophagus of Joab, a great Carthaginian general in Berber tradition, and confused in folk-tale with the Joab of David (LTM, 232).

205. Dynasties XXIV - XXV, Synchronous --Hebrews Man the Egyptian Armies.

Hall makes the XXIVth to be Tefnakhte and Bak-en-renef. Greek Bocchoris, ruling at Sais in the Libyan Delta, from the fall of Samaria to 712 B.C. while an Ethiopian or Nubian Dynasty seizing southern Egypt about 745 B.C. rules till 663, when a new Saitic Dynasty succeeds. Reisner with later information from excavations, would make Tefnakhte's power at Sais begin earlier.

But ere considering these new rivals for empire notice again Hall's statement about the change in Egyptian mercenaries, with the beginning of the Saitic period. There were two main bodies of troops: the Kalasiries, and the Hermotybies (Greek forms). But "Kalasiries" is the Egyptian Khal-Sere, "Young Syrians"; while "Hermotybies" is the Egyptian Rōmdjeba or "Spearmen" — Herodotus reports such divisions in the Egyptian army in his time, 300 years after the beginning of the Saitic hegemony! — But Hall explains that the "spearmen" are Greek mercenaries, with their characteristic weapons, while the "Young Syrians" are simply "exiled Jews" — better, "Hebrews". But the "exiles" are largely voluntary. Read Jer. 40:11 ff. Israelite refugees have fled into Moab, Ammon and Edom; yet some became at once agents or tempters of local kings, and continue to be dangerous factors in home-land politics. It always was so!

206. Shubari Becomes "Syrian"; Yehûdah Becomes "Jew".

The above terms need a little clarification. We have seen, in El-Amarna times, the name Shubari as the mountain region from which the Hurrû spread, the Hurrû language of the west being a dialect of the Shubari: Section 145. But the term Shubari occurs later as Su-wa-ri, Su-û-ri. So by the time of Herodotus, as he tells us, the Greeks were using the term Su-û-ri, "Syria," for the whole highland region from the east end of the Black Sea to the frontier of Egypt (See LTM, "Syria."). Actually we have seen the Hurrû people gradually dispersed throughout the whole region. It is not strictly accurate then to explain "Young Syrians" as Palestinians only.

Secondly, there are no Jews in the OT. The name of the tribe Judah is "Yehûdah"; Aramaic "Yehûd" - adopted in Arabic; a "man of Judah" is "Yehûdî." The Greeks and Romans shortened Yehûd into Ioud, Iud. Germans still say "Yûd" - some other folks have lost the d! But "Judaism, Jew" as technical religious terms, appear only after the Babylonian exile has wrought. The Yahu-worship, or Yahwism, of the OT times, had to lose much and gain some, to become modern Judaism.

Recurring now to the Khal-Shêre, from the beginning of Sâite hegemony, refugees, adventurers or captives from Palestine made a large part of the Egyptian army. Read Jer. 42-44. Did not something like that happen when Samaria fell, 135 years before? Of those who took service in the Egyptian army, some were good Yahwists, some were not.

207. Egypt in Isaiah - Israelite Garrisons and Colonies.

To the dominance of Egyptian religious art from Ahab's time to the fall of Samaria, (Section 200) and to the Egyptian evidence that Hebrews began to fill up Egyptian armies, add references in the extant prophets. Isaiah 7-10 is a protest to a young and frightened Ahaz, who is appealing to Assyria, 738 B.C: and in 11:11 the return of colony-remnants in Assyria, Lower Egypt, Pathros (Upper Egypt), Cush (Nubia), Elam (Persian Mountains), Shinar, (Lower Babylonia), Hamath, and the Sea-coasts (Mediterranean) is assured. It is interesting that Hamath, counted an Israelite frontier in Solomon's time (1 K. 8:65) is now an "exile" region. An Egyptian Shebna is the Egyptian "Scribe-in-charge" and tribute-treasurer: apparently mayor of the palace also, in Hezekiah's time (2 Kings 18:18, 37; 19:2; Is. 36:3, 11, 22; 37:2). In Isaiah 22:15 ff., thinking Egypt's grip on the land is permanent, he is preparing an Egyptian cliff-tomb for himself. Is. 18 addresses the ambassadors of a "tall sleek people beyond the rivers of Nubia" in Northern Abyssinia. In 27:13 "Outcasts" in Egypt (Cf. Gen. 43:32) and ruined Israelites in Assyria will return. In Is. 19 a temporary anarchy and clashing parties in the Delta are pictured; Pathros and Nubia not mentioned. But Egypt is frightened at the prospect of an army (of mercenaries?) from Judah; and when it arrives, five (garrison)-towns of the Delta will speak the sea-coast? lingo; and the city of the sun (On-Heliopolis) will be one of them. For the Delta is actually going to beg help from Judah and Yahu! (verses 17-35). In Chap. 20, the Nubian rule in Egypt will not be able to resist Sargon. In 30:1-5, the taking refuge in Egypt will be in vain - it is not possible for Egypt to unite her forces: the same in 31:1-3. Rabshakeh rails at the broken reed of Egypt in 36:5-10, but no personal thrust at Shebna is recorded. And in 27:1 the "Egyptian Crocodile" will be killed; a parallel to the smiting of the seven streams of the Delta in 11:15.

That we cannot place each utterance chronologically - that is, determine in what Pharaoh's time each was spoken, is immaterial to the present purpose.

Recurring to Hamath, Isaiah lived to hear of its sack by Sargon of Assyria. Sargon tells us that Ya'u-bîdî of Hamath, whom he calls "a wicked Hittite," was the originator of a coalition against Assyria, consisting of Hamath, Arpad, Simirra, and Damascus. This fact does not appear in the OT. The allies were met and defeated at Karkar, where Ahab and Osorkon II were beaten 130 years before (Section 200). Yaubîdî was captured and played alive (ARA II, 55, 125, 137, 183). So at the time that Isaiah views Hamath as a far-off point whence Israelite colonists long to return, it is seized by a Yahu-worship-ping? adventurer. The coalition Sargon smashed in detail. See Section 210.

208. Twenty-Fifth Dynasty "Ultra-Nubian."

Hall, closing the XXIIIrd Dynasty with Osorkon III, and Rud-Amon, observes that the

last owed his throne to an Ethiopian, Kashta, who broke in and compelled Osorkon III's daughter, Shepenopet, the High-Priestess at Thebes, to adopt his own daughter, Amonirdis, so that she would in turn be High-Priestess. Kashta died about 742? and his son Piankhi became sole king of the South. Hall wonders if Kashta were descended from the Theban priestly royal family driven into Nubia by Shashang I, two centuries before, and considered that he had a hereditary-claim to the kingdom. He made himself a co-king with Rud-Amon, who disappears a few years after Piankhi's accession.

But Dr. George A Reisner's revolutionary discoveries at Napata, combined with Steindorff's at Anibe and Griffith's at Kawa, prove that the new dynasty was not Nubian. He found that a great empire with capital at Napata had ruled Egypt from that point. (Harvard Theol. Review, 1920, 23-24; ILN, 1-27-1922). On the basis of the discoveries he places Piankhi at 743-722; his son Shabaka, 722-700; Shabataka, 700-689; Tirhakah, 689-663.

209. A New Race Makes Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.

Reisner's Harvard excavations were at Napata, the Arab Merawi, Greek Meröe, 447 miles above the second Cataract. The relics of a great empire; a single dynasty lasting near 900 years; did not connect with ancient Egyptian dynasties. Napata was their capital. It had been recognized that the northern Nubians, contemporary with predynastic Egypt, were a "small, dark-haired, black-eyed people, glabrous, like the dark Libyans of the Mediterranean Seaboard." That is, they were a Hamitic people. Their culture was essentially that of predynastic Egypt, with no negroid trace. The tradition that Egypt's predynastic kings were "Cushite" points to this race. (McMichael, History of the Arabs in the Soudan, p. 15). During the Old Kingdom these Nubians were often mercenaries in the Egyptian army, and there was some Egyptian domination, 3400-2500 B.C.

Then George Steindorff of Leipzig began excavating at another ancient capital Anibe, Nov. 30, 1930; results in ILN, 9-19-1931. He recognized six Egyptian strata: the oldest about 1900 B.C. Somewhere in the period of collapse between the Old Kingdom and the New (about 2250 B.C.?) a new race had broken into Nubia. Even the traditions and conventions of the Old Kingdom times were lost in Middle Kingdom times. The renewed conquests of Nubia in Middle Kingdom times - as by Amen-em-hat I, were necessitated by this new people. How much new energy this people infused into Upper Egypt is not yet determinable.

Then in the winter of 1930 Llewellyn Griffith, for the University of Oxford, began excavating at Kawa, close by Dongola, about 100 miles west of Meröe-Napata. In less than three months he bared twelve temples, buried in twelve feet of sand and debris. The Old Kingdom's colony had perished, forgotten for a thousand years, when Amen-hotep III built here his city for the Aton-Cult; Gem-p-Aton, "The Aton is founded," (Section 136). But with Rameses VI, Egypt disappears from that region. The new race is too mighty for her. So far as records go, a historic blank follows. The monuments of the new people are as yet undeciphered. But some of the XXVth Dynasty monuments are at Kawa. (Griffith, F. & F., 6-10-1931).

210. Shabaka 714-700. "Seb'a" or So"?

Sargon of Assyria tells that Hanno of Gaza had secured Egypt's help, and that Sib'a, the turtan or "commander-in-chief" of the Egyptian troops came to help Hanno at Naphia, and ran away! The "So (Seve?) king of Egypt" in 2 K. 17:4, perplexes. Efforts to identify this Sib'e with Shabaka overlook the fact that he is not the "Piru" or "Pharaoh" but a chief of the army, or frontier-captain. (For speculations see Knight 297.) There is the further difficulty that Sargon's son, Sennacherib, who defeats the Philistines and Egypt at El-Tekeh, writes of "Kings of Egypt" - there is more than one in his time (ARA II, 55, 240, 311) - together with "Chariots and bowmen of Melubba" (Nubia?) This, four times repeated, shows the chronological difficulty. Sennacherib did not recognize a consolidated Nubia-Egypt. And as this third campaign of his was the one in which he scared Hezekiah at Jerusalem, which Egyptian faction did Shebna in Section 207 represent? We cannot tell yet. Olmstead, on the basis of a lump of clay bearing the impression of the seal of Shabaka and the much smaller one of some Assyrian king, concludes they finally made a treaty of peace (HA, 309). That would not prove Shabaka the Pharaoh at the time of the battle; the treaty could have been years later.

Reisner also (HTR 1920) does not think Shabaka the SO of 2 K. 17:4: the fall of Samaria, 720 B.C., puts this SO in 724, before Sargon was king - a point which Hall does not consider. (Hall, 382 ff.) The LXX gives Sōa and Sēgōr as the equivalents of "So" in 2 K. 17:4, making matters worse. So cannot be identified at present.

211. Shabaka-An Egyptian "King Arthur" or "Barbarossa,"-Jewish Apocalyptic.

Around Bocchoris (Section 205) a glamour of legend has arisen. Greek tradition credits him with being one of the six great law-givers of Egypt. Aelian says he was so impious as to use the sacred Mnevis Bull for the sports of a bull fight! But that is only Libyan (and Jew?) against Hamite again! He is courting the Greeks: they are made welcome in Sais territory: and shortly after his death found their long-famous Naucratis about fifty miles east-southeast of the site of Alexandria. Bocchoris may have been increasing his "Young Syrian" garrisons also. But the New Ethiopians grow suspicious. When he moves from Sais to Memphis Shabaka pounces on him (because of the Mnevis bull?), overpowers and burns him. See Knight 296, 301. Note the Lamb Oracle, time of Bocchoris, Barton, p. 523. It is of first importance to compare carefully Section 114. The Amon-priesthood at Thebes have manufactured an oracle that despite the ravaging of Egypt by Nineveh (Section 204) the men of Egypt will go into Syria and Amor, smite them, and bring back the chapels of Egypt's gods. And they put the oracle in the mouth of the "lamb-incarnation" of Amun, in the interest of Shabaka: turning the Libyan "Sheep-oracle," against the Libyan king! And the "lamb" announces that the prediction was made 900 years before! - about the time of the Hyksos expulsion! It is the method of the later Jewish apocalyptic! Ezekiel, 120 years later, will use four beasts instead of one! Ezek. 1:5; 10:14.

The Bocchoris-saga develops after 712; the dream of the return of this ancient "King Arthur" is a power that stirs the soul of Libyan Egypt to repeated revolt against Nubian oppression (F. & E, June 10, 1931). Read C. C. McCown, Egyptian Apocalyptic Literature, in HTR, 1925, 357-411. Cf. Godbey, "The Pagan Millennium," MQR, July-Aug. and Sept. Oct. 1926.

212. Shabataka: 700-689, Reisner.

Nephew of Amen-irdis, Section 208. Sennacherib's campaign, above, to punish Hezekiah for seizing Padi, pro-Assyrian king of Ekron, many think occurred in Shabataka's time (Knight, 302-305). Reisner doubts if Egyptian troops came to El-Tekeh at all. But Sennacherib's drive would send thousands flying to Egypt, and into Arabia. Hezekiah had secured Arab and "volunteer" (friendly tribes?) troops to defend Jerusalem, and they left, Sennacherib says. Certainly some refugees from Judah would go with them (Annals, p. 33, 70). And Isaiah 22 and 31 are thought to picture the panic-stricken city.

213. Taharqa, 689-663. The Tirhakah of 2 K. 19:9.

Let us begin with the fact that tombs recently discovered on the east side of the Nile, about 200 miles from the Suez frontier, prove to be those of a Jewish community there in the days of Taharqa, Psamtik I., Necho II. Whether a garrison-post or civil community did not appear in early reports. But the three reigns cover almost 100 years, and overlap Isaiah's observations about Israel communities long dispersed in many lands. (Cf. LTM, index).

Read Knight 305-311. Very imaginative! Taharqa was not a negro. Reisner (HTL 1920, 30). Also, he was never captured. The much-circulated picture of Esarhaddon thrusting his spear into the eyes of a kneeling negroid figure held by a cord through the lips does not portray Taharqa, whom Esarhaddon distinctly compliments.

A brother of Shabataka, Taharqa, was of great force of character: and with support of the Amon-priesthood secures enthusiastic support of Sudan and Upper Egypt. In answer to his prayer Amon loosed upon Egypt an unusually high Nile: unprecedented rains in the desert; destructive swarms of locusts, and of rats. A four-fold miracle! Then he prospered 20 years - mightiest king of the age. But Tirhaka's Soudan warriors had bronze; Assyrian had iron; and the Libyan nomes of Lower Egypt were ready to help Esarhaddon

capture Memphis, and the harem of Taharka! Baal of Tyre has secured the support of Taharka and thrown off allegiance to Assyria. So Esarhaddon's tenth campaign, late in his own reign, is to penetrate Egypt. He finds Taharka no coward; the way to Memphis is stubbornly contested fifteen days, and five times there are hand-to-hand conflicts of Esarhaddon and Taharka (ARA II, 556, 580, 710). As for the plunder of Memphis, "I plucked the root of Cush out of Egypt. I left not one to surrender to me;" which makes it clear that the Mediterranean Saites had convinced him that if he would get the Nubians out of Egypt, there would be no trouble with them! These princes were rewarded by Esarhaddon with positions as governors of provinces, and Necho of Sais was their chief (ARA II, 771).

214. Judaism Not Hamitized - Manasseh's "Young Syrians".

One net result of the campaign opened by Esarhaddon and finished by his son at Thebes within ten years was the termination of any New Nubian dreams of flooding Palestine. We have seen New Nubian negotiations with Jerusalem in Isaiah, Section 207; and Assyrian records show their success in winning some kings of the Phoenician coast. Shall we compare their hurling back to the stopping of the Saracens near Tours by Charles Martel in 732 A.D., and to the defeat of the Turks at Vienna by John Sobieski in 1683? Esarhaddon tells that in the third great battle of his approach to Memphis across the desert that there were 200,000 men arrayed on each side. It goes without saying that Esarhaddon had not marched his enormous force all the way from Nineveh. He has recorded in building inscriptions prior to this last campaign, the names of twelve vassal-kings of Syria-Palestine, and of ten more in Cyprus, who were required to send him building materials. (ARA II 690). Every Assyriologist knows the habit of ancient Oriental kings of levying upon each loyal or conquered town for troops and supplies for extension of a campaign. Only thus could Nineveh invade Egypt. Nahum 2:8 pictures all her non-Assyrian soldiery bolting for home, when the walls are breached. Thus Esarhaddon swept into Egypt with levies exacted from his Palestine-Syria vassals. He tells us Manasseh of Judah was one of them. Combined with North Israel levies, many Hebrews are being garrisoned in Egypt.

215. Taharka Counter-Plots. Philistine and Sea-Peoples Again.

Esarhaddon left each of his twenty governors supported by a foreign garrison, in 670 A.D. But soon after he reached Nineveh in 669, news came that Taharka had swooped on Egypt, seized Thebes and massacred Assyrian garrisons in the Delta. The sick old king furiously volleyed curses, and set out to suppress the revolt, but died upon the road. His son Aššurbanipal, after some disturbing years at home, in annals far more detailed than his father's specifies that he mustered the forces of the twelve vassal kings in Syria-Palestine, and of the ten in Cyprus, and descended upon Egypt by land and sea. Manasseh of Judah, with largest territory and being near, must have again contributed a large contingent. But the king of Gaza, the king of Askelon, the king of Ashdod, and the king of Ekron, with four kings of the Phoenician Coast, are among the number. "The Philistines be upon thee, Samson!" (The other three are Edom, Ammon, and Moab.) Egypt has seen nothing like it since the day of Rameses III, Sections 187-189. We are shown sharply how much colonizing, willy-nilly, was involved in ancient Oriental wars (ARA II, 770, 771, 690).

Taharka waited at Memphis and sent forth his army, which was beaten. He fled raging to Thebes. Aššurbanipal captured it, and reinstated his father's governors; but as soon as he was gone, they began secret negotiations with Taharka, offering to concede him Upper Egypt if he would agree to let Saites Egypt alone. As for the foreign garrisons, a simultaneous massacre was planned. Intercepted letters revealed the plot to some garrison officials? who seized the twenty kinglets and sent them to Nineveh.

Query: Had these Assyrian appointees found Asiatic troopers more intolerable than Taharka's? -- Aššurbanipal selected Necho and sent him back to his post at Sais, and appoints his son Psamtik I governor at Athribis, about 318 miles above Cairo. That will stir the jealousy of Thebes. (ARA II, 774).

216. Taharka Passes -- Tanut-Amon, 663-650 -- Destruction of Thebes.

Taharka dies about that time. His nephew Tanut-Amon, son of Shabaka, rules at

Kawa: Necho I moves down to Memphis. Then Tanut-Amon descends the Nile, seizes Thebes, to have the Amon-cult support. Psamtik I flees to Palestine; probably had a Palestinian garrison at Athribis. But Tanut-Amon killed Necho at Memphis. The beleaguered Assyrian garrison sent word to Nineveh; Aššurbanipal came back like a rolling snowball; Tanut-Amon abandoned Memphis, and fled to Thebes. Aššurbanipal saw there would be no peace between the northern Libyans and the traditions of Thebes. He marched his multitudes up the river to Thebes, sacked and destroyed it (ARA II, 775-778). See Nahum 3:8-10. And he returned Psamtik I as king at Sais the same year. Tanut-Amon disappears.

Taharka's Amon-temple at Kawa had five great granite obelisks, of sixth and tenth years of his reign. Sculptures and memorials of his reign. Besides, a stele of Aner-Amon and one of Amon-hinoarok show relations of god and king. (Griffith, F. & F. 6-10-1931).

217. Psamtik I, 663-609 B.C. Reckoning from date of appointment of his father and himself.

First note again Section 205-206: that in Saitic times Khal-Sere, "Young Syrians," were the main body of the Egyptian army. Is it not plain, from the foregoing, that Aššurbanipal left Psamtik well-backed with garrisons of various "Young Syrians"? Yet we have not regarded Aššurbanipal as a prominent agent in placing Hebrew colonies in Egypt, nor as preparing the way for the North African Christianity. It is notable, in this connection, that Psamtik's fine profile-relief, published by the British Museum, shows the peculiar hypsiccephalic "straight-backed" Hurrian head - as remote as possible from the "long-heads" familiar in Egyptian reliefs. The Egyptian romance of "The Armour of Inaros," written in Roman times, tells how "Thirteen Asiatics" aided by a treacherous priest of Buto in the Delta, seized the holy Boat of Amon, and were routed by an Ethiopian prince. The romance contains several names of the chieftains mentioned in the Assyrian annals above cited. (Hall, 74 f.) It is clear that the "Thirteen Asiatics" were the Assyrian king and the twelve vassal-kings of Syria-Palestine, in Section 215.

But where are Psamtik's "Hermotybies" - Greek "spearmen" - of Section 205? It seems that Assyria appointed him chief of twelve district-kings, and that he at once set to work to get rid of these in his own way, without offending Assyria. Instead of calling for more heavy-armed Assyrian troops, he began employing Greek and Carian mercenaries. This period lives in Greek tradition as the time of the "Dodecarchy" - "rule of twelve." (Esarhaddon in 669 had appointed 20.) By 651, all Assyrian garrisons were withdrawn, and at Pelusium was a Greek garrison; close by was a Milesian or Carian one at Daphne, the OT Tahpanhes. Under its protection a flourishing trade-settlement sprung up (Hall, 385).

218. Foreign Policy of Psamtik I.

He must rank as one of the greatest of Egypt's kings. His fostering Libyan development brought trade-colonies to the coast 631 B.C., 500 miles west of Alexandria; and this colony, called "Cyrene" in Roman times, developed rapidly (LTM, 208-217). Jewish tradition points out the site of many Jewish garrisons that protected traffic-highways. He placed a Jewish garrison at Elephantine, at the first cataract, to become famous in our time for many records of the community and the temple during the next 250 years. (LTM, 132, 190, 195, 207, 214, 596). He drove back the Iranian Scythians, an advance-wave of the Medo-Persian migration, reflected in earlier fragments of Jeremiah and in Zephaniah; smiting Gaza; Jer. 47:1-7. The Greek tradition is that their raids were opposed by Psamtik for 28 years; they could not get into Egypt. But such stress certainly drove more Palestine refugees into Egypt. It should be observed that Zeph. 3:10; in the Scythian time, asserts that "from beyond the rivers of Nubia (that is, from northern Abyssinia) the Daughter of my Dispersed shall bring offerings"! Zephaniah himself was ben-Cushi - "an Ethiopian"? with several ancestors of Hebrew name. Those Jewish colonies may have originated the political embassy in Isaiah 18. (Cf. LTM, 190, 191. Cf. Knight 314-318. And the old king, ever watchful of the Iranian invasion, sent a great army to aid Assyria 616-612, when politically tottering. (Barton, p. 538 f.; Godbey, LTM 287).)

As for his Greek garrisons, at Daphne and Naucratis Greeks began to take lessons in art. See PFE, 164 ff, profusely illustrated. Conversely, Greek pottery of this century has been found recently on the Palestine coasts. In QDAP 1932, pp. 15-26, five plates, Prof. J. H. Iliffe shows four sherds from Ascalon of this century, and 28 of

600-400 B.C. at Tell Jemmeh, eight miles south of Gaza. Five are of black-figure ware, of which few have been found outside of Greece, and none so far south before. Add that at Beth-Zûr Albright and Sellers found Greek sherds ranging from the fifth century B.C. to the early second. Among the many coins found, nine were Greek or imitation Greek of the fifth and fourth centuries (BASOR, 43; JAOS 1932, p. 301; ZATW, 1933, p. 78). So Psamtik I started a Greek period in Palestine 300 years before Alexander the Great.

219. Egypt and Emigrants in Jeremiah.

Jeremiah and Isaiah are the only two extant prophets who lived and plead through great war and siege periods and who in consequence have much to say about the current political vacillations and of Hebrew colonies in other lands. As Jeremiah begins to speak in the latter part of the reign of Psamtik I and continues into the days of Hophra, it is well to note here some of his sayings. There are none that are clearly aimed at Psamtik. The earlier collection of his writings was destroyed (Chap. 36), and re-written fragments referring to the Scythian invasion lack names and detail. Perhaps Jeremiah had encouraged Psamtik against Scythians.

In 2:14 f. the Greek garrison at Daphne is familiar, and another at Memphis. Probably Manasseh had allied himself with Scythians and got punished. Israel now has nothing to expect from the "waters of Horus" or the "waters of the Tigris." (The capture of Samaria by Sargon a hundred years before had not ended Israel. Current modern misconceptions are to be discarded.) Both will disappoint you, v. 36. - In 16:14, 23:7, 31:8, 32:37; 33:7; 46:27 f, Israel is already dispersed in many lands - especially in the north; yet Jeremiah hopes for their return. In 26:32, in the time of Necho, his creature Jehoiakim secures the surrender of Uriah; for anti-Egyptian utterances?

Notable is the fact in 40:11 that refugees from Judah had gone to Moab, Ammon, Edom, and other lands, during the time of the Chaldeans in Palestine, and the following fact that such emigrants might be agents of the land where they settled. The student should realize that every great war in Palestine had produced such results. Compare 27:3 ff. In 43 the proposal to take a new refuge in Egypt is debated, and the emigrants go to the Greek garrison at Daphne, on the eastern border of the Delta. But there are other and older colonists at the Migdol, and at Memphis and in the Thebaid (Pathros), in 44:1; as already shown, somewhere older than Isaiah's time.

In 46:3 ff. the mail-clad Greeks are beaten at Carchemish, together with Nubians and Hamites from Punt, and Ludim, who may be the New Nubians of the Taharqa Dynasty. Necho is not sacrificing his Libyan fellows, so long as he can hire foreigners to do his fighting. We have no hint of how many "Young Syrians" were in the battle of Carchemish. But in 46:14-17, the disgusted mercenaries of Migdol, Daphne and Memphis say that Necho missed an opportunity and propose to return to their own land; compare Hezekiah's Arabs and other allies in Section 212. Such action was always possible in times of great reverse: 46:20 f. This is another reverse for Amon of Thebes! 46:25.

In 50:6 ff. the existence of Israelite colonies in Babylonian territories is acknowledged, and they are urged to flee from coming armies. Some such colonies are farmer-folk in verse 16. Israelite emigrants may get back to Palestine, 17 ff, but at present are not allowed to leave, v. 33. Again in 51:6 Israelite colonies are urged to flee out of Babylonia. In 51:30 Babylon's foreign troops refuse to fight; comparable to Nineveh's troops running away when the walls are breached: Nahum 2:8. And in 51:45 f., 50, Israelite colonies are again warned to flee; rumored outbreaks give timely warning.

220. Emigrants are Not Prisoners: "Slaves" May be "Free"!

The use of our modern term "captivity" with regard to Israelite migrations is wholly misleading, and without basis in the Hebrew. "Captive" and "Captivity" are in our AV because the translators did not know ancient Oriental institutions. The verb used in 2 K. 17:6, 18, 23, 26, 27, 28, 33 is the causative form of gālāh, "to remove." "Made them remove," or "migrate," is what Assyria did. And the Hebrew noun Gôlah is not "captivity," imprisonment, but "emigration."

The above Jeremiah passages assume large freedom of action on the part of the emigrants. Read Jer. 29:4 ff. As tersely said by modern Jewish scholars, "They were free

citizens in a free country." Choice with regard to such migration appears in 2 K. 18: 29-32, and 24:12.

The system is old. Sociologists know that when small clans or tribes begin to federate, and are not nomadic, they often equalize economic opportunities by periodical exchanges of tribal lands. The system still survives in some places. It also serves to separate two neighbor-clans that are quarreling. Assyria did not invent the plan: it was far older. A modern example is the removal of French colonists from Acadia to Louisiana. See LTM 121 ff.

Also, servitude in the Orient is not at all what the western uncivilization has made it. In Jer. 34:8 ff. appears a familiar institution. Individual slaves may elect to join the regular army. Zedekiah had filled his thin ranks that way, and then failed to live up to the contract. We have an armed force made of hereditary slaves in Gen. 14: 14. Anyone of them, like Eliezer of Damascus, might become chief of the tribe: 15:2 f. Such "King's slaves" as powerful militia are known in Egypt's later history as "Mamelukes" (malak, "to possess, rule"; Melek, "a king" in Hebrew). And Ebed-melek, "servant of the king," as in Jer. 38:7, is really "Officer of the king." The student looking back now over the thousand years before Jeremiah, will gain a larger comprehension of the many Hebrew migrations, and the varied activities and potential influence of such colonies.

221. Necho II, 609-593 -- Josiah Pro-Scythian?

Maintains army of Greek mercenaries, a fleet on the Mediterranean, another on the Red Sea. Reopens Seti I's canal from the Nile to the Red Sea. Beth-Shean is henceforth "Scythopolis," "Scythian town," to the Greeks. Psamtik's long anti-Scythian struggle does not seem to have dislodged them. Under that Scythian shadow Josiah began his iconoclasm, 2 K. 23. Continuing the anti-Iranian war of his father, Necho dashed out to Carchemish and took it, 609 B.C., and held it four years. As he returned, Josiah tried to stop him at Megiddo, 608 B.C. What were Josiah's political affiliations? They are debated. - (Knight 319-325, does not see the issue) - Nebuchadrezzar, still only crown prince, recaptures Carchemish in 605. Relics of the Egyptian occupation of Carchemish are in the British Museum: Some inscribed with Necho's name. (Hall, 386). The anti-Egyptian faction at Jerusalem migrates to Babylonia, 2 K. 24:10-16, and is assigned frontier-garrison duty at Nehardea; See LTM, s.v.

Relative to Gedaliah of Mizpeh, Jer. 40, 41, Dr. Bade in 1932 found in one of the rich tombs at Mizpeh, a seal with the familiar Egyptian eye-amulet, and the name Jaazaniah, Ebedhmlk ("officer of the king," above). He is mentioned in 2 K. 23 and Jer. 40: 8, as one of those accept Gedaliah's protection. Mizpeh seems to have been a suburb of wealthy Jerusalem folk as early as Thothmes III. It is possible that the Babylonians really appointed Gedaliah as king: precedents point to that. That would be one reason for a rival of the royal family killing him.

222. Psamtik II, 593-88: Confused with his Father?

Herodotus ii, 30, says the garrison at Elephantine, angered at not having been relieved for three years, renounced the service of the Pharaoh and went over to the Ethiopians and that the Nubian king gave them settlements in his territory: that Psamtik went with Jewish mercenaries to punish them. The fact may be that the first garrison moved on to join the older ones mentioned by Zephaniah, and that Psamtik took the second one to replace it. The story throws a little light on the self-assertion of such garrisons. But a stele found at Karnak makes it appear that Psamtik I made a Nubian expedition with Greek mercenaries who left many inscriptions at Abu Simbel (Sayce, Expos. Times, 1911, p. 92.). Such Nubian expedition should belong to his "Dodecarchy" days (Section 217) when he was wresting authority from the other eleven district kings. Some monuments and small objects of Psamtik II are in the British Museum, but no records. (Hall, 386).

223. Uahib-Ra', 588-566; Greek "Apries"; OT "Hophra".

Noticed in Section 219, 220. Consider Ezekiel. An emigrant to Babylonia in 597, Jerusalem was captured in 586. He hears of it in the twelfth year of his residence in

Babylonia; Ezek. 33:21. Hophra had been king two years: Ezekiel's last dated writings are fifteen years later, Ezek. 29:17. Observe (1) the absence of any criticism of Judah-politics! (2) His repeated assertion that Israel had always been defiled with Egyptian religious institutions. (3) His incessant assertion during his first twelve years that Egypt shall be overthrown. But it is not! So in his 27th year, Hophra's eighteenth, he declares Nebuchadrezzar shall overthrow Egypt, though he had failed in thirteen years to take Tyre. But there is no record that Nebuchadrezzar ever attacked Hophra. (Knight, 328-341, recognizes this).

Per contra, Hophra conquered Tyre in a naval battle, says Herodotus iv, 116, and subjugated all the Phoenician coast. Nebuchadrezzar had no navy. These conquests meant more "young Syrians" for the Egyptian colonies. That he welcomed Judah's fugitives Jeremiah has shown us. He cultivates the Greeks, fosters Naucratis and Daphne, and Cyrene busies him. See LTM, "Cyrene."

Another proof of Palestinian settlements in Egypt is properly placed here. Twenty-four years ago Lidzbarski visited Abydos, in the "Pathros" of the OT and copied over 70 Phoenician and Aramaic memorial inscriptions then visible in the ruined Egyptian temples. These contain over 100 names. They date from about the time of Hophra down to 200 B.C. (Lidzbarski, 3:93-116). We should remember the great body of those who could not put their memorial inscriptions in an Egyptian temple, and the still larger body of pious unlearned poor who would not have a memorial inscription anywhere - Reports of later finds are not at hand.

223-a. Introducing Military Despatches From Lachish.

In 180-h is a suggestion of the military importance and the cultus significance of the Egyptian "provincial capital" at Lachish from the time of Amenophis III to Rameses II. Now we have a point of contact with Jeremiah. Shall we think of immemorial tradition in conflict with the seer of the world that is yet to be? For the past of this ancient stronghold reached back more than 3000 years before Jeremiah was born. The oldest strata reported so far are Ghassulian; and Teleilat El-Ghassul is conceded to have ended about 3500 B.C. Its beginnings were probably a thousand years earlier. The lime-stone ridge west of the city (now Tell Ed-Duweir) is honey-combed with the cave-tombs occupied during the stone and copper ages. But the exact evidence which they contained concerning the days of 4000 B.C. has been destroyed by their successors of the Early Bronze Age (3000 B.C. ff) who enlarged all these for burials of their own time. But some rough copper work and old handmade pottery has survived. These are certainly pre-dynastic. For Egyptian alabaster vessels of proto-dynastic type, like those in the early royal tombs at Abydos, appear in the Early Bronze graves at Lachish and Early Bronze Palestinian vases appear in Egypt during its First Dynasty. Lower down on the same burial ridge is a late stage of the same culture. The daggers, darts, water-jars and food-vessels in the tombs belong to the middle Old Kingdom time about 2800 B.C. ff. How much conscious tradition of a great past could survive in Jeremiah's time we do not know; nor could we appreciate it if it had survived; for we have no such "consciousness of a past" in the popular American mind. But as we still follow a calf-path and call it "Broadway": or follow an Indian trail and call it a "state highway": as some of us still believe that "the moon is made of green cheese": that "the water will run out of it" when the crescent stands on its tip; and that "we must wait till the sign is right" before we do anything, we may feel sure that traditions of equal antiquity and authority battled with Jeremiah. See Jer. 10:1,2: Is. 47:12-14.

223-b. Lachish Script of Rameses II Time Undecipherable.

Forty-six sherds of a beautiful ewer of unknown provenance were recovered from the rubbish outside the temple. These largely reconstructed the ewer: made complete restoration possible, except for a two line inscription that runs around on the shoulder of the ewer. Of this only half has been preserved. It has been called "pictographic": Starkey would see an early form of "Phoenician": a link with the pictographs of Senai, yet would date it about 1260 B.C. (ILN 8-10-1935: 2-29-1936). But the Phoenician inscriptions of the time of Rameses II, found at Byblos, bear no clear resemblance to any characters on the ewer. Another archaeologist sees a bilingual inscription: the upper-line a rude early Phoenician, the lower are all pictographs. There are other guesses.

Then a red pottery bowl was taken from a grave of the period with an inscription in white sulphate of lime: six characters? Langdon would make it "Semitic" by turning

the bowl upside down, and then reading from left to right! (ILN. 2-29-1936). The student is warned that there is not enough of either inscription to make deciphering possible. If we had inscriptions of several lines or sentences, some progress might be made. As it is, there are as many guesses as guessers! That common people had a script that could be used on pottery is the one thing proved.

223-c. The Time of the Siege Letters Recovered at Lachish.

In February and March, 1935, from the ruins of an outpost in the days of Nebuchadrezzar II of Babylon a number of pot-sherds were recovered, "painted" with inscriptions that appeared to composed of characters like those on the Samarian Ostraka of 30 years before, or like those of the Moabite stone. It was soon clear that the inscriptions were letters written in Hebrew, but by no means easy to decipher. Two or three personal names appeared to be those of persons mentioned in the book of Jeremiah: the conclusion was quickly reached that they came from the reign of Jehoiakim. This was soon questioned by several scholars. At present the preponderance of opinion places them in the reign of Zedekiah: hence they are appended here, without the discussions.

But the student will see that the amount of information given about the reign of Zedekiah is practically nothing. Nor do we hear of the King of Babylon, nor of the Babylonian army, nor of Egypt and its king. The protagonists are not named, the little notes deal only with the duties of a little sentry post outside the city. The historical importance of these "guard house reports" has been greatly exaggerated by reports in the daily press.

As for the time of the year, Starkey found masses of carbonized olive stones against the outer wall, and concludes that the city was attacked and burned during or immediately after the annual oil pressing. That puts the siege in the latter part of July and early August.

223-d. The Technique of the Siege-Letters.

They form a consecutive series of reports written by a slave (or petty officer? secretary?) of the "captain of the guard" at an outpost outside the city gate. Then why were these left here? One view is that this post-scribe was writing hurried answers to dispatches received, but found no messenger to carry them before the crash came. Such messenger could not set forth in broad daylight, under the eyes of the besieging army. Fire-signals at night are referred to. The sherds then are memorials of the last day's duty of this watchmen's post at Lachish. There is no more answer to our challenge "watchman, tell us of the night!" (Isa. 21:11, 12). Much less probable is the theory that they are copies of originals that were written on papyri. The fact remains that the scribe was out of writing material. Five of the six sherds are pieces of the same pot! They broke up one to get something to write on.

As for the character of the script, J. L. Starkey tabulates the letters occurring in 6 sherds, in parallel columns, with columns from the Samaria Ostraka, Ophel Ostraka, Siloam Tunnel, Gezer Tablet, Moabite Stone, and Seal-Scarabs. Allowing for difference in material and convenience, all are identical in intention: a uniform script was current in Palestine during some three centuries.

There is certainly an excessive insistence that the idiom is the same as that of the Book of Jeremiah. The sherds were placed in the hands of Prof. Leon Harry Torczyner for transliteration and translation. His first publication a year ago brought a hail of suggestions from many scholars. This has resulted in Torczyner changing his views on some points. Has the book of Jeremiah been changed also, to keep it in line with these scholar-views? Even where all are agreed as to what a certain word may be, they are not agreed as to its meaning, and some appeal to the Babylonian Talmud 1000 years later--or more--to explain some words. But the current translations of Jeremiah were not secured in that way. And when all is done, individuals may, like Dr. Albright, propound independent translations. Whence it is clear that identity with OT idiom has been exaggerated, and this exaggeration is the result of an excessive belief in the need of such identity.

One important fact has received little comment. In the first 21 proper names read by Torczyner, 16 are compounded with--Yahu: very far above G.B. Gray's percentage as found in the OT (Hebrew Proper Names, 1896) and far above the percentage in the Samarian

Ostraka. It probably expresses the fact of a Yahû-faction, and an anti-Yahû-faction in Jeremiah's day. When impassioned Jeremiah shouts Ya-Hû! ("O He!") the jeering rabble answer Lo-Hû! ("Not he!" Jer. 5:2).

223-e. Provisional Translation of Three Letters.

Letter I is a list of proper names. Since Torczyner's final translation of the six letters is not yet at hand, Albright's provisional translation of letters II, III and IV is appended, from BASOR Feb. 1936.

Letter II. "To my lord Ya'osh: May YHWH cause my lord to hear tidings of peace! Now at this time--now at this time, who is thy servant, a dog, that my lord hath remembered his servant?--May YHWH cause my lord to remember a matter which I do not know!"

Letter III. "Thy servant Hoshâ-Yahu hath sent to report to my lord Ya'osh: May YHWH cause my lord to hear tidings of peace! [And now] thy servant hath sent a letter to the Inspector (?) and [in it] thy servant referred to the letter which my lord had sent to thy servant yesterday, for thy servant hath been mindful of it ever since thou didst write to thy servant. And when my lord said 'thou dost not know it?--read my letter!--as YHWH liveth, verily no man hath ever tried to read me a letter (from thee) nor have I read any letter which might have come to me (from thee), nor have I seen anything of it at all! It hath been reported to thy servant, saying, 'The commander of the host, Kebar-Yahu, son of El-Nathan, hath come down in order to enter into Egypt; and unto Hodau-Yahu son of Ahi-Yahu and his men he hath sent to get rations.' And as for the letter of Nedab-Yahu, servant of the king, which came to Shallum son of Yaddu from the prophet saying 'be on thy guard,' (etc.), thy servant hath sent it to my lord."

Observe in this letter what was suggested in the section above: letters get out with difficulty. An important one from Ya'osh has never reached the post. Second, a warning message from some prophet has been intercepted by the guard and is now sent to Ya'osh as evidence. Some "captain of the host", Kebar-Yahu, is "reported" as been in full flight to Egypt. The end is near.

Letter IV. "May YHWH cause my lord to hear now at this time tidings of good. And now, according to everything that my lord hath sent, so hath thy servant done. I have written on the door (of the city gateway?) according to all that my lord hath sent to me. And with regard to what my lord hath sent about the matter of Bethharafa--there is no man there. And as for Semak-Yahu, Shema-Yahu hath taken him, and hath brought him up to the city. (Jerusalem?) And thy servant will send hither Ahi-Yahu..... And let him (my lord) know that we are waiting for the fire signals of Lachish, according to all the indications which my lord hath given, for we cannot see Azekah."

223-f. As to Judah's Extradition Treaties.

The last letter makes it appear that Ya'osh must be commander at Lachish: yet he is not sure that a letter of his will reach a watch-post outside the gate. Such is the clash of parties and the tangle of spies, when each faction has its own "secret service" organization. Semak-Yahu may be the "prophet" whose warning letter was intercepted in Letter III: Ahi-Yahu an important witness against him. Kebar-Yahu's case as captain of the host or "commander in chief" looks queer. If efficient, he is a supreme need at Jerusalem. He may be incompetent, and sent on an important diplomatic mission to let him down easy. Or as a competent man he knows the war is decided, and is in full flight. For Jer. 34:6f. shows what Letter IV shows: the end is in sight; and 38:19 ff. shows that Zedekiah can trust nobody--neither his princes nor the betrayed masses of Chap. 34. Kabar-Yahu must be a rat scuttling from a sinking ship. For Bethharafa, see 1 Chron. 4:12.

In Jer. 26:22 Jehoiakim seems to have an extradition treaty with Egypt. Ahab in 1K.18:10 certainly has with all his neighbors. There are no asylum cities that Ahab will respect. Rameses II and Hattusil agree that each will surrender fugitives to the other. (Jirku ZATW 1921, 148). But Shubbilulyuma and Mattiwaza have a reverse agreement. Neither will surrender a refugee: which means that neither interferes with the asylum cities of his own land.

224. Hophra: Nebuchadrezzar - Yahwism at a Parting of the Ways.

That Yahwism in Babylonia will produce a Talmud, and lose much ritual, and produce rabbis to displace priests is familiar to scholars. But dispersions of Yahwist communities along the whole North African coast through the centuries we have seen to be among a people neither Semitic nor Hamitic, and steadily resisting Hamitization or fusion with Hamitic and negroid therio-morphic cults of the Middle and Upper Nile. The Cyrene activities of Psamtik and Hophra meant a direct influence for nearly a thousand miles west of the Nile. In a clash between the inland pure "Berbers" and those inter-married with Greeks in the Cyrene coast-cities, Hophra sides with the pure Berber against those Hellenized (LTM 209). His own mercenary guards turn against him, and compel him to accept their general Iahmase (Amasis) as coregent in 569. Three years later he tried to throw off the control of Amasis, is defeated and strangled by his own guardsmen as he slept on his barge (Hall 387). The fusion of Greek and Egypto-Berber goes on, founds Alexandria at the western-most mouth of the Nile, develops Yahwism to the point of discarding the personal name Yahu altogether and adopting Kurios, "Lord," as a term acceptable to all people; see LXX. With the Greek, North Egyptian culture will produce Christianity. Babylonia will produce Judaism.

225. Egypt Shapes the Christian "Future Judgment".

Jewish Aramaic inscriptions found at Memphis (Noph of OT), show that Egyptian Yahwism has accepted Osiridean ideas of a judgment after death. The acts of the dead are weighed in the balance. And the ideas are expressed in phrases of the Osiris cult. Egyptian Judaism definitely contemplates future rewards and punishments (Isidore Levy, Journal Asiatique, Oct. Dec. 1927, pp. 231-310). And since this publication excavations by Jéquier in the necropolis south of Memphis, 1928-1930, have discovered the necropolis of an Aramaic-speaking community dating from Persian times, characterized by poor terracotta coffins with no burial gifts. Their dead were provided for in the Hereafter. Here is a historic link between the Osiris-cult and Christianity. But with Egypt dominant at Gebal and southward through thousands of years was she not always infusing these ideas into Palestine?

226. The Onias Temple. (Of Josephus)

Consider in the Greek period, the Onias temple at $\hat{\text{On}}$ (Gen. 41:45, 50), or Heliopolis; the "city of the sun" of Is. 19:18. (Josephus, Ant. XIII - iii; 1, 3; Wars VII; x; 2, 3). Had there been some Yahwism there ever since Isaiah's time? Maimonides says that sacrifices continued for hundreds of years after Josephus' time and that this Kebts-Or (Congregation of Horus) finally became Christians. Jewish and Christian historians alike acknowledge this. See LTM s.v. Consider names like "Origen," "Born of Horus": Isidore, "Gift of Isis." Isis-Horus became the "Virgin and Child." Draper, HCRS 47 f.).

227. Early Christian Art, And Alexandrian Judaism

Modern scholars, beginning with Strykowski, 1905, have studied the origins of early Christian art. Wherein different from the art of Palestinian or Babylonian Judaism? It is found that early Western Christian Art is the art of the Alexandrian Judaism. (W. Neuss. Die Kunst der alten Christen).

Compare with this the recent discoveries of early eastern Christian art, at Dura-Europos, on the Euphrates 150 miles east of Palmyra (Tadmor of 1 K. 9:18). It was a great caravan-city: ten pagan temples already found: Graeco-Roman, Persian, Semitic and Christian cultures met here through several hundred years. A Christian Church and a Jewish Synagogue of 250-200 A.D., wonderfully vrescoed, Prof. Clark Hopkins pronounces one of the most astounding discoveries of this century; earlier art of each than heretofore known. Hopkins, Rostovtzeff, and Comte du Mesnil Du Buisson agree that the Christian art borrowed from or repeated the Jewish art in both style, composition, and subject-matter. No scholar had dreamed of this. The Jewish frescoes are of OT scenes, the Christian adds some NT themes. (N.Y. Herald-Tribune, 1-31-1932; ILN 8-13-1932; 4-1-1933; 7-13-1933; 7-29-1933; 9-2-1933; L'Illustration, 7-29-1933). No comparison between East and West can here be undertaken. But the student may grasp more clearly the fact that Christian art in Libyan Egypt had to begin with the art already there.

228. Christian Liturgies: Egypt and Babylonia Divide Them

The student may compare the early Christian Liturgy of Alexandria (Liturgy of St. Mark) and that of Babylonia (St. Maris), and find irreconcilable thinking at some vital points. Some differences now dividing Christendom divided pre-Christian religionists.

JORDAN
River

Lebanon

Major Rivers

Major Rivers

Ashtu R. Arabian
(Arabic)

E D O M A R I D U M E A

DEAD SEA
THE SALT SEA
BAHR LUT

The Hajj Road - Mecca to Damascus

PALESTINE

ACCORDING TO PALESTINE EXPLORATION SURVEY.

English Miles 0 5 10 20

High and Ancient Towns represented in strong letters } *Orange of Palestine*
Modern Towns in lighter letters, *Blue* } *(See Key)*
Rubbings thus ———

Low Lands under 500 feet coloured thus
Jordan Valley Depression below Sea Level

By permission
of Charles
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Petrie calls the area for 50 miles south of Gaza the grain basket of Crete. Major Jarvis, Governor of Sinai, corroborates this unconsciously, saying that the ancient culture spread over the Coastal Plain came from a "Copper-Land."

Jarvis says that the area between the Wady El-Arish and the boundary back to Kossseima (Gusseimeh) bears full crops of wheat and barley every year; and the terraces and irrigation-wreck all the way from Kossseima to the Wadys east of Beersheba show intensive cultivation with remains of a high culture. The Area, Gaza-El-Arish-Kossseima-Molada-Gaza means about 2500 square miles of lowland and Wady Valley, mostly cultivated once. Palmer, *Desert of Exodus*, traversing the Kossseima-Moladah line, wrote much of the tremendous ancient cultivation of grapes on all the terraces and hillsides. This once meant vast shipments of wine and raisins as well as wheat. Two or three Byzantine towns, like Sbeita, El-'Aujeh, El-Meshrifeh, still exist. But the archaeology of the great region is untouched save at Beth-Eglaim, Gerar, and Beth-Pelet. Some unidentified OT towns lie in this area.

Amorites--Three miles northeast of Sbeita is a ravine running north through the hills: Dheigat el 'Amerin, "Gorge of the Amorites"; a shrine, Sheikh-El Amir is ten miles northeast; and a headland, Ras El 'Amir is seven miles north of El-Kossseima. Palmer sees memories of the aboriginal mountaineers, and Num. 14:40f at Sbeita.



* RIVER OF EGYPT (WRONG - NAKHAL MIZRAIM = "RIVER OF TWO FORTS")

This Area has two drainage systems; each once had an estuary harbor at the mouth. The Beersheba-Gaza system once had a great harbor and great city at Beth Eglaim. The larger Wady El-Arish system, terminating at Egyptian Dharu, "Zoar" of Gen. 13:10; Greek Rhinocolura--drains all northern Sinai. This is the nakhal Mizraim of Gen. 15:18; Josh. 15:4, 47. Numbers 34:5, 2K. 24:7; Is. 27:12. Mizraim means "Two Forts;" probably referring to Dharu and Nakhl. Now where the immemorial road from Suez to Akaba crosses it is the above station NEKHL (Palmer, "Nakhl"). It has a double interest. First Palmer observes that the OT name persists - without the "Mizraim." This particular point may be referred to in 1 Kings 8:65. Secondly it is "at the head of cultivation" in a "pocket" of the lowland. Some cultivation is possible in all of the Wady Valleys. There are traces of ancient agriculture. Till 1914, NEKHL was the administrative Capital of the peninsula; now the population has gone to the Coast-Capital EL-ARISH.

"Amorites" - Note the Dheiga bend. The full name, "Dheigat El-'Amerin" means "Gorge of the Amorites." The stream here cuts through the long mountain ridge of the Jebel Hellal at its lower northern end. (Jarvis, 296). The Ras el-'Amir of the legend above is the eastern scarp of the gorge. Notice another near Sbeita: Sheikh 'Amr near. Traditions of "Amorites" cling to these ridges.

Four Roads - From the "Garden Land" to Akaba. (1) From Gaza to Beersheba, S.E. into the 'Arabah, thence to Petra or to Akabah. (2) Beersheba to Moladah, crossing Arabah about 18 miles south of Dead Sea; or down west bank to Akaba. (3) Raphia or El-Arish to El-Kossseima; direct line over mountains; 2500 feet descent at Ras El-Nagb. (4) Suez via Nekhl to Ras El-Nagb.

Kadesh-Barnea - 'Ain Gedeirat; 3 miles from El-Kossseima. Great reservoirs.

MINOAN-PHILISTINE-EGYPTIAN AREA IN PALESTINE

The student will not appreciate the ancient situation till he first realizes that cities north of Carmel had no agricultural foundation. The narrow strip of coastal plain could not feed them. They had to import grain. Southward from Joppa the Coastal plain was wide, reaching a width of about fifty miles at the "RIVER OF EGYPT," or Wady El-Arish. Further, one can ride forty miles along the eastern edge of the Philistine plain and find no pass up to the highlands. Settlers there were insured against any continuous indrift of nomads from the desert. And the broadening plains to the south meant short caravan routes to the Red Sea.

Governor Jarvis reports the population of the Egyptian province of Sinai at 25,000. The area beyond that, up to Joppa-Lydda, at 40 to the square mile, would have contained a million people. The fact that areas like "Simeon" appear but little in the OT must mean that their cultural, political and economic relations generally associated with them Minoan-Egyptian territory rather than with Judah-Israel.

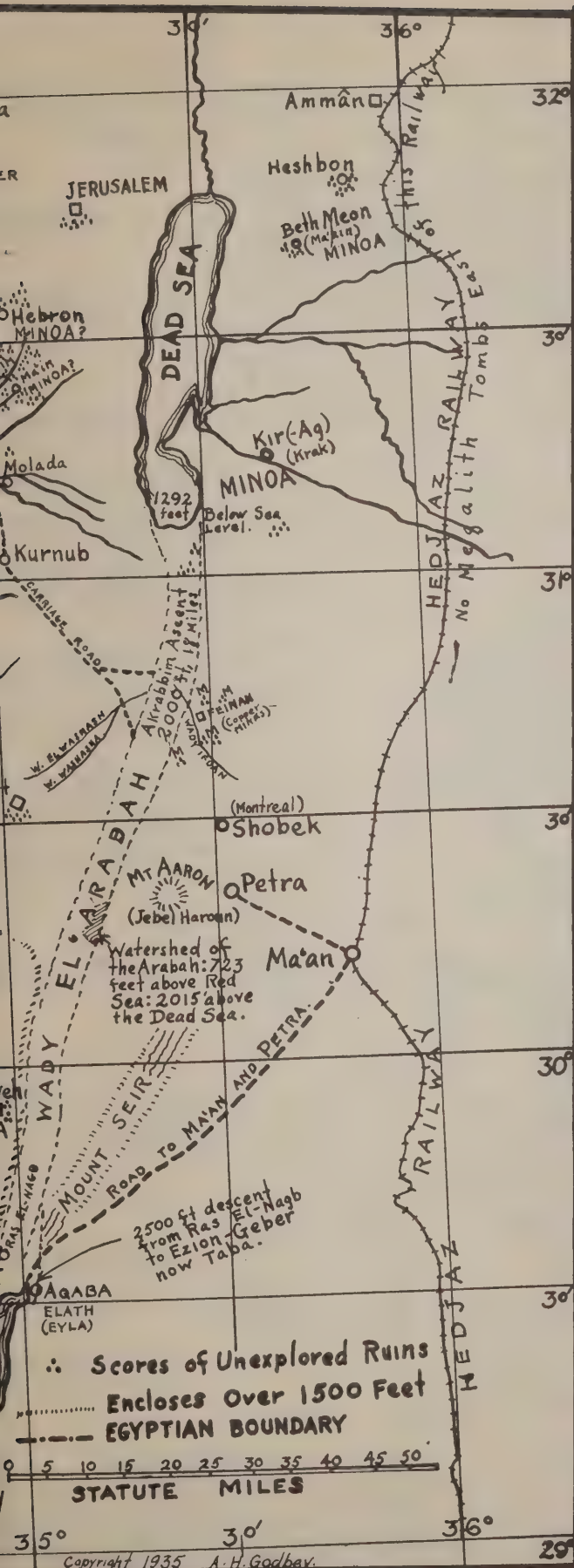
Nomads, in the modern popular sense, do not exist in Sinai. Each tribe has its well-defined area, but may move about in that, according to seasonal requirements. Exodus 17:8 portrays a deliberate attack on Amalekite territory.

To-day a score of automobile roads traverse parts of the province. These have no place in the present map.

It was not necessary in this map to show the highest part of the Sinaitic Peninsula, which lies below the inset at the bottom of the map. But it should be remembered that the drainage-area of the Wady El-Arish extends to the bottom of the inset: approximately 150 miles from its ancient harbor-mouth. Yet the mountain-areas about Mt. Sinai show abundant evidence of ancient cultivation. (Palmer, D.E.)

Wadys Vary - The small tributary wadys are far more numerous than shown on the map. In the mountain areas these valleys have few places wide enough to cultivate without terracing. In the piedmont and coast-lowlands they become shallow depressions, sometimes three or four miles wide.

MIZRAIM: AV, "EGYPT": "Two Mutsris" - It is important to remember that the "Egypt" of our AV means the two areas of the Delta, and the region from Suez to near the Dead Sea. Raphia, present seport frontier of Egypt, was the frontier also in Sargon's time: ARA, II, 5. Hence the name MUTSRI written across this area. About 30,000 square miles east of the Suez Canal was generally under Egyptian influence: confessedly never Israelite. The data suggesting a North Arabian Mutsri to some scholars may mean only that Egypt sometimes controlled east of Aqabah.





To Carthage
1200 miles, Air Line

To Cyrene
550 Miles.

Naucratis.
45 M. from Alexandria.

Carian Colony
South of Bubastis

Merimde Beni-Salame'

On: Heliopolis "Jewish"
temple from Isai ah to 400 A.D.

Pyramids of Lisht
Jewish Aramaic Inscriptions
& Persian Period: Noph.

Aramaic Necropolis.
Persian Period, No funerary
Gifts.

Labyrinth of Amen-em-hat III
Pyramid: Hawara

Oasis Siwa: Temple
Jupiter Ammon,
35 Miles West of Nile.

Jewish Necropole 700-600 B.C.
East of Oxyrynchus

Cliff - Tombs
Beni Hassan.

Oasis
Baharia, 155 M. West of Nile
Petrie reports Hieroglyphic
Jewish? Tomb Inscriptions
700 B.C.?

TKh-n-Aton's Town

Necropolis of
Crocodile Mummies.

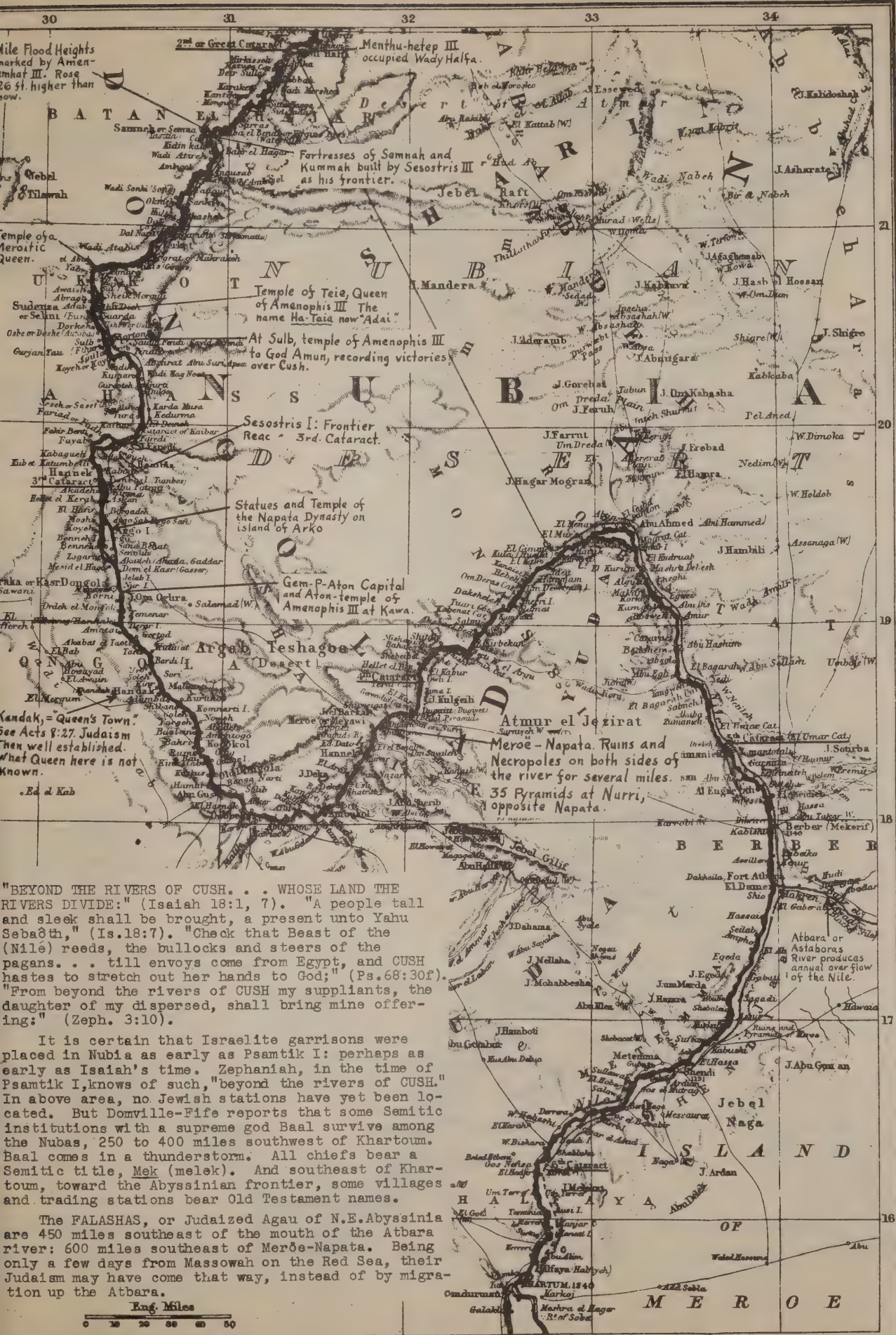
El-Bedari (Badarian Site)

Oasis Farafra
100 Miles West of Nile

eh (Thinis) Menes Dynasty and
11th Dynasty Rose Here

ana. (Notable Christian-Nubian
Finds.

pydos (Predynastic)

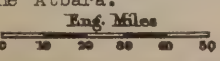


"BEYOND THE RIVERS OF CUSH... WHOSE LAND THE RIVERS DIVIDE:" (Isaiah 18:1, 7). "A people tall and sleek shall be brought, a present unto Yahu Seba'oth," (Is.18:7). "Check that Beast of the (Nile) reeds, the bullocks and steers of the pagans... till envoys come from Egypt, and CUSH hastes to stretch out her hands to God;" (Ps.68:30f). "From beyond the rivers of CUSH my supplicants, the daughter of my dispersed, shall bring mine offering;" (Zeph. 3:10).

It is certain that Israelite garrisons were placed in Nubia as early as Psamtik I: perhaps as early as Isaiah's time. Zephaniah, in the time of Psamtik I, knows of such, "beyond the rivers of CUSH." In above area, no Jewish stations have yet been located. But Domville-Fife reports that some Semitic institutions with a supreme god Baal survive among the Nubas, 250 to 400 miles southwest of Khartoum. Baal comes in a thunderstorm. All chiefs bear a Semitic title, Mek (melek). And southeast of Khartoum, toward the Abyssinian frontier, some villages and trading stations bear Old Testament names.

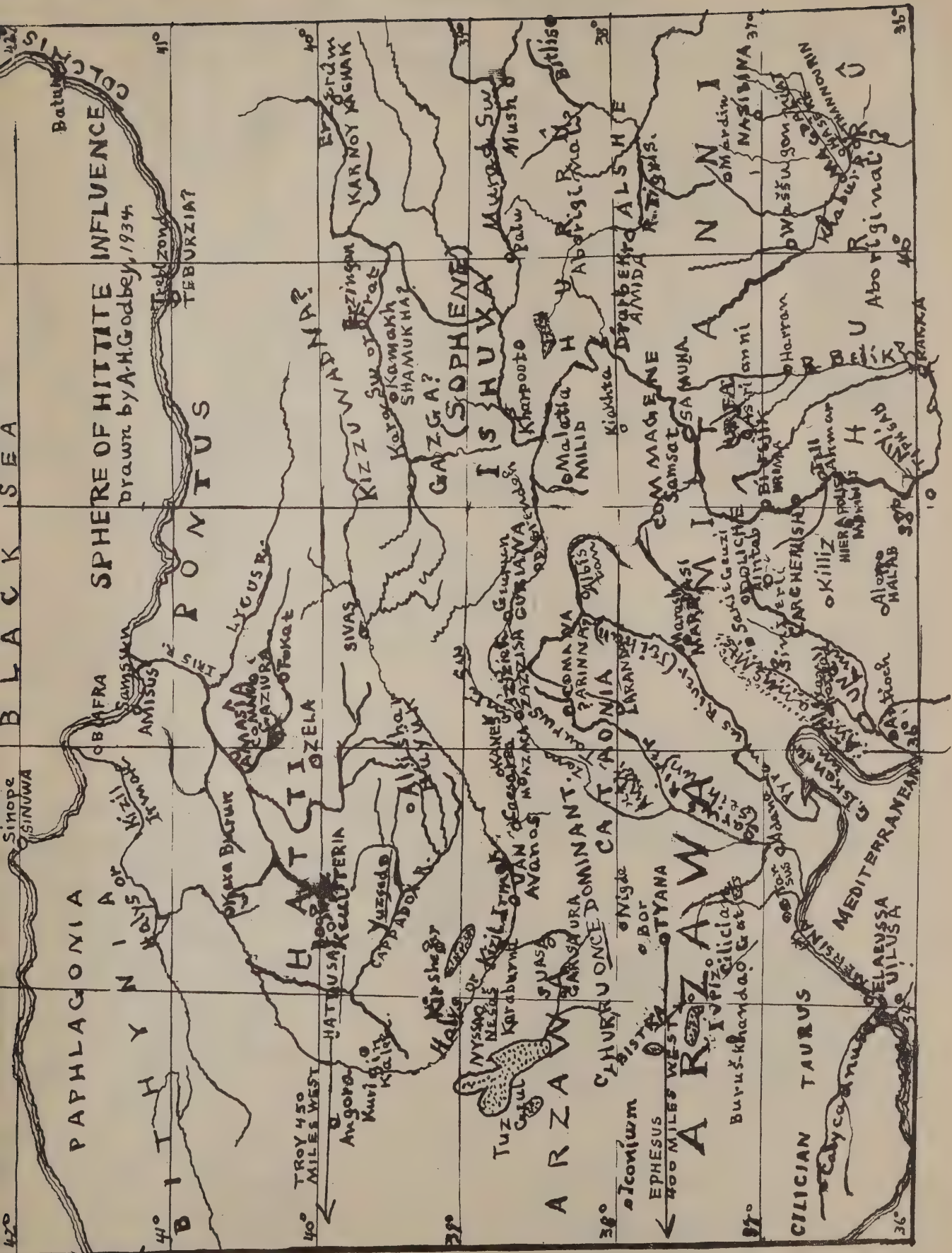
The PALASHAS, or Judaized Agau of N.E.Abyssinia are 450 miles southeast of the mouth of the Atbara river: 600 miles southeast of Meröe-Napata. Being only a few days from Massowah on the Red Sea, their Judaism may have come that way, instead of by migration up the Atbara.

Atmur el Jezirat
Meröe - Napata. Ruins and
Necropolises on both sides of
the river for several miles.
35 Pyramids at Nurri,
opposite Napata.



Temple of Amenophis. II





SPHERE OF HITTITE INFLUENCE

Drawn by A.H. Godbey, 1934



SPHERE OF HITTITE INFLUENCE

Drawn by A.H. Godbey, 1934

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